



# VEDIC VARIANTS



*Exclusively Distributed by*

**MUNSHIRAM MANOHARLAL  
PUBLISHERS PVT. LTD.**

**54, RANI JHANSI ROAD, NEW DELHI-110055**

# VEDIC VARIANTS

A Study of the Variant Readings in the R  
Mantras of the Veda

010669

BY

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD

*Late Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology  
in The Johns Hopkins University*

AND

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

*Salisbury Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology  
in Yale University*

---

*Volume II*  
PHONETICS

---

ORIENTAL REPI



---

*Oriental Books Reprint Corporation*

*Book Publishers, 54 Ram Jhansi Road, New Delhi-55*



*First Indian Edition 1979*  
First published in 1932 by  
Linguistic Society of America

**Rs. 150**

PUBLISHED BY ORIENTAL BOOKS REPRINT CORPORATION,  
54 RANI JHANSI ROAD, NEW DELHI 110055 AND  
PRINTED BY MEHRA OFFSET PRESS, KUCHA CHELAN,  
NEW DELHI 110002

## CONTENTS

Preface . . . . .	11
Abbreviations and Symbols . . . . .	13
Chapter I Introductory, §§1-43 . . . . .	15
Principles of procedure, §§1-5 . . . . .	15
Summary of contents, §§6-19 . . . . .	17
Prakritic influences, §§20-43 . . . . .	20
Chapter II Surd and Sonant Mutes, §§44-79 . . . . .	26
<i>k</i> and <i>g</i> , §§45-9 . . . . .	26
<i>c</i> and <i>j</i> , §§50-7 . . . . .	31
<i>t</i> and <i>d</i> , §58 . . . . .	35
<i>t</i> and <i>d</i> , §§59-68 . . . . .	35
<i>p</i> and <i>b</i> , §69 . . . . .	42
<i>kh</i> and <i>gh</i> , §70 . . . . .	42
<i>th</i> and <i>dh</i> , §§71-8 . . . . .	43
<i>ph</i> and <i>bh</i> , §79 . . . . .	46
Chapter III. Aspirates and Non-aspirates and <i>h</i> , §§80-124 . . . . .	47
<i>k</i> and <i>kh</i> , §81 . . . . .	47
<i>g</i> and <i>kh</i> , §82 . . . . .	47
<i>g(k)</i> and <i>gh</i> , §83 . . . . .	48
<i>c</i> and <i>ch</i> , §84 . . . . .	48
<i>j</i> and <i>jh</i> , §85 . . . . .	48
<i>t</i> and <i>th</i> , §§86-8 . . . . .	48
<i>t</i> and <i>th</i> , §§89-96 . . . . .	50
<i>t</i> and <i>dh</i> , §§97-8 . . . . .	55
<i>d</i> and <i>dh</i> , §§99-110 . . . . .	56
<i>p</i> and <i>ph</i> , §111 . . . . .	63
<i>p</i> and <i>bh</i> , §§112-4 . . . . .	64
Aspirate mutes and <i>h</i> , §§115-124 . . . . .	65
Chapter IV. Interchanges of the Mute Series, §§125-81 . . . . .	70
1 Gutturals and Palatals, §§125-34 . . . . .	70
2 Gutturals and Linguals, §135 . . . . .	73
3 Gutturals and Dentals, §§136-47 . . . . .	73
4 Gutturals and Labials, §§148-53 . . . . .	79
5. Palatals and Dentals, §§154-61 . . . . .	83
6 Palatals and Labials, §162 . . . . .	86

7	Linguals and Dentals, §§163-70	86
8	Dentals and Labials, §§171-81	90
Chapter V. Interchanges concerning Palatals, §§182-96		96
1	<i>ch</i> and <i>kṣ</i> , <i>ts</i> , <i>ps</i> , §§183-6	96
2	<i>sy</i> and <i>ṣc</i> or <i>s(h)</i> plus sibilant, §§187-9	97
3	<i>kṣ</i> , <i>kṣ</i> , and <i>lhy</i> , §§190-1	99
4	<i>j</i> and <i>y</i> , §§192-3	100
5	Palatal stops and <i>ś(ṣ)</i> , §§194-5	101
6	Miscellaneous ( <i>j</i> and <i>h</i> , <i>lṣ</i> and <i>by</i> ), §196	103
Chapter VI Labial Mutes, <i>v</i> , and <i>m</i> , §§197-242		104
	<i>p(ph)</i> and <i>v</i> , §§198-202	104
	<i>p</i> and <i>m</i> , §§203-5	108
	<i>b</i> and <i>v</i> , §§206-19	109
	<i>bh</i> and <i>v</i> , §§220-2	114
	<i>v</i> and <i>m</i> , §§223-40.	115
	<i>b</i> and <i>m</i> , §241	124
	<i>bh</i> and <i>m</i> , §242	125
Chapter VII Interchange of <i>y</i> , <i>r(d)</i> , <i>l(d)</i> , <i>v</i> , and <i>h</i> , §§243-73		126
	<i>y</i> and <i>r</i> , §244	126
	<i>y</i> and <i>l</i> , §245	127
	<i>y</i> and <i>v</i> , §§246-55	127
	<i>y</i> and <i>h</i> , §256	134
	<i>r</i> and <i>l</i> , §§257-65	134
	<i>r</i> and <i>v</i> , §266-8	138
	<i>r</i> , <i>r</i> and <i>h</i> , §269	140
	<i>l</i> and <i>d</i> , §270-1	140
	<i>r</i> and <i>d</i> , §272	141
	<i>r</i> and <i>d</i> , §272a	142
	<i>l</i> , <i>d</i> , and <i>n</i> , §273	143
Chapter VIII The Sibilants, §§274-99		144
	<i>ś</i> and <i>s</i> , §§275-87	144
	<i>ṣ</i> and <i>ṣ</i> , §§288-92	149
	<i>ṣ</i> and <i>s</i> , §§293-4	152
	<i>lḥ</i> , <i>lṣ</i> , and sibilants, §§295-7	153
	<i>s(ṣ)</i> and <i>h</i> , §298-9	153
Chapter IX Presence or absence of Nasals, Semi-vowels, Liquids, Sibilants, visarga, and <i>h</i> , §§300-87		155
1	Presence or absence of nasals and anusvāra, §§300-12	155
2	Presence or absence of <i>y</i> , §§313-47	160
3	Presence or absence of <i>r</i> , §§348-57	175

4	Presence or absence of <i>v</i> , §§358-71	181
5	Presence or absence of <i>s</i> , §§372-7	189
6	Presence or absence of visarga, §§378-84	192
7	Presence or absence of <i>h</i> , §§385-7	199
Chapter X Consonant Groups, §§388-421		201
1	Double and single consonants, §§389-405	201
2	Assimilation of two consonants to one double consonant, §§406-16	209
3	Simplification of consonant groups, §§417-21	212
Chapter XI Variations between short and long <i>a</i> , §§422-512		216
1.	Final <i>a</i> and <i>ā</i> , §§426-77	217
	(a) absolutely final short <i>a</i> rhythmically lengthened, §§428-49	217
	(b) absolutely final <i>a</i> varying otherwise with <i>ā</i> , §§450-61	223
	(c) stem-final short <i>a</i> in compounds, etc., lengthened, §§462-8	227
	(d) other final <i>a</i> and <i>ā</i> , §§469-77	230
2	Non-final <i>a</i> and <i>ā</i> , in verb inflection, §§478-82	233
3	Non-final <i>a</i> and <i>ā</i> , in noun formation, §§483-96	234
4	Non-final <i>a</i> and <i>ā</i> , in noun declension, §§497-507	242
5	Non-final <i>a</i> and <i>ā</i> , lexical and miscellaneous, §§508-12	245
Chapter XII Variations between long and short <i>i</i> and <i>u</i> , §§513-69		249
1	Final short <i>i</i> phonetically lengthened, §§514-21	249
2	Final <i>i</i> in the seam of compounds, phonetically shortened, §§522-4	252
3	Miscellaneous final <i>i</i> and <i>ī</i> , §525	252
4.	Noun stems in <i>i</i> and <i>ī</i> , §§526-30	253
5	<i>i</i> and <i>ī</i> in verb forms and in dissyllabic bases, §§531-40	256
6	Noun suffixes containing <i>i</i> and <i>ī</i> , §§541-3	258
7.	Miscellaneous <i>i</i> and <i>ī</i> , §§544-5	259
8	Final short <i>u</i> lengthened, §§546-52	260
9.	Final <i>ū</i> shortened, §553	262
10	<i>u</i> and <i>ū</i> in noun formation and inflection, §§554-7	262
11.	Other <i>u</i> and <i>ū</i> , §§558-69	264
Chapter XIII Qualitative Interchanges of <i>a</i> , <i>i</i> , and <i>u</i> vowels, §§570-628		269
1	Short <i>a</i> and <i>i</i> , §§570-96	269
	In noun formation, §§585-96	275
2	<i>ā</i> and <i>ī</i> , §§597-98a	279
3	<i>a</i> and <i>i</i> with shift of quantity, §§599-600	281

4. Short <i>a</i> and <i>u</i> , §§601-18 . . . . .	282
5. Other <i>a</i> and <i>u</i> vowels, §§619-21 . . . . .	291
6 Short <i>i</i> and <i>u</i> , §§622-7 . . . . .	291
7. <i>ī</i> and <i>ū(u)</i> , §628 . . . . .	291
Chapter XIV. Vocalic Liquids and Other Vowels, §§629-84 . . . . .	295
1. <i>r</i> and <i>a(ā)</i> , §§631-4 . . . . .	295
2 <i>r</i> and <i>i(i)</i> , §§635-40 . . . . .	297
3. <i>r(r̄)</i> and <i>u(ū)</i> , §§641-4 . . . . .	300
4. <i>l</i> and <i>u</i> , §645 . . . . .	301
5. <i>r</i> and <i>o</i> , §646 . . . . .	302
6 <i>r</i> and <i>ar</i> , §§647-51 . . . . .	302
7. <i>r</i> and <i>ār</i> , §652 . . . . .	304
8. <i>r</i> and <i>ur</i> , <i>ūr</i> , §§653-5 . . . . .	304
9. <i>r</i> and <i>ra</i> , <i>rā</i> , §§656-65 . . . . .	305
10. <i>r</i> and <i>ri</i> , <i>rī</i> , §§666-77 . . . . .	308
11. <i>r</i> and <i>ru</i> , §§678-84 . . . . .	311
Chapter XV The <i>i</i> and <i>u</i> Diphthongs and Samprasāraṇa, §§685-750 . . . . .	314
1. <i>i</i> and <i>e</i> , §§686-94 . . . . .	314
2 <i>ī</i> and <i>e</i> , §§695-8 . . . . .	317
3 <i>i</i> and <i>ai</i> , §§699-700 . . . . .	319
4. <i>ī</i> and <i>ai</i> , §§701-2 . . . . .	320
5. <i>e</i> and <i>ai</i> , §§703-12 . . . . .	321
6. <i>u</i> and <i>o</i> , §§713-9 . . . . .	326
7. <i>ū</i> and <i>o</i> , §§720-3 . . . . .	329
8 <i>u</i> and <i>au</i> , §724 . . . . .	330
9. <i>ū</i> and <i>au</i> , §§725-7 . . . . .	331
10. <i>o</i> and <i>au</i> , §§728-32 . . . . .	331
11. Samprasāraṇa: <i>i(i)</i> and <i>ya(yā)</i> , etc, §§733-8 . . . . .	333
12 Samprasāraṇa: <i>u(ū)</i> and <i>va(vā)</i> , etc, §§739-43 . . . . .	335
13 <i>aya</i> and <i>e</i> , and the like, §§744-7 . . . . .	338
14 <i>ava</i> and <i>o</i> , and the like, §§748-50 . . . . .	339
Chapter XVI Insertion or Expulsion of Vowels. §§751-98 . . . . .	341
1. Epenthesis of vowel between two consonants. §§751-65 . . . . .	341
2 Writing of <i>iy</i> , <i>uv</i> , for <i>y</i> , <i>v</i> , §§766-98 . . . . .	344
A final, before vowels, §§774-8 . . . . .	346
B non-final, in radical (initial) syllables, §§779-83 . . . . .	348
C suffixal <i>y</i> in noun formation, written <i>iy</i> , §§784-7 . . . . .	349
D. stem final of nouns in <i>i</i> or <i>u</i> , §§788-93 . . . . .	351
E in verb forms, §§794-8 . . . . .	354

Chapter XVII. Metathesis, Haplology, and Dittology, §§799-813.	357
1 Metathesis, §§799-806 . . . . .	357
2. Haplology, §§807-9 . . . . .	360
3 Dittology, §§810-1 . . . . .	362
4 Haplology or dittology, §§812-3 . . . . .	364
Chapter XVIII False Divisions and Patch Words, §§814-50	366
1 Compound words divided, without change, §§815-7	366
2 Compound words divided, with change in prior member, §§818-9 . . . . .	368
3 Compound words divided, with change in second member, §§820-1. . . . .	370
4. Last syllable of longer word replaced by patch word, §§822-7	372
5. First syllable of longer word replaced by patch word, §§823- 9 . . . . .	377
6 Dissyllabic words resolved into two light words, §§830-1.	379
7 Longer non-compounds resolved into several words, §§832-3	381
8. Different divisions between several independent words, §§834-40 . . . . .	383
(a) Different resolutions of final-initial vowels, §§835-6.	384
(b) Transference of final-initial consonant, §837 . . . . .	386
(c) Further false divisions, §§838-40 . . . . .	387
9 Patch words, §§841-50 . . . . .	390
Chapter XIX Rime Words, §§851-7 . . . . .	395
Chapter XX Graphic Variants, §§858-78 . . . . .	400
<i>n</i> and <i>r</i> , §§860-5 . . . . .	400
<i>c</i> and <i>v</i> , §866 . . . . .	403
<i>p</i> and <i>y</i> , §867 . . . . .	404
<i>gh</i> and <i>dy</i> , §868 . . . . .	405
<i>d</i> and <i>v</i> , §869 . . . . .	406
<i>s</i> and <i>m</i> , §870 . . . . .	407
<i>t</i> and <i>n</i> , §871 . . . . .	408
<i>ʃ</i> and <i>p</i> , §872 . . . . .	408
<i>ā</i> and <i>prā</i> , §873 . . . . .	409
Others, §§874-8 . . . . .	409
Chapter XXI Sandhi, §§879-996 . . . . .	412
Final <i>au</i> and <i>o</i> before vowels, §§885-90 . . . . .	414
Initial <i>a</i> after final <i>e</i> and <i>o</i> , §§891-912 . . . . .	419
Sandhi of <i>a</i> vowels and <i>r</i> , §§913-9 . . . . .	432
Sandhi of final <i>n</i> , §§920-44 . . . . .	435
before vowels, §§921-8 . . . . .	435
before consonants, §§929-44 . . . . .	438

Change of <i>n</i> to <i>ṇ</i> , §§945-54	443
Final <i>s</i> after non <i>a</i> vowels, before initial <i>t</i> , §§955-8	447
Final <i>s</i> before initial <i>k</i> and <i>p</i> , §§959-67	449
Final <i>r</i> before initial <i>k</i> and <i>p</i> , §968	454
Final <i>s</i> before sibilant (plus vowel), §§969-71	454
Final <i>s</i> before sibilant plus consonant, §§972-80	455
plus surd, §§974-7	456
plus sonant, §§978-80	458
Initial <i>s</i> varying with <i>ṣ</i> , §§981-8	460
Secondary crasis and hiatus, §§989-96	463
Index of Sounds, Sound Groups, and Letters	471
Sanskrit Index	474
Subject Index	480
Index of Mantras	482

## PREFACE

This second volume of the *VEDIC VARIANTS* deals primarily with Phonetics; included also are graphic variations, false divisions between words, and rune words. It is the largest volume of the series, and probably the most interesting and important.

The general plan and objects of the *VEDIC VARIANTS* have been described in the Preface to Volume I, *The Verb* (Philadelphia, 1930); which also stated the approximate extent to which each of the co-authors participated in the work. The greater part of the first volume was Bloomfield's. In this volume my own share is larger. Nevertheless the first nine chapters owe much to Bloomfield, who prepared a draft of their text on the basis of preliminary studies made by me. I have preserved as much as possible of Bloomfield's language in these chapters: those who know his inimitable style will find traces of it at many points in them. To my regret, he never continued this work beyond the ninth chapter. In the remainder his participation was nearly or quite limited to the gathering of preliminary list of materials. This will be true, also, of all the remaining volumes of the series, to which he contributed only an occasional marginal note, aside from the preliminary lists.

Cordial thanks are again due to the *LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA* and to the *AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES DEVOTED TO HUMANISTIC STUDIES*, which by their continued generosity have made possible the publication of this second volume of the series.

Dr. Murray B. Emeneau, Sterling Fellow and Research Associate in Yale University, has read the proofs of this volume and made a number of useful suggestions. It gives me great pleasure to announce that Dr. Emeneau is collaborating much more extensively in the preparation of Volume III, on *Noun Inflection*. With his able and vigorous co-operation it is now (in April, 1932) nearly completed, and we hope to issue it soon. Dr. Emeneau's name will appear, most deservedly, on its covers and title-page as co-author.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON





## ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

These are the same as those used in Volume I, with the addition of VV = VEDIC VARIANTS (VV I = the first volume, on The Verb). Most of them, it is believed, are self-explanatory. Vedic texts are referred to by the abbreviations used in the Vedic Concordance. *RVRep.* = Bloomfield's *Rigveda Repetitions*.

The asterisk \* is used to indicate a variant reading in one text when the mantra occurs in the same text with the reading for which this variant is a substitute, that is, it calls attention to the occurrence of both forms of the variation in the same text

The dagger † is used to call attention to a quotation which needs to be corrected in the Concordance.



## CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTORY

### PRINCIPLES OF PROCEDURE

§1. An examination of our materials shows that many, perhaps most, of the cases here treated under the general head of 'phonetic variations' are accompanied by, or result in, a lexical or morphological change at the same time. Thus, beginning with RV, the two words *vācam* and *vājam* interchange in:

*pra vācam* (9 35 4a *vājam*) *indur iṣyati* RV. 9. 12 6a, 35. 4a,  
'Soma sends forth speech (substance)' Obviously, there is here a change, involving a single sound, from one very familiar Vedic word to another equally familiar, the two having no etymological connexion whatsoever. Tho there is good reason to believe the reading *vācam* is the primary one (cf. *RVRep.* 410), the alteration makes good sense and is intentional. Yet when we find this same interchange occurring independently in a considerable number of cases, we cannot doubt that rime and phonetic confusion—both phenomena of sound, rather than sense—hold shares in the transaction, or, more precisely, constitute the prime motive in the shift.

§2. More purely phonetic, yet not devoid of lexical significance, is the following variation, which also involves interchange of *c* and *j*:

*prāñco agāma* (TA. *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *ṛtaye hasāya* RV. AV. TA.,  
'We have gone forward (swiftly) to dancing and mirth.' For some reason *prāñco*, surely intelligible and fit, has suggested to the Taittiriya the more sophisticated, or tenser, reading *pra* + *añjas* 'forward swiftly' (*añjas*, RV) The commentator's *prāñjah* = *prāñcah* is negligible, TA. must have been familiar with *añjas* in the sense of 'swiftly'.

§3. We find, however, a great many phonetic changes which carry a certain word or expression to the danger-line of unintelligibility, without necessarily reaching the point of senseless corruption. In these cases the secondary reading appears inappropriate to its context, or at least, its motive escapes our appreciation. And yet it would be dangerous to deny the resulting lexical change as a real fact of the tradition of a given school. The study of Vedic tradition must not be content with reconstructing or defining the original body of mantras, by detecting and recording secondary fancies, adaptations, and corruptions. These

secondary readings have their own right to exist, they are, as a rule, the genuine readings of their respective schools. It is our duty to sketch the development of the mantras in all the Vedic schools, assigning, where possible, causes for the changes, but rejecting no unexplained or apparently unmotivated change, however it may seem to conflict with what seems to us good mantra sense. Thus—

*ud usriyāh sṛjate* (TB *sacate*) *sūryah sacā* RV SV TB ,

'The sun sends forth (accompanies, attends) his ruddy rays all together' (The TB comm seems to come around tortuously to the sense of the other schools: *utsacata udgatatvena sambaddhān karoti prasārayatīty arthah* ) The TB reading is inappropriate, but neither the theory of a quasi-Prakritic substitution of *a* for *r*, nor that of interchange between surd and sonant (elsewhere a real phonetic change), alters the fact that the TB understood the word as a form of *sac*, and had lost sight of the root *sṛj*, whatever meaning it attached to *sac*. Note, in passing, that the TB reading results in a kind of alliteration, *sacate* . . *sacā*. Thus the phonetic considerations involved are complicated by the (at least possible) regressively assimilatory influence of the word *sacā* on the original *sṛjate*. Yet in its final outcome the change is lexical, tho unquestionably related to (and perhaps started by) faulty hearing of sounds. Cf. Winternitz in his edition of ApMB, Introduction, xv ff, and xxx.

§4. Clearly, then, such variants are of interest and importance for Vedic phonology. Concretely speaking. If we are collecting examples of the quasi-Prakritic shift of *r* to *a*, we shall, of course, begin with such a variant as this:

*ava sma durhanāyatalah* (SV. *durhṛn°*) RV SV.

Here the RV. has an obvious Prakritism which the SV 'corrects' by substituting the Sanskritic *durhṛn°*. This does not mean that the SV knows more Sanskrit than the RV; the RV. itself knows the stem *durhṛn-* (1. 84. 16; 7. 59. 8). It is, however, a purely phonetic variation. On the other hand, in the variant—

*etām samkṛṣya* (MS. MŚ *°kaṣya* or *°kuṣya*) *juhudhi* MS ApŚ. MŚ ,

who can decide definitely whether the *a* or *u* for *r* is purely phonetic (Prakritic), or lexical? Böhtlingk in fact assumes an improbable *samkuṣya* from the root *kuṣ*. Be this as it may, if we can discern in the Veda signs of a Prakritic change of *r* to *a*, then the substitution of *sacate* for *sṛjate*, lexically different tho the two words be, bears in some fashion and in some degree upon the matter of Vedic Prakritism. But it is impossible to draw a hard and fast line between purely phonetic and

lexical shifts Our detailed consideration of the variants tries to do this as far as possible, holding itself very free from imposing upon the materials personal theories and predilections.

§5. Our procedure has been to select all sound interchanges, which could possibly have phonetic interest, and then to gather all variants which show these sound interchanges, irrespective of the contributory influence of lexical and other moments At the same time we have borne in mind the greater interest and value which, for the purposes of this study, must attach to those variants which are purely phonetic—which show different phonetic forms of what must be regarded as lexically the same word By this procedure we are enabled to present here a new mass and a new class of materials for the study of Vedic phonetics, which are likely to become a permanent factor in future Vedic grammar

#### SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

§6. We begin with interchanges between voiced and voiceless consonants, quite numerous and often suggestive of Prakritic phonetics Next, interchanges between aspirates and non-aspirates, few and mostly lexical in character Then variations between aspirate stops and *h*, mostly concerning *h* and *bh*, and in fact mostly interchanges between *grāh* and *grāh*

§7. Next, interchanges in the articulation-series, numerous and extremely interesting The little section concerning palatals is important out of all proportion to its size (notably the quasi-Prakritic variations between *kṣ*, *iṣ*, *ps*, and *ch*). The numerous variations of labial stops with *m* and *v* are partly graphic (*b* and *v*, *p* and *v*), partly morphological (suffixes containing *m* and *v*), partly lexical, but to a large extent purely phonetic (especially in the variation between *b* and *v*, a very familiar phenomenon)

§8. The variations between semi-vowels and liquids differ widely from one another in character. Those between *y* and *r*, *l*, *h* are not many nor very significant Those between *y* and *v* are more numerous and to some extent quite curious, pointing to phonetic relations between these two sounds hitherto not sufficiently emphasized The tendency of the Taittiriya school to prefer *v* to *y* is paralleled by its preference in some cases of the vowel *u* to the vowel *i*. The only other important subdivisions of this section are the variants between *r* and *l* (numerous, and almost purely phonetic), and those between *d* and *l*, or *dh* and *lh* (numerous, but mainly a matter of cut-and-dried school usage).

§9. With the sibilants we find a very large number of variants between



and *ru(rū)* with *r* show Prakritic tendencies. Prakritism is, of course, concerned in the little group of variants between *aya* and *e*, and *ava* and *o*.

§14. Next comes a section on insertion or expulsion of vowels. Most commonly the vowel (generally *i*) is secondarily inserted, contrary to the meter, either before or after a liquid (anaptyxis); the insertion is especially common after *r* and before a sibilant or *h*. Only superficially do these cases resemble the next and last vocalic section, which concerns the writing of *iy* and *uv* for *y* and *v*, which is shown to be largely an attempt to represent in writing the vocalic pronunciation of *y* and *v* (as *i* and *u*).

§15. Leaving now the behavior of individual sounds, there is a considerable variety of phenomena which concern groups of sounds. We take up first metathesis of consonants (transposition of a single consonant without change of other sounds, interchange in position of two consonants, adjoining or not adjoining); then metathesis of vowel and adjoining semivowel. This is followed by an interesting group of variants concerning haplology and dittology.

§16. Next, a large section dealing with differences in the division of words, which may perhaps hardly be called strictly phonetic, but which are interesting and important because they show, more than possibly any other kind of interchange, the extent of the breakdown during Vedic tradition of both sense and sound values. The point is reinforced by a miscellaneous collection of 'patch-words', teaching the same general lesson.

§17. A class of rime-words also throws light on the methods of text tradition. On the slender basis of a vaguer kind of assonance, rather than of real phonetic interchange, words which are easily subject to association are substituted one for another. There is no rubric in which the details of causation can be watched and accounted for more profitably.

§18. Finally, a considerable number of variants may be based on graphic similarities. Doubtless a careful study of Indian paleography would suggest much more than we are able to state in this section. Our selections are of the more obvious and simple kind, they seem, however, to suggest the great age to which graphic corruptions in Vedic tradition may go back.

§19. The variants exclusively concerned with external sandhi in a narrow sense constitute the last chapter of this volume, a large and important one. A summary of its contents will be found in its introductory section.





*khañjāpo 'jopakāśinīh* ApMB · *bajābojopakāśinī* HG Uncertain, because the words concerned are barbarous and obscure.

§22. The variations between surd and sonant aspirates are both much fewer, and less certain in their relation to Prakritism; we may however quote two cases (see §§70, 76-7):

*mā nah kaścit prakhān* (ApŚ *praghān*) .. KS ApŚ  
*svāyām tanū* (ApMB † MG † *tanūn*) †*tiye* (RV. † *tiye*) *nādharmārām*  
 (ApMB *nā'ha°*, MG *bādha°*) RV. ApMB MG.

§23. Under aspirates and *h* occur a few forms which might be connected with the later Prakritic tendency to substitute *h* for aspirate mutes. Dialectic in a broad sense this change certainly is; but see Wackernagel I p. 252f., who holds that *h* regularly replaced *dh* and *bh* in the RV dialect after (or initially before) an unaccented vowel. Cf. Ascoli, KZ 17. 258ff :

*asamheyam* [perhaps for *asamhycyam?*] *parābhavan* JB. · *asambharyari* *parā°* AV. See §121.

*ardhrah śitakakṣī vārdhrāṇasas te dityāh* (KSA. *vārhināsas te 'dityāh*) TS KSA So the single ms of KSA ; v. Schroeder emends to *vārdhrī°*; the form with *h* for *dh* is otherwise unknown, but we should incline to keep the ms reading See §122

*kakubham* (VSK. TS ApŚ *kakuham*) *rūpam vṛṣabharya* (KS. *rūpam ṛṣa°*) *roale* ... VS VSK. TS MS. KS ŚB ApŚ. MŚ. The adjective *lakuḥā* (with regular *h* according to Wackernagel's law) occurs in RV, where *kakubha* is not known See §120.

§24. Under Palatals and Dentals (§§154-61, see especially 156, 159) are found some variations between *d* and *j* before *y*, with obvious Prakritic bearings; the second example we are about to quote shows an interesting hyper-Sanskritism in HG :

*sahasriyo dyotalām* (TS. TB. *ḍīpyatām*, MS *°riyo jyotalām*) . VS TS.  
 MS KS ŚB TB

*ava jyām va dhanwanah* AV. Vait ApMB : *ava dyām va dhanvānah* HG

§25. On Linguals and Dentals see our discussion below. §163:

*avalasya* (SV. *avalasya*) *visarjane* RV. SV. We believe (for reasons set forth §164) that *avata*, 'well', is a pure Prakritism, and that, on the evidence of the variants, Prakritic influence in this section of Vedic phonetics has not been sufficiently recognized heretofore

§26. The miscellaneous group of interchanges concerning palatals (Chapter V) contains a number of Prakritic phenomena (cf Wackernagel I §135) Thus there are the familiar but very interesting cases of *ch* for *kṣ*, *ts*, *ps* (§§183-6); in most of our variants lexical considerations enter in, but note the following

*achalābhāh* (KSA *acharā°*, MS. *atsarā°* in p p, in s p *matsarā°*, VS *rkṣalā°*) *kaptiṅgalān* VS TS MS KSA The same word appears as *ṛcharā* in AV 10 9 23 Either MS or VS (or both?) must have hyper-Sanskritic back-formations

§27. The following may be quoted as a probable example of dialectic *khy* for *ḷṣ* (§§190-1) Tho the Tait form is none too clear, it seems that the ŚŚ has a corruption of it

*idhmasyeva praśāyatah* (ŚŚ. *prakhya°*) TB TA ŚŚ. ApŚ

§28. There are a number of cases of mutual interchange between *j* and *γ* (§§192-3), mostly more or less justifiable lexically Cf Wackernagel I §§188b, 140b In the following example we have a proper name, and may infer that one or the other form is a dialectic corruption of its rival

*sauyāmim* (ŚG. *sauyāmim*, with both sc *tarpayām*) AG ŚG —Cf AV.

19 34 2a, *jāgrtsyas tripañcāśih* (mss, wrongly emended in edition), for which read *yāh* (or *yāś ca*) *krtyās*, or *yā grtsyas*, see Whitney's note to Transl, and our §192

§29. The interchange between *v* and *m* may be Prakritic, cf Wackernagel I p 197, it is fairly frequent (see particularly §§223-5) That between *b* and *v* (§§206-19) is certainly dialectic in a wide sense, whether properly Prakritic or not, cf Wackernagel I p 183f

*uc chvañcasva* (TA *chmañcasva*) *prīhvi mā n bādhatāh* (TA *v bādhatāh*) RV AV TA

*yatra bānāh* (VS *vānāh*) *sampatanti* RV SV VS TS AG Both *b* and *v* are found in the RV in this word, it is not known which is original.

§30. The thoro confusion of the sibilants in the Middle Indic dialects makes it plausible to suppose that the extensive confusion of them even in the Vedic texts is of like nature (cf Wackernagel I p 225f) A few examples out of many may be quoted here, for *ś* and *s* see especially §§274-9

*m srutayo* (AŚ *vsrutayo*, ŚŚ *visru°*) *yathā pathah* SV AŚ ŚŚ And other cases of *śru* for *sru* (so that BR even postulate a 'root' *śru*, 'flow') Here *s* is original and *ś* secondary The contrary is the case in the next

*sukeṣu me* (AV *sukeṣu te*) *harimānam* RV AV TB ApŚ

§31. Much less numerous are the variations between *ś* and *s*, yet they are not rare, and are to some extent at least purely phonetic (see §§288-90)

*nainad devā āpnuvan pūrvam arṣat* (VS *arṣat*) VS VSK IśāU. The proper form is *arṣat*, VS comm. *ṛśa gatau*

§32. There are very few variations between *s* and *ś* (§294):  
*ye vṛkṣeṣu* (KS. *raṇeṣu*) *laṣṭiñjarāḥ* (TS *saṣṭi*\*) VS TS. MS KS

Thought of the word *sasya* doubtless influenced TS, and cf *laṣṭa* for the other form (a kind of haplology in each case); see §278

§33. The later confusion between *lh* and *ś* (perhaps scarcely to be called 'Prakritic' in a strict sense; cf Wackernagel I p 136) finds surprisingly little representation here; in fact we have noted only one case, and that an uninterpretable word (§295):

*kaṣolkāya svāhā* TA TAA.: *lhaḥhalkāya svāhā* MahānU.

§34. There are however a couple of interesting cases of variation between *ś* and *lh*, which must be similar in character; see §296 below

§35. Under presence or 'absence of nasals and anusvara occur some variations which remind us of Pali-Prakrit *siha* for *siṇha* and the like, altho usually lexical considerations enter in (cf §300).

*pūṣṇe 'āghṛṇaye svāhā* TA *pūṣṇa āghṛṇaye* (em., mss *āpṛṇaye*) *sivāhā*

MS *āghṛṇi* is regular

§36. Under presence or absence of *y* we find some interesting cases which remind us of the wide-spread use of an unetymological *y* between two vowels as a 'hiatus-tidger' (§§338-44). To be sure, the forms are all grammatically or lexically diverse; but a similar phonetic tendency is surely present. It may be added that there are traces of a similar use of *v*, altho again the variant forms are lexically justifiable (§§358ff.)-  
*vaśvānaram ṛta ā* (TS. *ṛtāya*) *jālam agnim* RV. SV. VS TS MS. KS

PB ŚB. The secondary and not very intelligent reading of TS shows a tendency to avoid hiatus by use of the glide-sound *y*.

§37. In Pali and Prakrit we find rather free interchange between long or nasalised vowel plus single consonant and short vowel plus double consonant, without much regard for etymology. The conditions are best stated by Geiger, *Pālī* §§5, 6. Traces of a similar tendency may be detected among the variants (§§393-8), tho again complicated by other considerations

*agne samrād iṣe rūye* (ApŚ *rayyay*) . AŚ ApŚ : *iṣe rūye* . VS MS ŚB TB (See §396) While the two parallel stems *rai* and *rayi* are of course concerned here, the result resembles the Middle Indic phonetic change referred to

§38. There are also (§§406-16) traces of the Prakritic assimilation of two adjoining consonants, this is especially marked when one of the consonants is a semi-vowel or liquid, or (as in the following instance) the two are semi-vowel and liquid.

*abhanne khilye* (TB *khille*) *nidadhāt devayun* RV. AV TB This is a

purely phonetic, Prakritic variant, TB can mean nothing but an equivalent of *lhllye* (comm *lhlībhūle*).

§39. Of the vocalic sections, the first to claim attention here is that on the interchange of vocalic liquids and other vowels (§§629-45) The Prakritic nature of this change is obvious. These variants are quite numerous, and, especially between *r* and *a*, contain not a few genuine phonetic variations.

*ava sma durhanāyatah* (SV *durhryn*°) RV SV. The SV restores Sanskrit vocalism, as against the Prakritic form of RV

*tejo yaśasvi sthāvīram samiddham* (ŚG *samṛddham*) ŚG. PG ApMB HG Here ŚG alone has the 'correct' Sanskrit form, and even it has a v l *samiddham* (perhaps felt as 'inflamed', with *tejas*?)

*purandaro gotrabhū* (MS °*bhṛd*, TB *maghavān*) *vajrabāhuk* VS MS KS TB A hyper-Sanskritism in MS, see §636

*tvaṣṭrīmantas* (MS MŚ. *tvaṣṭri*°, ApŚ *tvaṣṭu*°) *tvā sapema* VS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

*samvatsara ṛtubhīh samvīdānah* (KS °*bhīś cākṣpānah*, ApŚ °*bhīś cākupānah*) MS KS ApŚ

§40. Various Prakrit dialects show occasional forms with *ri* or *ru* for Sanskrit *r*; and the modern vernacular pronunciation of Sanskrit *r* as *ri* or (e.g. Marāṭhī) *ru* should be remembered in this connexion. Among the variants *ru* for *r* shows a tendency to be associated with labial consonants Besides *tvaṣṭrīmantas* (*tvaṣṭri*°) etc., §39, we may quote from §§666-84

*irṣucyavaśo* (MS *irṣu*°) *juhvo nāgneh* RV MS The adverb *irṣu* is the only possible form here, the variant of MS is purely phonetic *bhṛmum* (TB *bhrumum*) *dhāmanto apa gā avṛnata* RV TB The mss of TB seem to be unanimous on *bhrumum*, an otherwise unknown form.

*pruṣvā āsrubhīh* VS. MS . *āsrubhīh pruṣvām* (TS *prṣ*°) TS KSA The form *pruṣvā* occurs a number of times in Tait texts; it may be called a hyper-Sanskritism for *pruṣvā*

§41. Coming next to the diphthongs, variations between long and short diphthongs (§§703-12, 728-32) naturally remind us of the fact that all long diphthongs are shortened in Middle Indic Among the clearest phonetic variants are

*avārāya kevarītam* VS *pāryāya kavartam* TB The usual form is *kai*° *sukurīrā svauṣā* VS TS KS ŚB *sukarīrā svopāśā* MS Several mss of MS and its p p read *svauṣā*

§42. The familiar Prakritic reduction of *aya* to *e* and *ava* to *o* is paralleled by our §§744-9, e.g.,

*namah kinsilāya ca lṣayanāya* (MS *lṣenāya*) *ca* VS TS MS KS.

*lṣena* is otherwise unknown.

*to-to* (MS. KS MŚ *tara-tara*, TS. ApŚ *to-to*) *rāyah* VS. TS. MS KS  
SB ApŚ. MŚ

§43. The insertion of an epenthetic vowel, generally *i*, between two consonants, usually a liquid and a sibilant or *h*, is likewise related to Prakrit phonetics (§§751-65):

*tan nah parṣad* (MS *pariṣad*) *atī dviṣah* TS MS. Cf Wackernagel  
I p 57

## CHAPTER II SURD AND SONANT MUTES

§44. These are treated in the following order *k* and *g*, *c* and *j*, *t* and *d*, *t* and *d*, *p* and *b*, *kh* and *gh*, *th* and *dh* (For *g* and *kh* see §82; *t* and *dh*, §97f.; *p* and *bh*, §§112-14) In general the purely phonetic variants are much rarer than those which involve lexical change They concern, too, for the most part rare words, so that it is often uncertain whether the voiced or voiceless sound is more original, unless the theory of Prakritic influence is sufficient to establish greater probability for the voiceless It does seem to be true that, especially under purely phonetic variations of *k* and *g*, there is a preponderance of the cases in which *k* appears to be original

### *k* and *g*

§45. We shall begin with the forms which clearly involve real lexical changes along with the phonetic changes, and first of all with cases where both readings make good sense In these the question of priority is often peculiarly delicate, both variants may be assumed to represent the conscious intentions of their schools-

*ahāham anukāminī* (MŚ °*gāminī*) TS ApŚ MŚ How near these expressions are to one another may be seen from AV 1 34 5cd, *yathā nām kāmīny aso yathā man nāpaḡā asah* Yet MŚ (all mss) is no doubt secondary

*grnatā nah svṛṣṭaye* AV *hṛnūtam nah svṛṣṭim* (MS KS °*taṃ*) VS TS MS KS 'Swg for us unto well-being', 'make well being for us' The meter of AV is easier, but the *āprī* hymn where it occurs is in a state of corruption so great (cf Bloomfield, *Aiharvaṇśa* 54, Keith, *HOS* 18 clx) as to throw doubt upon its version of this pāda, easier tho it be The word *grnatā* is preceded by *grnata* (other forms of *grn*° in the other Samhitās), this suggests that *grnatā* is a secondary corruption, due not wholly and perhaps not primarily to the tendency here considered

*mītrāvaruṇā śaradāhnām* (MS °*hnā*) *cikūtnū* (MS *cikūttam*, KS *jigatnū*, AŚ *cikūttam*) TS MS KS AŚ *cikūtnū* of TS (presumably 'intelligent' tho not quoted in the lexicons) and *jigatnū* of KS ('swift') are both reasonable See RV 7 65 1, where *jigatnu* is precisely an epithet of Mitra and Varuna (wrongly Oldenberg, *Noten* 2 50)

*namah kṛchrebhyah kṛchrapatibhyaś ca vo namah* MS KS · *namo gr̥tsebhyo gr̥tsapatibhyaś* . . . VS TS. See §185

*talo na vicikitsati* (VSK ĪśāU. *vjugupsate*) VS VSK ĪśāU.: *na tato vjugupsate* KŪ.: *na tadā vicikitsati* ŚB BrhU 'Then he no more doubts', or, 'then (therefrom) he does not shrink away' Two familiar verb-forms, both appropriate The Kāṇva recension of BrhU. has *jugupsate* Cf AV. 13 2 15b

*dhṛpsyam vā samcakara janebhych* MS : *yad vādāsyann samjagūrā janebhyah* TB.: *aditsan vā samjagara janebhyah* TA Cf *dāsyann adāsyann uta sam gr̥nāmi* (TA and AVPpp *uta iā lar.ṣyan*) AV. TA.: *adāsyann agna uta sam gr̥nāmi* AV In all these passages *sam-gr̥* seems to mean 'devour, eat', tho doubt has been cast on this interpretation (see Whitney on AV 6 71. 3 and 6. 119. 1) If 'devour' is right, *sam-cakara* 'collect' is secondary, tho in the outcome not very far from the original meaning

§46. We list next cases in which the priority of one reading is emphasized by the fact that the secondary form, tho correct enough considered as an individual entity out of its context, fits that context more or less poorly, so that the term corruption begins to be more or less applicable to it Here belong, first, several interchanges between the roots *kṛ* and *gam*.

*ukhām* (ApŚ *garbham*) *sravantīm agadām akarma* (KŚ. *aganma*) KŚ ApŚ. MŚ 'We have made the leaking *ukhā* diseaseless.' Tho *aganma* may serve at a pinch, *akarma* seems to be the true reading; see VV I p 211.

*urvīm gavyām pariśadam no akran* AV : *ūrvam gavyam pariśadanto agman* RV KS. The original RV, 'surrounding it they penetrated into the stable of the cows,' is done over in AV., 'they have made for us a wide conclave rich in kine' (Whitney).

*vadhūr jagāna* (AV. *jagāya*, MS KS *mimāya*) *navagaj* (ŚG. *navakṛj*) *janitṛ* AV. VŚ TS MS. KS ApMB ŚG See Whitney on AV.

3. 10 4 for a collection of Hindu guesses on the meaning of *navagaj*, the European guesses are scarcely better. ŚG. tries a sort of hyper-Sanskritism, rationalizing a tradition which it did not understand.

*imam loṣam* (TA *lokam*) *nīdadhan mo aham riṣam* RV AV. TA. 'Depositing this clod of earth, may I suffer no injury.' TA *lokam* (after *imam*, this follows so naturally!) makes no sense here The comm in fact interprets it as *loṣtam* (= *loṣam*), etymologizing monstrously (*lokyate dṛśyate iti loko loṣtah*) Some mss and the comm of AV read like TA, however



*pary āgāram* (AŚ *āhāram*) *puna:-punah* AV. AŚ ŚŚ Only *āgāram* makes sense; something (a drum?) is being beaten 'about the house', not 'about the form' The preceding (in AV, preceding but one) *pāda* is *yadi* (*yadīm*, *lelm*) *hanat katham hanat*

*indrāpāsya phalagam* ApMB *indrāyāśya śephām alīlam* .HG  
The correct reading is certainly *phalagam*

*mano jagāma dūrakam* (PB *dūragāh*) RV. PB The latter is a far-reaching recast of RV, where *dūrakam* belongs with *manas*, *dūragāh* (in itself a perfectly good word) can only be construed by violently detaching it to go with the subject of the next *pāda* *tan ma āvartayā punah* This, according to the PB comm., who so construes, is Soma (whom the epithet *dūragāh* does not fit at all) *rājānah satyam kṛnvnāh* (AV *grhnāh*, but Ppp *kṛnvāno*) RV AV Whitney, who renders 'apprehending truth', notes that the other reading is better

*tasya rathagrtsaś* (MS *\*kṛtsnaś*, KS *\*kṛtsaś*) *ca rathaujās ca senānigrāmanyau* (TS *senānt*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The word *ratha*° is a proper name, 'chariot-clever', *\*kṛtsa* is probably a corruption of the first stage, leading over to *\*kṛtsna*, which does not fit

*abhūr grṣṭinām* (AV *\*v āpinām* mss, R-Wh *vaśānām*, false emendation withdrawn by Whitney ad loc, ApMB and one ms of HG. *āpinām*, HG. *āpinām*) *abhiśastipā u* (HG ApMB *\*pāvā*) AV. (bis) HG ApMB *bhāvā kṛṣṭinām* (AV *gr*°, but Ppp *kṛ*°) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV *\*pā u*) AV PG. ApMB HG See Whitney on AV 19 24 5, Roth, ZDMG 48 110 The word must mean 'people'; 'heifers' is nonsense (see Sāyana's ludicrous attempt to justify it).

*prānān samkrośaṁ* MS *samkrośān prānaṁ* (VS *\*krośaṁ prānān*) VS TS *samghośān* (ms *\*gośān*) *prānaṁ* KSA Here what was originally probably a mere corruption in KSA (ś for ś, loss of r) becomes, if we accept the emendation, a lexical variant

§47. We come now to cases where the new reading produces a word or combination of words which seem to defy interpretation At the same time the putatively original forms are themselves apt to be not above suspicion The cases concern great textual decay, and belong largely to the Yajurveda schools.

*nikīrya tubhyam abhya āsam* Vait *nikīrya tubhyam madhye* ApŚ *niḡīrya tubhyam madhvah* MŚ *niḡīrya sarvā ādhīh* KŚ The passages are unintelligible, *kṛ*, 'scatter', does not seem to be recorded in composition with *nṛ*, which points, perhaps, to *niḡīrya* 'swallowing down' (note *madhvah* in MŚ)

*lena samhanu kṛnmasi* AV.: *lena sann anugrhnāsi* HG The meaning of AV. is uncertain (perhaps corrupt, see Whitney's note). The individually irreproachable words of HG mouth over an uncomprehended text. Cf. §386

*arepasah sacelasaḥ* (etc) *svasare manyumattamāś* (SV. ApŚ. °*mantas*) *cāc goh* (SV. *citā goh*, ApŚ. *cīdākoh*) SV. AV. ApŚ. MŚ. *cīdākoh*, with metathesis of voice-quality, as if from a stem \**cīdāku*, is corrupt *sakma yat te goh* MS KS.. *sagme* (TS *samyat*) *te goh* VS TS. ŚB 'What power of (over) the cow is thine', MS. KS, perhaps correctly and originally. In VS ŚB. *sagme* looks indeed like a Prakritism for *śakma* But on account of the different cases it is doubtful whether it is felt as having the same meaning (cf however the adjective *śagma*, from root *śak*) It seems, rather, vaguely connected with *sa* and the root *gam* VS comm, followed by Griffith, *sagme yajamāne* (!), *goh gauh* (very simple!). BR read in TS. *sampdīte* with one ms (p p. *samyāt*, *te*), but the comm, followed by Weber, Ist 13 197, takes *samyāt* as =*samyak*. So also Keith ('to match thy cow'). BR regard *sampdīte* as =*sagme*, both meaning 'Einswerden im Handel'; they render 'wenn du auf eine Kuh eingehst' They therefore derive *sagma* from *sa* and *gam*.

*rudra yat te krayi* (VS KS. *krivi*, VSK. *kravi*, MS MŚ *giri*-) *param nāma tasmai* (VS. MS. ŚB. *tasmin*) *hulam asi* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ. These various names of Rudra are all equally unintelligible The reading *giri*- is especially sophisticated, having in mind Rudra's mountain habitat

*idam aham sarpāṇām dandaśūlānām grīvā upa grathnāmi* (MŚ mss *kṛtsnāmi*; Knauer conjectures *kṛnatmi*) TS ApŚ MŚ. 'I now tie up the necks of the stinging serpents' But *kṛtsnāmi* is not *kṛnatmi*, and the MŚ. may have merely a corruption of TS., in spite of Knauer's belief that the mantra was not taken from TS Somewhat the reverse of this is found in *pumān enam* etc, §48

Cf. also *jāgrtsyas tripañcāśih* etc., §192.

§48. In the remaining cases the possibility of real lexical change becomes fainter. We believe that we are now dealing with what are essentially nothing but phonetic shifts, if not pure corruptions:

*invakā* (MS. °*gā*) *nakṣatram* MS KS. This name for the constellation Mrgaśīrṣa is recorded in its *g* form only here, and in its *k* form according to BR. (V. 1144) only once more (TB. 1. 5 1. 1). The priority of *invaka*, 'pervading', is hardly to be questioned, but MS. may have felt the word as a compound of *inva* plus *ga*, *gā*.

*sū prasūr* (ŚG *suprasūr*) *dhenulā* (HG °*gā*) *bhava* AV. ŚG HG ApMB  
*dhenulā* is a pet-word to *dhenu* 'milk cow'. In *dhenugā* there  
 may be a touch of popular etymology, a hint of the stem *go*, 'cow',  
 but the form is essentially Prakritic

*āsuh kāṣṭhām wāśaran* (read °*ram* with comm, Ppp, Whitney, and  
 Bloomfield) AV. 2 14 5b All mss *gāṣṭhām*, *kā°* is emendation  
 Ppp also (ms) *gā°* (em Barret, JAOS 30 193. *kā°*), comm *glāṣṭhām*  
*pīlah* (KSA *piṅgah*) *ḷṣvīṇkā nīlāśīrṣṇī te 'ryamne* (KSA °*mṇah*) TS  
 KSA The word is always *pīla*, except here.

*sṛlāhastā* (TS KS *sṛlāvanto*, MS *sṛgavanto*, one ms *sṛlā°*) *nṣaṇṇiṇah*  
 VS TS MS KS The stem concerned is always *sṛlā* 'spear',  
 except in this and the following passage, and in a lexical quotation,  
 perhaps based on these readings

*namah sṛkāyibhyo* (TS *sṛkāyibhyo*, MS *sṛgāyibhyo*) *yīghāṇṣadbhyaḥ*  
 VS TS MS. KS See preceding

*vīnāganakīno* (ŚB °*gīno*) *devair imam yajamānam samgāyata* ŚB ApŚ  
 Also: *vīnāganakīnah pūrvāḥ saha sukrdbhī rājabhīr imam yaja-*  
*mānam samgāyata* ApŚ *vīnāganakīnah purānair imam yajamānam*  
*rājabhīḥ sādhuḥkrdbhīḥ samgāyata* ŚB Cf further KŚ 20 3 2  
 Altho the compound *vīnā°* does not occur outside these passages,  
 its meaning is plain ('master of a band of lute-players'), and it  
 seems that it must contain *-ganaka*, with suffixal *ka*. Perhaps  
 the *g* is due to assimilation to the preceding *g*, or to sophistication  
 from the root *gā*, 'sing' (so comm on ŚB and KŚ, both of which  
 implausibly understand *vīnā-gaṇa* as meaning 'a quantity of  
 [various kinds of] lutes'), cf Conc under *gāyatam*.

*puṇjikasthalā* (KS † *puṇjiga°*) *ca kṛtasthalā* (VS ŚB *kratu°*) *cāpasarasau*  
 VS TS MS. KS. ŚB This name of an Apsaras appears in later  
 literature, always with *k*

*pumān enam tanuta ut kṛnatti* RV. *pumān enad vayatī ud grṇatti* AV.  
 See Whitney's note on AV 10 7 43. *grṇatti* is doubtless a mere  
 corruption, promoted by confusion with the root *grath*, *granth* 'tie',  
 which with *ud* is nearly synonymous with *ut-kṛt*. More or less the  
 reverse of this shift is found above, §47, *īdam aham* etc

§49. In the following variants there is for the most part little evidence  
 to support the greater originality of either *k* or *g*, the words are almost  
 or quite ἀπαξ λεγόμενα

*vīryam kuhābhyām* (KSA *gu°*) TS KSA. A part of the horse's body  
 For *ku°* the TS comm says, *hastayor madhyasamdhī* (cf *viṣu-kuḥ*)  
 The other form suggests perhaps *guhya*, 'pudenda'. Neither is  
 recorded lexically.

- pratukramanam kuṣṭhābhyaṃ* (KS. *gu*<sup>o</sup>) TS KSA.: *ākramanam ku*<sup>o</sup> MS  
Both otherwise unknown; like the preceding they designate a part  
of the horse's body. Bhāskara, *haṣṭāparārdhamani*, Keith, 'the  
two centres of the loins'. Cf. *kuṣṭhikā*, 'dew-claw, spur', etc
- agne lahya* MS KS. MŚ (*agne*) *gahya* TS Neither in lexs, and  
neither interpretable Keith, not plausibly, 'abysmal' (thinking  
of *gāhya*)
- salilah saligah sagaras te na ādityā haṛiṣo juṣānā vyantu svāhā* MS KS :  
*lelah salekah sulekas te na ādityā ājyam juṣānā vyantu* TS ApŚ  
All isolated and uninterpretable.
- grāmyamañkīradāsakau* ApŚ · *grāmyam mañgīradāsakau* MŚ : *vyāgh-*  
*ram mañgīradāsa gauh* Vait In Vait read *mañgīradāsagau*, or  
possibly with Caland, *°dāsakau* Two proper names, Mañgīra or  
Mañkīra, and Dāsaka (or Dās<sup>o</sup>), are involved
- namo vah kīrkebhya* (MS MŚ *namo girikebhya*) *devānām hṛdayebhyaḥ*  
VS TS. MS KS ŚB. MŚ In such a formula, of the Śatarudrīya,  
either epithet remains doubtful, tho *gīrīka*, of course, suggests  
'mountain-born' like *gīrīśa* etc The possibility of different lexical  
interpretations may be admitted, but the variation is probably  
purely phonetic
- uruka urukasya* (ApŚ. *uruga* 1 *ugasya*) *te vācā vayam sam bhaktena*  
*gamemahi* (MS *°mahy agne gṛhapate*) MS ApŚ. Neither form is in  
the lexs; *uruga* may be felt as *uru-ga*, 'wide-going' (so Caland).  
Is *uruka* some bird of good omen?
- vi te bhinaḍmi takarīm* (KS *°rim*, AVPpp [Rcṭh] *tagarīm*, AV. *mehanam*)  
AV TS KS. ApŚ There is no evidence as to the meaning of  
*takarī* (*°ri*, *tag*<sup>o</sup>) except the context and the variant *mehanam*;  
and none whatever as to its derivation or original form.

### c and j

§50. Prakṛitic interchanges between the two sounds go in both  
directions (Pischel, §202) This of itself makes difficult the appraisal  
of their phonetic aspect in the variants Moreover all variations  
produce passably good words of different origin or etymology, so that  
priority must be determined by sense, or by the established superiority  
of one or the other text We are unable to discover anything like a  
concerted movement, either from *c* to *j* or vice versa But on the  
whole we have the impression that the main current is from *c* to *j*, and  
that it is Prakṛitic in character (*prāñjo* from *prāñco*, *ud-aḥ* from *ud-ac*).

§51. Most notable and extensive is the riming interchange between

the forms *vācam* and *vājam*. Tho not synonyms, they are both familiar in ritualistic language as words of good and useful meaning. Their interchange begins in the RV itself.

*pra vācam (vājam) indur iśyati* RV (both).

Here there seems reason to regard *vācam* as prior, see *RVRep* 410. In the next following cases *vācam* is also original.

*vācaspatir no adya vājam svadatu* VSK *vācaspatir vācam* (VS \*† 9 1, ŚB \*† 5 1 1 16 *vājam*) *nah svadatu* VS KS ŚB SMB. *vācaspatir vācam adya svadāti* (MS °tu) *nah* (TB *te*, Poona ed *nah*) TS MS KS TB. The word *vācaspatir*, with the preponderance of texts, shows that *vājam* is secondary.

*pavitravantah pari vācam* (TA *vājam*) *āsate* RV. TA N. The older *vācam* refers either to the sound of the soma-drops (Grassmann) or to the hymns of the officiating priests (Ludwig).

*premām vājam vājasāte avantu* AV *premām vācam vīśvām avantu vīśve* TS MS KS. In all texts the preceding pāda reads *marutām manve adhi no* (AV *me*) *bruvantu*. The Maruts seem here to be regarded as singing priests (RV 3 14 1, 5 29, 3, 10 78, 1), who may well help the *vāc* of human priests. AV is a banal recast.

*vācam asme nī yacha devāyuvam* VS ŚB *vājam asmin nī dhehi devāyuvam* MS. *tapojām vācam asme nī yacha devāyuvam* TA. In MS a specious lectio facilior, *tapojām* in TA, as well as the *vip-rānām devayā vācas* of RV. 5 76 1, prove that the other texts are right.

§52. In the remaining cases it seems likely that *vājam* is the original word.

*sā dīkṣitā sanavo vājam asme* (MŚ *vācam asmāt*) TS MŚ *sā samnaddhā sanuḥi vājam emam* (MG *sunuḥi bhāgadheyam*) AV † MG 'Do thou (O woman), consecrated, win strength (holy speech) for him (from (this)), or the like. *bhāgadheyam* is a sort of synonym of *vājam*. In MŚ *asmāt* refers to the girdle with which the Prati-prasthātṛ binds the woman as he recites this verse (*iti pratiprasthātā yoktrena patnīm samnāhyati*), *vācam* is simple but secondary.

*indram vājam vī mucyadhvam* TS KS TB. *indrāya vācam vī mucyadhvam* MS MŚ. The verb on which the first two words of this quasi-pāda depend is *ajījapata*, cf. *ajījapatendram vājam* VS ŚB. As the interested person is a king, *vājam* is clearly required, *vācam*, 'prayer' or 'Sarasvatī', is far-fetched. Cf. *vājajic* and *vājajityāyati*. in Conc.

*asredhanta itana vājam aha* RV *adrogdhāvitā vācam aha* AV. The

poor meter and general corruption of AV. (in which RV. 3 14 6 is somehow involved) make it unintelligible, see Whitney's note. The *vācam* would fit fairly well, RV is original at all points.

Analogous to these is one variant between *vacasā* and *oṣasā*,  
*sam eta viśvā* (AV † *viśve*) *vacasā* (SV *oṣasā*) *patim divah* AV SV — Ppp  
 evidently means to read *oṣasā*, its text, as quoted by Roth, has  
*viśvā oham ā*. This supports SV, tho the otherwise corrupt Śauna-  
 kiya text makes as good sense as its rivals 'Go all together to the  
 lord of heaven (the sun) mightily (with prayer).' See, however,  
 above under *vācam asme*. §51

§53. There are next a pair of riming variants in which *ud-ac*, 'draw out' ('schöpfen', of liquids) seems to vary with *ud-aj*. This is the nearest approach to purely phonetic or Prakritic change, tho *ud-aj* may at a pinch be a fairly good synonym 'drive out' in the sense of 'obtain, acquire'. Thus in RV 1 95 7 *uc chukram atham ajale simasmāt*, which we take with Geldner, *Ved Stud* 2 189, to mean 'he draws out (derives) from himself a bright garment'. Otherwise *ud-aj* is the favorite word for driving cattle (often mythical) from their stable, which comes metaphorically even closer to *ud-ac*.

*aviraghnir ud aṇantv* (ApMB *acantv*) *āpah* AV. ApMB 'Let them draw forth waters that slay not heroic sons'; cf. *vyukṣat krūram ud acantv āpah* ApMB 1. 1. 7. Weber, *Ind St* 5 198, and Whitney on AV. 14. 1 39 go the length of emending *aṇantv* to *acantv*, which is doubtful practice (cf §3). But probably the mantra was first composed with *acantv*, despite RV 1 95 7 above.

*samudrād udajanī vah* (ApŚ *udacann īva*) *srucā* MS ApŚ. Here MS is probably secondary or corrupt, but possibly understands a form of root *jan*, 'was born out of the ocean'.

§54. There are two cases in which derivatives of roots *can* and *jan* vary, it seems that they divide the honors of originality.

*caniṣṭhad* (SV *ja*\*) *agne aṅgirah* RV SV. Little can be done with the anomalous *caniṣṭhad* (Whitney, *Grammar*, §906b, Oldenberg, *Noten*, on 8 74 11); less with *janīṣṭhad*, tho the ideas of either 'giving delight' or 'arousing' are well enough.

*sāvitro 'sī canodhāh* (MS *janadhāyāh*) VS MS ŚB. Cf. *tulho 'sī janadhāyāh* (PB °*yah*) MS KS. PB. MŚ : *stuto 'sī janadhāh* TB ApŚ 'Thou art Savitar's joy-giver (creature-nourisher)'. The preponderance of texts favors *jana-*; there is no other criterion; both are reasonable enough.

§55. In two other individual cases the change is clearly from *c* to *j*, tho in both the forms with *j* are tolerably defensible.

*prāñco agāma* (TA. *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛīaye hasāya* RV AV. TA See §2  
*devebhyas tvā devāyuvam* (KS *devāyuvam*) *prnacmi* (so MS by emendation,  
 mss mostly *prnaymi* ApŚ *prnaymi*) *yajñasyāyuse* MS KS ApŚ  
 MŚ *prnaymi* (all mss of ApŚ) is supported by Dhātup and by  
*anavapṛgna* RV 1 152 4, which is placed by Wackernagel I p 117  
 and doubtfully by Whitney (Roots) under *prc* See however  
 Scheftelowitz, *IF* 33 136, and Neisser, *ZWbch d RV* 1 33 (root  
 \**parzg*) But the matter is uncertain, the forms with *g, j* may be  
 based on root *prc*, and due to proportional analogy with other  
 7th-class roots in *j*, which have *k* by internal sandhi in certain  
 forms (e.g. *bhanakti bhagna bhanaḥmi* = *prnakti prgna prnaymi*)  
 —In this connexion also

*upa mā jakṣur* (!) *upa mā manīṣā* KŚ 13 2 19, where *jakṣur* is either  
 misprint or Prakritic anomaly for *cakṣur*

§56. In several cases the variation between *c* and *j* is in the redupli-  
 cation of roots in *k* and *g*, which latter it really concerns, see §45  
*mūlāvarunā śaradāhnām* (MS \**hnā*) *cikītnū* (MS *cikittam*, KS *jigatnū*,  
 AŚ *cikittam*) TS MS KS AŚ

*talo na vicikītsati* (*vijugupsate*), etc  
*dhiṣyam vā samcakara janebhyah*, etc

§57. The remaining cases are miscellaneous  
*somah sutaḥ pūyate aḥyamānah* (SV *suta ṛcyate pūyamānah*) RV SV  
 Here the original form of root *aḥ* (*añj*), 'adorn', is replaced in SV  
 by *ṛc*, 'praise', a lexical change with hyper-Sanskritic tendency  
*tve kratum api vṛñjanti viśve* (AV \**prñcanti bhūri*) RV AV (both) SV  
 TS AA ApŚ MŚ 'In thee they all set (mingle) their mind' The  
 combination *api aprāk* once more AV 10 4 26, and nowhere else  
 For *api varj* (original) see Bloomfield, *JAOS* 35 281

*agne vyacasva* (RV MS *yajasva*) *rodasī urūcī* RV AV MS 'O Agni,  
 make sacrifice to (embrace) the wide heaven and earth' AV  
 has a contaminated lectio facilior, cf RV 10 111 2 *mahānti cit*  
*sam vivyācā rajānsi*, and the converse, RV 8 12 24, *na yam vivikto*  
*rodasī*; or 10 112 4, *yasya mahimānam ime mahī rodasī*  
*nāvivikṭām*

*divas* (SV *divah*) *prṣtham adhi tṛṣṭhanī cetasā* (SV † *rohanī tejasā*) RV.  
 SV. With metathesis of *c(j)* and *t*

*ud usriyāh srjate* (TB *sacate*) *sūryah sacā* RV SV TB See §3  
*anāhanasyam vasanam carīṣnu* (ApMB HG *ja°*, PG *jarīṣnuh*) ŚG  
 PG ApMB HG As an epithet of a garment, *jarīṣnu* would mean  
 possibly 'much worn' or the like, as an epithet of the subject,

*aham* (PG), possibly 'attaining or destined for old age'. To us (contrary to the opinions of Kirste and Oldenberg on HG) *ja*<sup>o</sup> seems, with the majority of the texts, the original reading, rather than ŚG *carīṣṇu* (Oldenberg, 'wallend')

*jāmim* (KS † *camī*) *mā hīnsīr amuyā* (MŚ *anu yā*) *śayānā* KS. TB ApŚ MŚ · *mā jāmim maṣīr amuyā śayānām* AV —The KS reading (of a single ms) should certainly be corrected to *jāmim*

*gharmas trīṣug vi rājati* (ŚŚ *rocate*) VS ŚB ŚŚ Hardly belongs here, *rocate* is a perfect synonym of *rājati*.

*yuktās tīro vimṛjah* (comm *vibhṛjah*) *sūryasya* PB : *yunaḥmi tīro viprcāh sūryasya te* (MŚ *vīrtah sūryah save* [or, *savah*]) TS ApŚ MŚ In PB the comm has two equally fatuous guesses on *vibhṛjah* 'dividers' (of the sun) But there is little more sense in *viprcāh*, apparently 'separators' (of the sun); it seems to be applied collectively to *pṛthivī*, *vāyu*, and *vāc* It can hardly mean 'separate, distinct' as BR take it Keith, doubtfully, 'spaces', Caland and Henry, *Agniṣṭoma*, 128, equally doubtfully, 'épouses'

*girā ca* (AV *virājah*) *śruṣṭih sabharā asan nah* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB The AV reading shows far-reaching adaptation to a secondary purpose, as it seems also to include with most of SPP's mss (and his oral reciters) and the comm *śnuṣṭih* for *śru*<sup>o</sup> Whitney adopts *śnu*<sup>o</sup>, which Ppp. also intends with its *sunīṣṭas* (Barret, *JAOS* 30 207) See §865

*purā jatrubhya* (TA ApMB *jartṛbhya*, MS *caṭṛbhya*, p p *vaṭṛbhya*) *ātṛdah* (MS °*da*) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB The original is obscure enough, but MS is hopelessly corrupt and unintelligible Note its loss of final *h* (§384)

*t* and *d*

§58. We have found practically no variants here; the one recorded involves plausible but secondary change from 1st to 3d person in a verb form (VV I p 217).

*visūvasam namasā gīrbhīr īde* (ApMB *ītte*) RV ApMB

*t* and *d*

§59. Here we find, first, a number of cases in which *d* is substituted for *t* as what seems to be a purely phonetic, Prakritic change, real lexical difference being scarcely, or only in a very strained way, conceivable:

*citrā etagvā* (TB *eda*<sup>o</sup>) *anumādyāsah* RV MS TB The comm on TB



- ignores the word. The etymology of *etapa* (AJP 17. 426) furnishes no opportunity for the change.
- pārātataḥnīm* (TB °*daḥnīm*) *atāre suplabhah* RV MS KS TB N *pārātataḥnīm* (sc *śarātātīm*), either 'slaying the distant (enemy)', or 'slaying from a distance' TB comm has a labored and worthless explanation. If the text had anything in mind it must have analyzed *pāra* + *atadaḥnīm*, root *daḥ*, 'something like 'reaching across' (*pāra*, 'further bank').
- sa im pāhu va gṛīṇi tarudrah* (VaradapU *tarudrah*) RV AB GB TB. NṛpU VaradapU Perhaps vague popular etymology in *tarudrah*, as if 'tree-cleaving'.
- ime 'rāt-sur ime subhūtam* (MŚ *sūdam*) *al ran* TB ApŚ MŚ. The latter (quoted by Knauer from an unpublished part of the text) evidently intends *subhūdam*, for *subhūtam*, since it is followed immediately by
- ima udrāsīl ārina* (MŚ *imā uddhāsīcārīna*) *ime durbhūtam* (MŚ °*dam*) *al ran* TB ApŚ MŚ Cf prec
- agotām anapalyatām* (vulgate with most mss *anapadyatām*) AV 4 17 6b Some mss and the comm read *anapalyatām*, which must be intended, as guaranteed by its juxtaposition with *agotām* Cf RV 3 54 18 *yuyota no anapalyāni . paśumān astu gātuh*.
- yadā rākhātayau vadatah* ApŚ *yadā rāghaṣi taradaha* Vait . *yad adyā-rādhyam vadantah* MŚ See §§70, 272a Vait is thoroly Prakritic §60. In the next following cases lexical considerations enter more forcibly, yet the change continues to be from primary *t* to secondary *d*.
- īayam hi vām purulamāso* (AV. °*dam*°) *aśvinā* AV AŚ ŚŚ. Is the epithet (here applied to the poets, *lāru*, but in juxtaposition to the word *aśvinā*) a bungled reminiscence of its application to the Aśvins in RV 7 73 1 (*purudansā purulamā*) ? Roth, ZDMG. 48 107, and Whitney on AV. 7 73 1, consider the AV form, 'having many houses', corrupt
- mā me hārdi dvīṣā* (MŚ. *hārdim dvīṣā*) *radhīh* TS MŚ A replica of RV 8 79 8c *mā no hārdi* etc, *dvīṣā* is lect fac
- sato iah pīlaro deśma* VS *sado* etc ApŚ SMB GG In VS 'of what is ours, O Fathers, we will give to you' The others with lect fac, 'a seat, O Fathers' etc, this is facilitated by the quasi-synonym *grha* in the preceding *pāda* *grhān nah pīlaro datta*. Cf the next
- mukham sad asya śira it salena* (TB *sadēna*) VS MS KS TB The texts all intend *sad asya* (so MS p p and VS comm), TB comm apparently reads *sam asya* VS comm. takes *salena* from a stem

*sata*, said to be a sacrificial implement, and says that the stem *sat* (in *sad*) = *sata*, 'chāndasah'. TB *sadena*, taken by its comm. to mean 'scat', may be a sort of phonetic perseverance, matching *sad-asya* Cf. *prec*

*śivā rutasya* (VSK *śiva ṛtasya*, TS and v.l. of MS. *śivā rudrasya*) *bheṣajī* (MS °*jā*) VS. VSK. TS MS KS. See §684.

*gāva upāvatāvalam* (SV. *upa vadāvaḥ*) RV. SV. VS. In SV. a form of *upa-vad*; in the others, of *upa-av*. SV. is uninterpretable; its verb is singular, but the subject can only be *gāva*.

*svasāra āpo abhi gā ulāsaran* (SV. *udāsaran*) RV. SV. In SV. a form of *ud-ā-sr* (quotable nowhere else) is substituted for the original, *ula+asaran*.

*ya ātrnatty* (ViDh *ātrnoty*, SamhitopB. *ātrnoty*) *avitathena* (VāDh. *avidathena*) karnau SamhitopB VāDh. ViDh. N. *avidathena* can at a pinch mean 'unsacrificial' or 'not according to rule', but the use of the hieratic *vidatha* is very questionable at this stage The reading is simply Prakritic or corrupt.

*yathāpah pravatā yanti* TA. TU. Kauś : *yathā yanti prapadah* SMB. The latter is secondary; Jorgensen, 'wie die Wege gehen'. In his note he suggests *pratipadah*, which is not enticing in view of the variant.

*agne tām vettha yadī te jātavedah* HG. ApMB. *tvam vettha yatī te jāta-vedah* RV VS *yadī*, 'if', is lect *fac*.

*ā vatso jagatā* (AG *jāyatām*, PG *jagadāḥ*) *saha* AV. AG PG. ApMB. HG. MG. *jagadāḥ* (comm 'guards', *anugai rakṣakāḥ*) is certainly poor and secondary. The comm. however is probably right in his interpretation, as the next variant interestingly shows:

*īśānāḥ jagadāḥ saha* PG : *īśāno jagatas patih* AV. TS KS ApMB. The context is different; the two pādas are hardly variants of each other. PG comm *jagadāḥ*, *anucarāḥ* Cf. *prec*.

*hivā na ārjam pra patāt patisthah* (AV *prapadāt pathisthah*) RV. AV. MG In RV., 'leaving us food may it fly forth, most swift-flying' AV, doubtless intentionally, 'leaving us food, may it set out, being on the road', which seems to make possible sense, tho it is secondary (Whitney, however, abandons it and translates the RV. version).

*vanā vanantī dhṛṣatā* (MŚ mss °*dā*; one, *dhṛṣadā*) *rujantah* RV. TS JB. ŚB MŚ The corruption of MŚ mss is due to thought of *dhṛṣad*, 'mill-stone'. RV 8. 49 (Vāl 1) 4 may have *dhṛṣat* in this sense.

But see Oldenberg, *Noten*, on this passage

*amoci* (AV. *amukthā*) *yakṣmād duritād avartiyā* (AV. *avadyāt*) AV TB ApMB *avartī* 'distress' seems likely to be original

*ā sutrāvne* (MS KS *bhūyṣṭhadāvne*) *sumatim āvṛnānah* AV MS KS  
*oṣṣṭhadāvne sumatim grṇnāh* TS See §355

In a couple of cases involving adverbs in *d* and *t* the *t* seems older, they are grouped below, §68, with similar cases in which *d* is older

§61. In the next group we find different division of the words, but the change is still from *t* to *d* (cf §65)

*pathā madhumatā bharan* (MS *madhumad ābharan*) VS MS TB  
 Either reading is interpretable, in VS TB *madhu*<sup>o</sup> goes with *pathā*, in MS with the object of *ābharan* We judge that the former is probably original, cf RV 10 24 6 *madhuman me parāyanam madhumat punar āyanam*

*yena bhūyaś carāty* (MG *caraty*) *ayām* (AG *ca rātryām*) AG ApMB  
 MG *yena bhūriś carā dvam* PG The original form is that of ApMB MG, of which AG is a corruption PG changes the verb from 3d to 2d person, *carās* (VV I p 235), this is connected with the further change that introduces *dvam*

*tvam no devatālaye* (AV *deva dātave*) RV AV SV —Ppp reads *devatālaye*, indicating that AV (Ś) is secondary It makes, however, a sort of crude sense 'do thou, O god, (stir) us (up) unto giving'

*arepasah sacetasah cīte goh* (*cūtā goh, cidākoh*), see §47 Note the metathesis of surd and sonant qualities in the two consonants (*t-g, d-h*)

*jivann eva prah̄ tat te* (so Jorgensen for SMB, v 1 *prah̄datte*) *dadhām* (SMB *dadām*) TA SMB † *jivann eva prah̄datte dadām* MŚ.

The latter is corrupt

§62 The cases in which the change is, certainly or presumably, from *d* to *t* do not impress one so much with the presence of a purely phonetic movement They consist either of downright blunders, or of variations in which either reading makes fair sense but the *t* forms represent a later or easier reading Thus in the first case the *t* is a palpable blunder that turns an impeccable passage into a group of unintelligible syllables *ahā neta* (GB *netar a-*, ŚŚ *ahād eta*) *sann avcetanāni* AV AB GB ŚŚ *ahā ned asann apurogavāni* (so divide) JB —This is followed by

*yajñā* (JB Caland, *yajñā*) *netā sann apurogavāsah* (JB Caland, *avcetanāsah*) AV AB GB JB *yajñād eta sann apurogavāsah* ŚŚ Gaastra reads GB as *yajñā netā asann apuro*<sup>o</sup>, and so in the prece, read in GB *netar asann* Weber, *Ind St* 9 306, suggests correctly *ned asann* for AV etc The true form of the two pādas is *ahā ned asann av*<sup>o</sup>, *yajñā ned asann apuro*<sup>o</sup>, 'lest the days be without distinction, lest the sacrifices be without a leader' So

Caland, ZDMG 72 24f., who quotes JB. as reading thus, except for the interchange of the two adjectives. AV and ŚŚ are hopeless, but GB (as read by Gaastra) makes possible sense

§63. But in other cases, as indeed in one secondary form of the preceding (that of GB), either reading makes reasonable sense, tho for various reasons we believe that the *d* is older.

*pari doṣād udarpiṭah* KŚ : *parītoṣāt tad arpiṭha* ApŚ. Preceded in KŚ by *yo me 'dya payaso rasah*; in ApŚ. by *yan me 'tra payasah*. It is an expiatory formula after a nocturnal emission. Caland adopts *pari doṣād* ('without [*pari*, sc. my] fault') from KŚ, and reads *udarpiṭah*. We agree with him that this is the original reading, but consider that he is wrong in emending ApŚ to accord with it; *parītoṣāt*, 'thru excessive gratification', tho a slipshod lect. fac., is clearly what ApŚ intended

*godhāyasam vi dhanasair adardah* (TB *atardat*) RV. AV MS TB. The antique and rare *adardah* (3d sing imperf intensive of *dar*) puzzles TB sufficiently to provoke the synonym *atardat*

*prayo me hṛdo* (MŚ *huto*, v 1 *huto*) 'si (MŚ † *bhava*) TS MŚ. The latter is simply a lect. fac.

*sapta rājāno ya udābhṣikṭāh* KS AA. *anu sapta rājāno ya utābhṣikṭāh* TB. The TB stumbles over *udā*, 'with water', and eases it up to the colorless adverb *uta*

*yās ca* (AV *yā*) *devīr* (SMB *devyo*, PG *devīs*) *antān* (AV *antān*, PG *tantūn*) *abhito 'dadanta* (PG SMB *tatantha*) AV. PG. SMB ApMB. *yās ca gnā devyo 'ntān abhito 'tatananta* (so em; mss. *tatantha*) MG. The reading *tatantha* could only intend a monstrously augmented form *atatantha*, because of the preceding *abhito* (note sandhi). Roth, ZDMG 48 108, considers it obvious that *tatantha* is a corruption for 'dadanta'. In PG, however, the corruption has become infectious, because there *antān* is further changed to *tantūn* under the influence of *tatantha*. The comm. on PG (see note in Stenzler's translation) treats the muddle of the text as Vedic license. Cf VV I p 139f

*yatrādhi sūra udīto vīdhātī* (TS *udītau vyeti*) RV VS VSK. TS *yasminn adhi vitatah sūra eti* MS KS. Of course RV is original, but *vitatah* is found also in the AV version, *yasyāsau sūro vitato mahītvā*

*vidad yadī* (MS † *yadī*, TB ApŚ. *yatī*) *saramā rugnam* (MS † *saramā-runam*) *adreh* RV. VS MS KS TB ApŚ. The original *yadī* (*yadī*), 'when', is corrupted into a fem. pple. *yatī* (TB comm.

*gachantī*) suggested by the final *i* of *yadī*, and supported by RV 5 45 7 *yatī saramā* Saramā, the messenger, is hardly ever mentioned without the implication that she is a great traveler, cf. RV 10 108, 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, and note *gāt* at the end of 3 31. 6, the stanza here concerned. Caland in his Translation of ApŚ unwisely abandons *yatī* for *yadī*

*yad vo devā atipādayāni* (AŚ °*layāni*) TB AŚ ApŚ. *ati-pad* and *ali-pal* are synonyms, 'transgress' TB comm *akaranam anyathā-laranam cātīpālīh*. There is little reason for preferring either, except the somewhat greater evidence for the *pad* form (two texts confirm each other)

*ūrdhvā yasyāmatir bhā* (so divide) *adīdyutal* (VSK. *atī dyutal*) *savimani* AV. SV. VS VSK. TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ŚS N. The VSK reading, if authentic, is secondary. See VV I p 128

*śvetāya vaidārvāya* (PG °*darvāya*, ApMB HG °*darvāya*, MG *vaitā-havyāya*) . . . AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB HG MG The epithet *vaitā-havya* does not belong to the serpent demon Śveta, and is a secondary misunderstanding.

§64. In the following cases the *t* variant produces readings that are increasingly difficult or suspicious, and that tempt more to emendation. Even here, however, we cannot be sure that the secondary or false reading was not the established text of the school.

*duṛaś ca viśvā avṛnod apa svāh* RV.: *turaś cid viśvam arnavat tapasvān* AV. Whitney translates AV - 'may he, quick, rich in fervor, send all' Since Ppp agrees with RV., it is clear that AVŚ is secondary. But *turaś* is lexically defensible.

*tvañ rājāsi pratīwah* (VS VSK *pratīpat*) *sutānām* RV. VS VSK. TS MS KS N. *pratīpat* is hardly intelligible; Mahīdhara takes *pratīpat* *sutānām* as a compound, ignoring the accents: 'draughts pressed on each initial day of a lunar fortnight.'

*harinasya raghuśyadah* (ApŚ. °*śyatah*, two mss °*śyadah*) AV ApŚ Caland adopts the AV reading, if ApŚ really intended °*tah*, it simulates a pres pple form from a denominative \**raghuśya-*.

*agne* (Poona ed *agre*, but comm *agne*) *vikṣu pratīdayat* (v. 1 °*yan*; not in Poona ed) TB: *agre vikṣu pratīdayat* RV. Comm on TB, groggily- *pratīdayat*, *pratyelam eva prāplam āsit* (as if *prah*, *id*, *ayat*!).

§65. Here again we find some cases accompanied by false division of words (as in §61):

*satyā tū dharmanas pati* ApŚ: *satyād ā dharmanas* (ŚS and mss of MŚ

°nā) *palī* (Vait MS *parī*, ŚŚ omits) AŚ ŚŚ Vait MS Caland in his Transl. of Vait understands *satyādā* as one word (nom dual), which may be right. He also adopts this reading in ApŚ, which is surely wrong in principle. The secondary, ApŚ is perfectly clear, and undoubtedly intended just what it reads.  
*tad vipro abravīd udah* (ŚŚ *u tad*) AV ŚŚ Followed by *gandharrah kāmyam vacah* ŚŚ has a lect fac which would be quite acceptable but for its repetitiousness (*tad*, twice).

*balam icchanto vitudasya* (AG *vi tu tasya*, v. 1 *vidurasya*) *preṣyāh* (MahānU AG *preṣṭhāh*) TAA MahānU AG The AG attempts to rationalize the obscure *vitudasya* (said by TAA. comm to be a name of Kālāgnirudra), a *ḍā* *leḥ* which it does not understand.

§66. The remarkable case of *tevi* for *devī* deserves special emphasis; it is best regarded as merely a hyper-Sanskritism, cf. §21.

*dīśām devy* (MS *tevy*) *avatu no ghṛtācī* TS MS. AŚ.

In the pūda *māṛk kva cana vidyate*, TA. 1 5 1d, the comm (does not read *māṛk*, as Cone states, but) interprets *māṛk* by *māṛk*, which seems the only possibility.

§67. A few other special cases with problems of their own:

*pitvo* (VS MS *pidvo*, KSA *bidvo*) *nyañkuh lakkaṭas* (MS *lakuthas*, TS KSA. *kaṭas*) *te 'numatyai* (KSA °yāh) VS TS MS KSA. None of the forms *pitvo* etc occurs elsewhere. Some animal is meant; remotely possible is connexion with *pedu*.

*mayamdā* (MS MŚ *mayamtam*) *chandaḥ* VS TS. KS MS ŚB MŚ. An otherwise unknown fanciful name of a meter. Mahidhara, *sukham dadāt*; Keith, 'delight-giving'. This is probably right. *mayamda* for *mayoda* in deference to the prevailing type of iambic dipody compounds with prior member in *m*. See Bloomfield, JAOS 21. 50ff, Wackernagel 2 1, pp 204ff.

*pariṣṭāh kveṣyasi* ApMB. *pariṣṭāh kleṣyasi* HG *parimīdhah kva gamiṣyasi* PG. The true reading is that of PG., with *dh*, and neither *t* nor *d*. See Stenzler's translation ('umpisst'). Comm on ApMB gets fairly close in general sense. *chāndasam dīrghatvam, pariṣṭāh paribaddhah*.

[*susadam id gavām asti pra khuda* AV. *susatyam id gavām asyasi pra khudasī* ŚŚ. The AV mss read exactly as ŚŚ, except that they read *gavom* and *pra ṣudasī*. The variant is not genuine, but only due to Roth's false emendation.]

§68. In a number of cases adverbs in *t* or *d* interchange. In the first two cases the *d* forms are certainly older, but in some of the others the reverse is the case:

*ado* (MŚ *ato*, AV. *ado yad*) *devī* (AV. KS *devī*) *prathamānā pṛthag yat* (AV. °*nā purastāt*) AV. KS ApŚ MŚ  
*adaḥ su madhu madhunābhī yodhīh* RV AV SV AA MŚ . *ata ū ṣu madhu madhunābhī yodhī* TS.  
*iti cid dhī* (AV \**yadī cin nu*) *tvā dhanā jayantam* RV AV (both)  
*grhā nah santu sarvadā* (P G *sarvataḥ*) ApŚ PG HG  
*dhātār āyantū sarvadā* (TA TU *sarvataḥ svāhā*) TA TU Kauś *sama-vayantu sarvataḥ* SMB  
*tato na* (KU *na tato*, ŚB. BṛhU *na tadā*) *vicikṣatsi* (VSK IśāU. KU *vṛjugupsate*) VS VSK ŚB BṛhU. IśāU KU See §45 *tato* is certainly older  
*pari krośatu sarvataḥ* (HG *sarvadā*) HG ApMB

### p and b

§69. Here occur only a few stray variants  
*phalgūr* (KSA °*gur*) *lohitorṇī balahṣī* (VS *pal°*, KSA *balahṣī*, em by ed to °*hṣī*) *tāh śārasvatyah* VS TS KSA MS *balahṣa*, of unknown etymology, means 'white', and is clearly intended here. The change to *pal°*, not otherwise recorded, may be due to contamination with *palṭa*, VS comm simply says that *pal°* means *bal°*  
*avāturatam bṛsayasya* (TB *prathayasya*) *seṣah* RV, TB Bṛsaya, name of a demon TB comm takes its form also as the name of a demon, it is clearly a corruption of the RV form  
*khaṇḍāpo* 'jopahṣṭīnīh ApMB *baṇḍābojopahṣṭīnī* HG The readings are untrustworthy, and neither form is intelligible  
*pṛtvo* (*pṛdvo*, *bṛdvo*) , see §67

There are also a number of cases in which *b* as reduplicating syllable of *bh* (in *bibharti* etc) varies with *p* as reduplicating syllable of *p* (in *pṛpartī* etc), they are gathered in §112

### kh and gh

§70 Here again are only a few stray variants  
*mā nah 'kaś cit prakhān* (ApŚ *praghān*) *mā prameṣmahī* KS ApŚ 'May no one harm us (or the like), may we not be injured' Probably KS is original, *pra-khān* BR (Nachtrage to V), 'durch Graben zu Fall bringen' *praghān* is felt as coming from root *han*, the problematic in form, it appears to ease the meaning Prakritic influence is likely  
*saghāsi jagatichandāh* TS *sakhāsi* (ŚŚ adds *patvā*) *jagacchandāh* ŚŚ MŚ Cf *sakhāsi gāyatram chandāh* MŚ (Bloomfield, JAOS 16.

3ff.) It seems that *sakhā* is a sophisticated lect fac, it is clear that *sakhā* (stem *saghan*, comm 'vulture') is original; preceded in TS. ŚŚ. by *śyeno* 'si *gāyatrīchandāh*, and *suparno* 'si *triṣṭupchandāh* (ŚŚ inserting *patvā* both times)

*yadā rāghatī varadah* (ApŚ *rākhātīyau vadatah*) Vait ApŚ. *yad adyā-rādhyam vadantah* MŚ The form *rā*° appears to be a proper name, not found elsewhere and wholly incomprehensible. BaudhŚ 16. 23 reads *rākhandyau* (?), and one ms of ApŚ *rākhāndau*

### . *th* and *dh*

§71. Aside from the interchange of the adverbs *atha* and *adha*, or similar adverbs, the material is scanty. It may be partly graphic, since *th* and *dh* are practically indistinguishable in some South Indian alphabets. There is no clearly defined phonetic movement in either direction. Yet there seems to us to be, as in the preceding rubrics, perhaps a slight tendency to favor *dh* for *th* in readings that are obviously secondary, showing the presence of what we have thought to be Prakritic influence.

§72. In the one common case of interchange between the adverbs, chiefly *atha* (*athā*) and *adha* (*adhā*), we should expect on general grounds to find that the *dh* forms are generally original. This expectation is realized to this extent, that the SV, with only one exception among the variants, substitutes *th* forms for RV *dh*. Yet the AV, relatively late and popular, surprisingly favors *adha* (*adhā*). The RV. in its hieratic parts favors the *dh* form as we should expect, and in its more popular parts the *th* forms. The remaining texts in general favor *atha*, but now and then fall into the archaizing *adha*.

§73. We begin with cases in which RV shows *adhā*, other texts *athā* (*atha*), included is also one case of RV. *viśvadhā*, SV. *viśvathā*:  
*vi bhānum viśvadhātanaṁ* (SV. *viśvathā*°) RV. SV

*adhā jivri* (AV *atha jivri*, mss *jivri*; ApMB *athā jivri*) *vidatham ā vadasi* (RV *vadāthah*) RV. AV. ApMB

*adhā* (SV *athā*) *no viśvacarṣane* RV SV

*adhā* (SV. *athā*) *te sakhye andhaso vi vo made* RV SV.

*adhā* (SV *athā*) *te sumnam īmahe* RV AV. SV TS

*adhā* (TS MS. *athā*) *te syāma varuna priyāsah* RV TS MS KS

*adhā* (TS MS *athā*) *śatakratvo yūyam* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

*rudrasya maryā adhā* (SV *athā*) *svalvāh* RV. SV.

§74. Next, cases in which RV. (almost always in Books 1 and 10) shows the more popular *atha* (*athā*), while other texts have the archaizing *adha* (*adhā*). The latter occurs most frequently in AV. (of course



secondary, cf the similar preference of AV for the archaic *l̥rno-* as against *karo-*, VV I p 116ff), once in SV (*ūrdhavadhā* for RV ° *thā*), once or twice in other texts

*pra śmaśru* (SV *śmaśrubhir*) *dodhuwad ūrdhavadhā bhūt* (SV. ° *dhā bhuvat*)  
RV (10) SV

*athā* (AV *adhā*) *nah śam yor arapo dadhāta* (MS ° *lana*) RV (10) AV  
VS MS KS N · *athāsmabhyam śam* etc TS

*athā* (AV *adhā*) *pitr̥n suvidatrān upehi* (AV TA. *apīhi*, TS † *apīla*)  
RV (10) AV. TS TA Add to VV I §370

*athā* (AV *adhā*) *mano †vasudeyāya l̥ṛṣva* (AV *l̥ṛṇuṣva*) RV (1) AV  
Despite the grandiloquent *adhā*, AV is secondary as shown by the meter

*athā* (AV *adhā*, MS KS *tato*) *no vardhayā rayīm* (RV JB *gīrah*) RV.  
(3) VS TS AV. MS KS JB. ŚB TB JābU.

*athā* (AV *adhā*, comm *adha*, but Ppp *adhah*, Barret, JAOS 40 161)  
*sapatnī yā mama* RV (10) AV ApMB · *adhā sapatnān māmakan*  
AV.

*atho* (AV *adhā*) *vayam bhagavantah syāma* RV. (1) AV KŚ ApŚ N

*athā* (AV *adhā*, comm *atha*) *vayam ādītya vrate tava* RV. (1) AV. VS  
TS MS KS ŚB N · *athādītya vrate vayam tava* ArŚ SMB

*athā* (KS *adhā*) *somasya prayati yuvabhyām* (KS *yuvā*°, v l *yuva*°)  
RV. (1) TS KS N

*athā* (MS *adhā*) *devānām apy etu pāthah* RV (2) TS MS.

§75. Among the remaining cases, it may be noted that AV again prefers the *dh̥* form repeatedly, as against other texts with *th̥*

*adha syāma surabhayo* (ApŚ corruptly, *syām asur ubhayor*) *gr̥heṣu*  
AV. KS ApŚ *athā syāta surabhayo gr̥heṣu* MS

*adhā jīvema śaradām śatām* AV · *atho jīva śaradah śatam* VSK And  
others, see Conc under *asau jīva*

*adhā* (HG *atha*) *māsi punar ā yāta no gr̥hān* AV HG.

*adhā* (MS MŚ *athā*) *poṣasya poṣena* VS MS KS MŚ

*adhā vīṣvāhārāpa edhate gr̥he* VS *atha vīṣve arapā edhate gr̥hah* TS

*athā* (VS ŚB *adhā*) *sapatnān* (KS †° *nān*, TS, twice †° *nān*, once ° *nān*)  
*indro me* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

*athā* (VS ŚB *adhā*) *sapatnān indrāgnī me* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ  
MŚ

*athā jīvah* (KS *adhā vīṣtah*) *pītum addhi pramuktah* (so divide) TS MS  
KS : *athātam pītum addhi prasūtah* VS ŚB

*adhāsyā madhyam edhatām* KSA · *athāsyā madhyam ejatu* VS LŚ  
*athāsyā* (TS. MS TB ° *syā*) *madhyam edhatām* (Vait ° *tu*, AŚ LŚ.  
*ejatu*, ŚŚ *ejati*) VS TS MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ. Vait LŚ.

*indro marudbhīr ṛtuthā* (TS ApMB °dhā) *lṛnotu* TS MS KS AŚ. ŚŚ ApMB

*devā no yajñam ṛtuthā* (TB ApŚ ṛjudhā) *nayantu* VS TB. ApŚ See §157.

§76. Somewhat like the change of *adha* to *atha* is one interchange between the roots *nādh* and *nāth*, since here *nādh* is clearly prior. But *nādh* is commonly considered to be in origin a secondary and quasi-Prakritic form of *nāth* (von Bradke, *ZDMG* 40 678ff., cf. Wackernagel I p 123):

*svāyām tanū* (ApMB † MG † *tanūn*) *ṛtvye* (RV † *ṛtvye*) *nādhāmānām* (ApMB *nātha*°, but many mss *nādha*°, MG *bādha*°) RV ApMB MG

§77. For the rest we find no very definite phonetic movement in either direction. But it may be significant that the cases in which *th* seems probably the original—listed in this paragraph—are somewhat more numerous than those in which *dh* appears older:

*avakro 'vithuro* (ApŚ 'vidh°; Kauś adds 'ham) *bhūyāsam* AŚ ApŚ MŚ.

Kauś. That *avithuro* (root *vyath*) 'not staggering' is the original is indicated by the majority reading, and by its closer agreement in meaning with *avakro*, *avidhuro* is clearly secondary.

*maśām nu gād aparo artham* (TB ApŚ ApMB *ardham*) *etam* RV. AV VS ŚB TB ApŚ ApMB. *mā no nu gād aparo ardhām etam* TA ApŚ. 'Let not another of them go to that goal (side, part).' *artha* and *ardha* are here synonyms, cf. RV 1 164. 17.

*ābhūr* (VS TS *ābhur*, NīlarU. *śivo*) *asya nṛṣaṅgathih* (VS °dhih, NīlarU. °th) VS TS MS. KS NīlarU. Comm on VS 'sheath of a sword', but 'quiver' is more plausible since arrows are mentioned in the preceding pāda. Hindu lexicons quote *nṛṣaṅgathih* as meaning 'embracing' etc; the other forms are ἀπ λει. Probably °dhī is influenced by thought of root *dhā* (popular etymology), while °h is a mere corruption.

*paridam vāso adhuthāh* (HG *adhudhāh*, ApMB *adhī dhā*) *svastaye* AV. HG ApMB. The original (AV.) form is 2 sing aor mid. of *dhā*, the personal ending *-thāh* is mouthed over in the later texts to a sufficiently plausible form of *dhā* (*dhāh*), the first part becoming the preposition *adhī*. See VV I p 39.

*ākhuh laśo mānthālas* (MS *mānthālavas*, VSK *māndhālas*) *te pṛtṇām* VS VSK MS. *pāṅktah* (KSA *pāṅktah*, but all mss of both TS and KSA *pāmtra-*) *laśo mānthūlavas* (KSA † *ma*°) *te pṛtṇām* (KSA † *pṛtṇ*°) TS KSA. We may guess that the majority of

texts preserve the original *th*, but the forms occur nowhere else  
Said to mean 'flying fox'

*indrāvathuh* (VSK °*dhuh*, KS \* TB ApŚ °*lam*) *kāvya* (TB ApŚ *karma. ā*) *dansanābhuh* RV AV VS VSK. MS KS (both) ŚB TB ApŚ The subject is the Aśvin, so that VSK is hardly interpretable See VV I p 282

*apa snehitār* (SV *snihitim*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāh*, KS † *nṛmanām adadhrām*) RV AV SV KS · *upa stuhī tam nṛmanām* (Poona ed *snuhi tam nṛmanām*) *athadrām* TA See §110

§78 In the rest *dh* seems to be the original:

*apāma edhī mā mṛthā na indra* SMB *amā ma edhī mā mṛdhā na* (AŚ † *ma*) *indra* AŚ ŚG *anāmayaedhī mā riśāma indo* Kauś The original (AŚ ŚG) 'be at home with me, do not desert us (me), Indra' This SMB converts into the unbelievable 'be an off-warder of disease, do not die for us, Indra' At least the comm takes it thus, seeing in *mṛthā(h)* a 2d sing mid of *mṛ* (one ms. reads *mṛdhā*), *riśāma* of Kauś confirms *mṛdh* as original The variation is somehow connected with the sphere of *sa mā mṛta* (*tam mā mṛdhah*), which see in §98 On Kauś's reading see §344

*madhavyau stokāv* (MS °*kā*, AV *mathavyān stokān*) *apa tau* (AV *yān*) *rarādha* AV TS MS Several mss and the comm on AV read *madhavyān*, which Whitney properly recommends

*adhorāma* (HG *atho*°) *ulumbalah* (HG † *ulumbarah*) ApMB HG *adho*° = *adhas* is obviously correct, HG mechanically recalls the many phrases beginning *atho* (= *atha u*), q v in Conc

*dīrghām anu prasṛtīm* (KS *samṛtīm*) *āyuse dhām* (KS *tvā*) VS TS KS ŚB TB. *dīrghām anu prasṛtīm samspr̥sethām* MS An extensive alteration, yet still showing the change of *dh* to *th* (°*ṣe dhām* °*sethām*)

### *ph* and *bh*

§79. The instances are few and all concern questionable forms *phalāya*, and, *phallāya* KhG · *bhalāya svāhā*, and, *bhallāya svāhā* SMB GG The words are addressed to the sun, or to the evening twilight, their meanings are unknown The form with single *l* and the variant with *ph* make it questionable whether *bhalla* is Prakritic for *bhadra* (Wackernagel I §195), in spite of the form *bhallākṣa* which is probably so to be explained (Weber, *Ind St* 2 88).

*kanātkābhām* (AŚ *pranākāphā*) *na ābhāra* TB AŚ See §151  
*yā sarasvatī vaiśambhalyā* (ApŚ °*balyā*, v 1 °*phalyā* and °*bhalyā*)  
*tasyām me rāsva* . TB ApŚ See §114

### CHAPTER III ASPIRATES AND NON-ASPIRATES AND H

§80. The subdivisions of this chapter are very unequal in size and importance. In most of them we find only stray variants, often concerning obscure words of doubtful belongings. Sometimes both forms may be interpreted and defended, but on the whole they suggest that phonetic confusion between aspirates and non-aspirates played no slight rôle in changes of the Vedic tradition. Variants of aspirate and non-aspirate mutes in considerable numbers are found only as between *t* and *th*, where however graphic confusion is undoubtedly largely to blame, and as between the dental aspirates and non-aspirates. It is here that we find much the largest and most interesting group. It will appear that lexical and morphological considerations enter in to a large extent, yet it will scarcely be doubted that phonetic resemblance accounts at least in some measure for the swollen bulk of the variations between roots *dā* and *dhā*, for example, or between verbal endings of different sorts containing *t* and *th*—The variation of aspirate mutes with *h* is appended to this chapter as a special section, §§115ff

#### *l* and *kh*

§81. Here occur two variants, both concerning very dubious forms. *gohya* (upagohyo *marūhoi* (PG *mayūkho*) *manohāh* PG. SMB Cf. *grhyo* etc. Names or forms of Agni. The mss vary. The form *mayūkha*, 'ray', would fit fairly well, but may be merely a lect. fac. The lexicons report *marūka* in various meanings. *kaṣolkāya* (MahānU *lhalhalkāya*) *svāhā* TA TAA MahānU. The MahānU form recurs in the Purāṇas; it is interpreted as *lha-kha-ulka* ('), 'sky-meteor', i.e. the sun. The other form is *ᾗ λειγ*, and the comm.'s explanation is not worth quoting.

#### *g* and *kh*

§82. Two variants between the synonymous stems *sukha* and *suga*, to which no phonetic significance can be attached. The form *sukha* is later both times.

*sugam* (VS MS ŚB *sukham*) *meṣāya meṣya* (RV *meṣye*) RV. VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB LŚ

*sugam* (VS MS *sukham*) *ca me śayanam ca me* VS VSK TS MS KS

*g (k) and gh*

§83. Only a few variants, one very obscure, one corrupt, cf *yena mahānaghnīyā jaghanam* AV. Kauś, where apparently all mss of both texts read so, but the emendation *mahānagnīyā* is obviously required and is assumed by the Conc. and by Whitney

*yaññasya ghoṣad asi* TS TB. ApŚ - *goṣad asi* MS KS. MŚ TS comm 'wealth', Keith 'substance', remarking that *ghoṣad* is probably a corruption for *goṣad*, which however is itself not clear

*yatheyam strī pautram agham na rodāt* AG SMB PG ApMB HG  
*yathedam strīpautram aganma rudrīyāya* MG See §801

*tāsām īśāno bhagavah* (MS *maghavan*) VS TS MS KS The words are virtual synonyms

*apūpakṛd aṣṭake* ŚG *apūpaghṛtāhute* ApMB . Addressed to an *aṣṭakā*, same context, one must be a phonetic corruption of the other 'O cake-making A', or 'O thou that hast cakes and ghee as oblations'

*c and ch*

§84. Two variants, one an onomatopoeic word  
*cec-cec chumaka sṛja* PG *chad aperi* . . ApMB Cf the English 'skat'

*karnābhyām* (PG *godānāc*) *chubukād* (ApMB *cu°*) *adhī* RV AV  
 ApMB PG. A v I of AV with its comm. *cubulād*; one ms of ApMB *cibulād*, which is the form found in later Sanskrit.

*j and jh*

§85. A single variant  
*apām naptre jaṣah* (KSA *jaṣah*) TS KSA. *jaṣa* is otherwise not unknown (AV), but *jaṣa* is regular in the later language The word is of non-Aryan origin

*t and th*

§86. These variations are without doubt largely, perhaps mainly, graphic In every case but one they concern interchange of *ṣt* and *sth*, which are practically indistinguishable in most alphabets In nearly every instance the *th* form is proper, or at least more usual Many of the words, however, are obscure in derivation

*kuṣṭhayā* (MS *kuṣṭayā*) *te kṛnāni* MS ApŚ Regular is *kuṣṭhā*, designation of a measure; *kuṣṭā* is not recorded lexically

*naḍibhyah pauñjīstham* (TB °*īam*) VS TB Also

*namah puñjīsthebhyo* (TS °*tebhyo*) *niṣādebhyaś ca vo namah* TS KS .

- namo niśādebhyaḥ puñjīṣṭhebhyaś* (MS <sup>°(ebhyaḥ)</sup>) *ca* 10 *narai* VS MS The word *puñj* or *puñj* 'fisherman' or 'fowler' seems usually to be written with °*ṣṭha*, but there is no little fluctuation. Its unknown, perhaps non-Aryan, origin is not illuminated by the proposed worthless etymologies
- rañṣṭum* (AB TB AŚ MS. °*ṭhum*) *aṣṭa mā rāṣṭa* MS KS AB TB. AŚ ŚŚ † 5 17 9, MŚ The regular form is *rañṣṭhu*, of unknown derivation Knauer (on MŚ) would emend MS to °*ṭhum*
- ahorātre ūrasṣṭre* (VS °*ṣṭhūre*) *bṛhadrathamtare ca me yajireṇ lalpeṇām* (VS † *kalpanām*) VS MS (Add to VV I §357) The proper form is *ūru-aṣṭhūta*, the latter part being a modulation of *aṣṭhi-vant*, 'knee'.
- śatāpāṣṭhādya* (read with Poona edd °*ṣṭhā gha*) *viṣṭa pari no rñalī* TB TA · *śarā vāṣṭād* (p p *vā*, *aṣṭāl*) *dharīṣṭa rāmah* (read [*a-*] *arnah*?) MS As a missile (*heli*) is the subject, the true reading contains *apāṣṭha*, 'barb'. The MS is entirely corrupt The Poona ed of both TB and TA. makes the pāda begin with the preceding word *ugrā*
- anupūrvam yatamānā yatī ṣṭha* (AV *ṣṭha*, TA. *yatiṣṭha*) RV. AV TA *yatiṣṭha* could only be an aorist; but as it retains a double accent (*yāti-ṣṭā*) it is obviously corrupt (suggested by the preceding *yatamānā*) for *yāti ṣṭhā*, 'as many as ye be'
- rdhag ayā* (TS MS KS *ayād*) *rdhag utāṣṭamīṣṭhāh* (MS KS °*ṣṭha*) VS TS MS KS. ŚB N · *dhruram ayā* (AV *ayo*) *dhruram utāṣṭamīṣṭhāh* (AV *utā ṣaṣṭha*) RV. AV Here both forms are correct; there is a shift of verbal person, from 2d to 3d (explained VV I p 211). On the corrupt reading of AV. see §234 Cf next
- āṣṭa* (MS *āṣṭhāh*, KS ms † *āṣṭāh*, em v. Schr. *āṣṭa*) *pratiṣṭhām . . .* TS. MS KS PG See VV I p 238, and cf. pree.
- vīty arṣa canīṣṭhayā* (SV. *paniṣṭhaye*) RV. SV. If the SV. reading is tenable at all (*paniṣṭhaye*, 'for praise') it points to a stem in *ti*, whereas RV (of course original) has a superlative in *iṣṭha*.
- [*nir aṣṭaviṣam asmyam* GB Vait ApŚ Quoted in Conc with *aṣṭaviṣam* from GB and Vait But the Vait reading is a mere misprint, corrected by Garbe p 119; and Gaastra reads *aṣṭhamṣam* in GB. without report of variant Accordingly we may assume that *aṣṭaviṣam* never existed. The form is from *ṣṭhu* = *ṣṭhiv* 'spit' (cf *ṣṭhuvā*, ApŚ)]
- §87. In the preceding *ṣṭh* is the proper or at least the usual spelling We now come to the cases where *ṣṭ* seems proper. Both are dubious,

the first belongs to the sphere of the Kuntāpa hymns, whose textual tradition in all versions is of the worst sort, and the second has *th* only in the p p of MS

*ṣaṣṭm* (ŚŚ *ṣaṣṭm*) *śaṣasrā navaṭm ca kaurama* AV AŚ ŚŚ The combination *ṣaṣṭm śaṣasrā* is very common, see e.g. Conc. thereunder ŚŚ, if its reading has any real standing, has confused *ṣaṣṭi* with the ordinal stem *ṣaṣṭha*

*mā no agnim* (p p *agnih*) *nūrṭir mā na āṣṭān* (p p *āṣṭhām*) MS *mā no rudro nūrṭir mā no aṣṭā* TA See VV I p 93 The forms are doubtful, read *āṣṭām*?

§88. The following is the sole variant between *t* and *th* not preceded by *ṣ* Nothing is known about the word *lakutha* or *kakkata* except that, as the context shows, it is the name of some animal

*piṭvo* (*piṭvo*, *biṭvo*) *kakkatas* (*lakuthas*) , see §67

#### *t* and *th*

§89. These sounds interchange a good deal in old, historic, morphological elements which are otherwise identical (or nearly so) in form, and frequently identical or similar in meaning Hence, with variations containing such forms, it is not easy to say to what extent the change was morphological in character, and to what extent it resulted from an error of speech or hearing No doubt both influences were concerned in most cases We find, for example, that 2d personal verb forms containing *th* (indicative) and *t* (modal) are often interchanged, there is seldom any connexion in which either of them is impossible or even difficult (cf VV I, especially §§14ff, 116) Again 2d and 3d duals often differ only in this single consonant, *t* or *th*, and VV I, especially §§20f, 292ff, 326ff, has shown how easy is the shift between second and third personal forms, often with no further change in the context There are also cases concerning noun formation, suffixation etc., where this slight phonetic difference is concerned

§90. We begin with the variations between the verbal endings *tha* and *ta*, the former properly present indicative, the latter modal (or preterite) They have been listed in VV I p 23f In the majority—listed first—the *t* form appears to be older, in the last five, at least, the *th* form

*āpura stā* ŚŚ *āpūryā sthā* TS AŚ Add to VV I l c  
*taṁ sma jānīta* (VSK. °*tha*) *parame vyoman* AV VS VSK TS KS ŚB  
 MŚ *jānīta smainam* (TS MŚ *jānītād enam*) *pa° vy°* AV TS  
 MŚ *elan jānātha* (TB *jānītāt*, KS *jānīta*) *pa° vy°* VS KS TB

SB Note especially that VSK *jānītha* is apparently a blend of *jānīta* and *jānātha*, tho *jānītha* is grammatically better than *jānātha*.

*śvā no bhavata* (ApŚ °*tha*) *jīvase* MS ApŚ

*śuddhāh pūtā bhavata* (TA °*tha*, MG. °*ntu*) *yajñnyāsah* RV. TA. MG.

*aśvā bhavata* (AV. TS KS °*tha*) *vājīnah* AV VS. TS. MS KS. ŚB .  
*devā bhavata vā*° RV

*tena krīdantīś* (ŚG. *krīl*°) *carata* (ŚG °*tha*) *priyena* (AV *vaśān anu*) AV.

TS ŚG PG VīDh. *vaśān anu* in AV is due to infection from RV.  
1. 82 3, 10 142 7.

*dewebhyo bhavata* (TB. °*tha*) *suprāyanāh* RV AV. VS. MS. KS TB. N.

*datto asmabhyam* (KS *dattvāsma*°, AŚ *dattāyāsma*°, SMB *dattāsma*°)

*dravineha bhadram* AV KS AŚ. SMB . *dadhattha no dravinam*

*yac ca bhadram* MS

*ye 'tra pitarah . . bhūyāstha* AV. ŚŚ. *ya etasmin loke . . bhūyāsta* TS

TB A primary ending on a precative form is absurd, yet all mss. of AV. and ŚŚ. seem to agree on °*tha*; see Whitney on AV 18 4 86.

*arālāg udabhartsata* (AV. mss °*tha*) AV ŚŚ The AV. reading, augmented but with °*tha*, is a monstrosity. Roth's violent emendation, *āsannā udabhir yathā*, has no standing

*aulaba* (HG °*va*) *it tam upā hvayatha* (HG. °*ta*) ApMB HG. Several mss of ApMB read °*ta*, in such trash as this it makes little difference what is read

*saputrīlāyām jāgratha* PG . *yajamānāya jāgrīa* ApŚ. See note in Stenzler's translation of PG. 1. 16. 22

*indrena yujā* (TB *sayujā*) *pra mṛnīta* (TB. °*tha* [Bibl Ind *pranītha*]) *śatrūn* AV. TB Add to VV I §16

*payasvatīh kṛnuthāpa* (TS °*tāpa*) *ośadhīh śivāh* (TS. omits *śivāh*) AV. TS. Followed by

*ūjajā ca tatra sumatm ca pinvata* (TS °*tha*) AV. TS. (Add to VV I §18.)

The clauses are parallel and we should expect the same mood in both; yet both are inconsistent Little weight is to be attached to the Ppp readings, quoted by Roth as having *t* thruout the stanza, even in pāda d (*yatrā naro marutah siñcatā madhu*), where the relative clause should ensure the *th* form (indicative; see VV I pp 78f.). Contrariwise, the AV. comm. reads *pinvatha* for °*ta*, which seems to suggest, perhaps, that originally all the verb forms had *th*.

*yad āmayat nṛś kṛtha* (TS MS KS *kṛta*) RV VS TS MS KS *kṛtha*, tho a dubious root present, really a back formation from aorists like *kṛdhi*, is the older reading, *kṛta* lect fac



*yūyam* (MS *divo*) *vr̥ṣṭim varṣayathā* (MS °lā) *purīṣinah* RV TS MS  
KS—MS, which borrows *divo vr̥ṣṭim* from e.g. RV 2 27 15b, is  
secondary also as regards °lā.

*ud īrayathā* (MS MŚ °lā, AV KS °ta) *marutah samudratah* RV AV  
TS MS KS AŚ. MŚ

§91 About equally often second and third duals containing *th* and *t* interchange (listed VV I pp 24f.) Even when the context is to our feeling inconsistent in one or the other reading, as often happens, we should generally resist the temptation to emend, for reasons made clear in VV I (references quoted §89) We begin with passages in which the *th* forms seem to be the older, in the majority there is little to choose between them

*citrebhīr abhrāir upa tiṣṭhatho* (MS °to) *ravam* RV † MS Followed by  
*dyām varṣayatho* (MS °to) *asurasya māyayū* RV MS See VV I p 241  
*yāv* (MS KS *yā*) *ātmanvad bibhr̥to* (KS † °lho, AV *viśatho*) *yau ca rakṣatah* (AV. KS † °thah) AV TS MS KS Followed by

*yau viśvasya paribhū* (KS *viśvasyādhīpū*) *babhūvathuh* (TS † °tuh), same texts See VV I p 228 The unanimity of AV. and KS, partly supported by MS, perhaps indicates that the 2d persons are original, we fail to see any ground for Keith's opinion (on TS 4. 7. 15 3) that the 3d persons are more 'logical'.

*tat satyaṁ yad vīram bibhr̥thah* (MŚ † °lah), and, in same passage,  
*vīram'janayīṣyathah* (MŚ °lah),

*te mat prātah prajanayīṣyethe* (MŚ °te),

*te mā prajāte prajanayīṣyathah* (MŚ °lah) TB ApŚ MŚ See VV I p 236

*ghṛtena* (Kauś *vapayā*) *dyāvōprthivī prornuvāthām* (VS TS ApŚ *prornvāthām*, MS MŚ † *prornuvātām*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB Kauś ApŚ MŚ also see Conie under *svarge* (°gena, *svarge*) *loke* (-na) *prornuvāthām* etc (only MS °lām; VS VSK. TS KSA [†samprornuvāthām] ŚB TB Vait. °thām)

*yā rājānam* (MS KS °nā) *saratham yātha* (MS *yāta*) *ugrā* TS MS KS *juṣetām* (and, °thām) *yajñam iṣṭaye* RV (both) Add to VV I §21

*kāmam duhātām iha śakvaribhīh* AV *rāṣtram duhātām iha revatibhīh* TB. See VV I pp 25, 224

*purā gṛdhṛād araruṣah pibātah* (TS °thah) RV MS TB Here, and in the following cases, it seems fairly clear that the *t* forms are original  
*saṁ* (ApMB *śam*) *ūdho romaśam hatah* (ApMB *hathah*) RV ApMB See VV I p 24.

*halo* (SV TB *halho*) *vr̥trāny āryā* (AV TB *apṛati*) RV SV AV TB followed by,

*hato* (SV *halho*) *dāsāni satpatī* RV SV., and,  
*hato* (SV. *halho*) *visvā apa dṛṣah* RV SV. See VV I pp. 222, 232.

*yajñasya yuktau dhuryā* (TB ApŚ °yāv) *abhūtām* (MS. °thām) MS.  
 KS † TB ApŚ And, in the same stanza.

*divi* (KS *dive*) *jyotir ajaram* (MS KS *ullamam*) *ārabhetām* (MS. KS. †  
 °thām), same texts *abhūtām* is certainly wrong, and all texts have  
 a 3d person in the 1st-pāda of the verse. See VV I p 235

§92. There are further a few anomalous variants concerning other  
 verbal endings containing *t* and *th*, or, in the last case, a verbal ending  
 with *th* varying with a nominal ending with *t*.

*abhīramyatām* (MŚ. °thām!) MŚ. ŚG YDh BṛhPDh The MŚ form, if  
 correct (it occurs in an unpublished part of the text), is hopelessly  
 anomalous, see VV I §22

*yāś ca* (yā) *devīr* (dēvyo, devīs) *antūn* (antān, tantūn) *abhito* 'dadanta  
 (tatantha), etc., see §63

*ubhāv indrā* (ŚB *indro*) *udīthah sūryaś ca* VS. ŚB. °aya(h)sthūnam  
 (TS °nāv) *uditā* (TS MS KS °tau) *sūryasya* RV TS. MS. KS  
 The old loc sing in °tā is shifted in VS ŚB. to a second person dual  
 verb, *udīthah*

§93. In nominal endings, suffixal or quasi-suffixal, this variation  
 has a certain scope, but is complicated by corruptions or other obscuri-  
 ties

*asunītāya* (TA °thāya) *vodhave* AV. TA The AV comm reads °thāya,  
 which is clearly original; °tāya is infected by *asunīti*; cf. Whitney  
 on AV. 18 2. 56

*punar brahmāno* (AV. *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV °nītur, KS \* °dhītam, 38.  
 12b† °nītha, MS °dhīte) *yajñash* (AV MS KS \* agne) AV VS TS.  
 MS KS (bis) ŚB All forms are rare and dubious KapS (v.  
 Schr. on KS 8 14b) has *vasudhītam* or °tum (so also v 1 of KS.).

*nirṛtho* (MS °to) *yāś ca nīsvanah* (AV *nīsvarah*) AV. MS TA *nirṛto* in  
 MS is a secondary blend of *nirṛtha* (old) and *nirṛta* (common).  
*svastī nah putrakṛtṛṣu* (MG. *pathyākṛtṛṣu*, but v. 1 as RV) *yoniṣu*  
 RV AB MG Note metathesis of *t* and *th* in MG.; if the reading  
 is correct, it is a blunder due to *pathyāsu* in the preceding

*ābhur* (MS KS *ābhūr*, NīlarU. *śvo*) *asya nīṣaṅgathih* (VS °dhuh,  
 NīlarU °tuh) VS TS MS KS NīlarU. The last has a corruption,  
 see §77

*paktā* (KSA *panthā*) *sasyam* TS KSA Comm. on TS, *pāḥaṣīlam*.

KSA corrupt, see Keith on TS 7. 5 20 1

*stuto* 'sī janadhāh TB ApŚ (LŚ. *pratīka*, *stutah*): *tuttho* 'sī janadhāyāh

(PB °yah) MS KS PB MŚ LŚ Is *stuto* lect fac for *tutho* of unknown meaning?

*samiddho agnir vṛṣanārātir* (AV °nā rathī, ŚŚ °nā rayir) *dvah* AV AB AŚ ŚŚ From RV. 3 3 6, 4 15 2, 8 75 1 it is probable that *rathī* is the true reading

*garbhaś ca sthātām garbhaś carathām* RV Conc would read *cāratām* (gen pl of *cāraṇī*), but *carāthām* (gen pl of *carātha*) may stand (Oldenberg, *Noten*)

§94. In a few adverbial forms this variation is primarily morphological, but rather indeterminate phonetic tendencies may have been at work.

*atho* (MU *ato*) *annenaiva jīvanti* TA 'TU MU

*tato* (AV ArS *tathā*) *viṣvañ vyakrāmat* (AV *tathā vyakrāmad viṣvañ*) RV. AV ArS VS TA

*atho rājann* (AV *ulā rājñām*) *ullamam mānavānām* AV TB

*atho pitā* (MS *utāyam pitā*) *mahatām gargarānām* AV TS MS KS

§95. As regards lexical interchange of *i* and *th*, RV 8 13 27 *harī indra pratadvasū abhi svāra* has been suspected of harboring a corruption of *prathadvasu*, 'increasing wealth' (Yāska, *prāpta-vasu*, Sāyana, *visṭirna-dhana*), or *pratata-vasu*. But there is not the slightest reason for any Vedic poet to blunder away from so obvious a form as *prathad-vasu*. The word as it stands may be *pra-tad-vasū*, '(carrying) forward his (Indra's) wealth', sc the two bay steeds, as subject. Cf the doubtful *hṛtād-vasū* (*hṛta-tad-vasū* with haplology?) in RV 8 31 9; see however Wackernagel, 2 1 pp 64, 319, Oldenberg *Noten* on the passages

§96. The lexical interchanges are otherwise few, largely corrupt, and partly based on different word divisions

*tābhyām* (MS KS add *vayam*) *patema suḥṛtām u lokam* (Kauś. *pathy-āśma suḥṛtasya lokam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś Dhātup has a root *path* 'go' doubtless abstracted from the noun *path*, *panīhan*. Possibly Kauś intends *pathyā(h) sma*. In VV I p 110 we have treated its form as a precative. It is likely, however, to be a mere corruption as regards the *th*

*hitvā na ūrjam pra patāt patiṣṭhah* (AV *padāt patiṣṭhah*) RV AV MG See §60

*samsrāvabhāgā* (VS ŚB KŚ *samsrava*°, MS °bhāgāh, KS Kauś °bhāgās) *stheṣā* (Kauś *taviṣā*) *bṛhantah* VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś *taviṣā* is a sophisticated assimilation to *bṛhantah*

*aktam* (MS MŚ *aptubhī*, KS \**artham*) *rihānā vyantu* (TS TB KhG

*viyantu*) *vayah* TS MS KS. (bis) TB MŚ GG. KhG : *vyantu*  
*vayo* 'ktam *rīhānāh* VS. ŚB KŚ *aktam rīhānāh*, 'licking the fat',  
 is certainly original, the KS. *artham* rationalizes poorly, or rather is a  
 mere corruption. Indeed von Schroeder on KS 31 11 suggests  
 emending *artham* to *aktam*. On MS see §152  
*atho mātātho pitā* TA · *hatā mātā hatah pitā* SMB : *hato hātamātā*  
*krimāh* AV See §386  
*atho ye kṣullakā iva* AV *hatah kriminām kṣudrahāh* SMB · *atho sthūrā*  
*atho kṣudrahā* TA. See ibid  
*sarve rādhyāh stha* (ŚŚ °yās tu) *putrahā* AB ŚŚ  
*grho hīranyayo mītah* (AŚ gr° mī° hī°) AV KS AŚ Here all AV. mss.  
 and comm read *mītah*, which makes no sense and is clearly a  
 corruption; RWh read *mītah* with Ppp and KS AŚ  
*parītoṣāt tad arpitā* ApŚ *pari doṣād ud arpitahā* KŚ. Read in both  
*udarpitah*, see §63  
*upa yajñam asthita* (AV. comm *asthita*, MŚ *astu* no) *vaiśiadevī* RVKh  
 AV ApŚ MŚ.

### *i* and *dh*

§97. Here we find chiefly forms of the roots *vr̥dh* and *vr̥t*, which in composition with several prepositions are almost synonymous, but in every variant which occurs one reading or the other is suspicious or corrupt. It happens that the *vr̥t* forms are correct or original in every case except the first two, where the reverse is true.

*bhīma ā vāvṛdhe* (SV *vāvṛte*) *śavah* RV. SV.

*madanti devīr amṛtā r̥tāvṛdhah* (Vait °*vr̥tah*) Vait ApŚ MŚ Caland on Vait 13·20 assumes that °*vr̥tah* (all mss) is an error

*abhi rāstrāya vartaya* (AV *vardhaya*) RV. AV. The AV is certainly poor, and Ppp has *vartaya*, see Whitney on 1 29 1. Cf next two  
*yenendro abhivāvṛte* (AV. °*vr̥dhe*) RV AV In same verse as prec ;  
 same conditions Cf also next

*abhi somo avivṛtat* (AV. °*vr̥dhat*) RV AV In next verse to the prec two, same conditions

*mavāto yo ny avivṛdhah* (ApMB °*vr̥tat*) HG ApMB. Oldenberg adopts °*vr̥tat* for HG

*pumānsam vardhatām* (†text is right, despite Conc) *mayi* ŚG. *pumān samvartatām mayi* PG. *pumān garbhas tarodade* SMB 'Let them two (Indra and Agni) make a male grow in me', 'let a male be in me' or the like ŚG has a 3 dual active verb See §840

Note further the exchange between the old (RV) adjectives *r̥tāvṛdh*

and *dhṛiavata* (not concerning root *vṛt*) in: *āvute* (*āvinne*) *dyāvāprthivī* *ṛtāvṛdhau* (*dhṛiavrate*), and others, see §§466, 665

§98. The remaining cases are sporadic, and again largely suspicious or corrupt

*sanvatsarasya dhāyāsā* (AV VS *tejasā*) AV VS TS KSA HG Synonyms

*sa mā mṛta* (MG *vṛtat*) AG ApMB MG : cf *tam mā mṛdhah* ŚG 'Let him not die', or 'do not fail him', and §78, *apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra*, etc. The MG has a mere corruption, see §225 *ābhur* (*ābhūr*, *śvo*) *asya nṣaṅgadhih* (*°ihih*, *°tah*), see §77

*vi te* (PG *tau te*, HG *vidhe*) *krodham nayāmasi* PG HG ApMB Kirste suggests emending HG to *vi te*, and this apparently Oldenberg assumes in his translation, *vidhe* may be somehow felt as from *vi-dhā*, but is really hopeless

*yebhyo madhu pradhāvati* (AV *pradhāv adhi*) RV AV TA Comm on AV, followed by SPP in text and by Whitney in his Translation, reads as RV. See Whitney's note and Lanman, ap Whitney, p xcii

*śriyai* (MG *śriye*) *putrāya veltavai* (MG *veddhavai*) ApMB MG For the MG Knauer suggests *veddhavai*, Cone *vettavai*

*nnanti pākam ahi* (ŚŚ *ṣadhi*) *dhīra eti* (ŚŚ *emi*) AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ *adhi* is very inferior in sense

### *d* and *dh*

§99. This interchange occurs in a considerable and heterogeneous mass of variants, most of which are isolated and either lexical or under suspicion of corruption. The manuscripts certify to the ease of confusion between the sounds by very frequently showing variation between them in the same passage of the same text; cf e.g., Whitney on AV 11.1.23 (*ansadhṛi* *°dṛi*), to mention only one out of numerous possible examples. In the midst of this miscellaneous mass, however, there looms a large and compact block of variants between the two roots *dā* and *dhā*. These two roots, thruout the whole of their inflection and in large part in nominal derivatives, are rime-words, differing (in general) only in the aspiration or lack of it. They are also in large measure synonymous, or so near it that it amounts to the same thing

### Roots *dā* and *dhā*

§100. They are thus used interchangeably, without betraying any perceptible difference of meaning, in ritual formulas like the following. *āyurdā asi* ŚŚ. *āyurdhā asi* TS JB AŚ

*āyurdā* (MS KS °dhā) *agne'si* VS TS MS KS. ŚB ŚŚ. PG.

*caḥṣudā* (KS °dhā) *avi* VS KS ŚB

*varcodā asi* VS ŚB ŚŚ *varcodhū asi* AV TS MS KS JB TB  
ApŚ MŚ.

*varcodā* (MS °dhā) *agne'si* VS TS MS ŚB ŚŚ PG —All these formulas are followed by *āyur* (*caḥṣur*, *raico*) *me* (*mayi*) *dehi* (*dhehi*), the verbs in the two associated formulas being always consistent

§101. There is, to be sure, one regular difference between these two verbs as regards the cases they govern, tho it is one-sided rather than reciprocal *dā* does not govern the locative of the person, but only the dative. The root *dhā*, on the other hand, while it seems (to our feeling at least) most naturally construed with the locative, may also govern the dative. We have noted among the variants only two cases of *dā* with the locative, both of which may reasonably be suspected

†*okhām dadhātu* (MS *dadātu*) *hastayoh* VS TS MS KS ŚB This is no real exception, first because a dative (*tubhyam*) in the preceding *pāda* is connected with the verb, the locative *hastayoh* being really epexegetic, but also and chiefly because the MS reading is nonsense, since the preverb *ā* is joined with *dā*, which could only mean 'take', a meaning that is manifestly impossible here. Cf *mā no andhe*, §105

*mayi puṣṭim* †*puṣṭipatr* (AV *puṣṭam puṣṭa*°) *dadhātu* (AG †*dadātu*) AV. MS KS TAA MahānU ApŚ AG SMB. Here the isolated *dadātu* in the late AG is evidently an error

[*mayi rucam dhāh* (KS †*dhehi*) MS KS Conc *dehi* for KS]

§102. On the other hand, we find cases like *payo me dāh*, MS, recurring as *payo mayi dhehi* ApŚ, and in the same text (TS) all three possibilities in a formula like *āyur me dehi* TS 1 5 5 3, *āyur me dhehi* 1. 6 6 1, and *āyur mayi dhehi* 7 5 19 2 (but, N B, no \**āyur mayi dehi*).

§103. In very simple formulas of the type presented in this paragraph, there is as a rule no criterion for establishing the greater originality of either reading. Indeed, it is doubtful to what extent they are properly to be considered variants of one another, not infrequently they may very well have originated independently

*rayam me dāh* (AV *dhehi*) AV. MS

*ojo dehi* KS *ojo dhatta* TS KŚ *ojo mayi dhehi* VS TB.. *ojo me dāh* (*svāhā*) AV VS ŚB

*balam dehi* KS *balam dhatta* TS MŚ *balam mayi dhehi* (AV *me dāh* *svāhā*) AV VS TB

*sāho mayi dhehi* (AV. *me dāh svāhā*) AV VS. TB

*prānam dhehi* (KS *dehi*) KS TA ApŚ. See Conc in the vicinity of these

*vācam dhehi* (MS. *me dāh*) MS TA

*annam me dehi* (PB \* *dhehi*) PB (both) LŚ Kauś, cf note on Kauś 136 4.

*āyur dhehi* (KS *dehi*) KS TA ApŚ. MŚ · *āyur me dāh* (*svāhā*) AV VS MS. ŚB TA ApŚ MŚ · *āyur mayi dhehi* VS TS ŚB *āyur me dehi* VS TS ŚB ŚŚ. PG : *āyur me dhehi* VSK TS KS KSA MS TB. ApŚ. *āyur me dhattam* TB ApŚ

*śrotram dehi* (TA *dhehi*) KS TA *śrotram mayi* (KSA †*mayi*, not *me*) *dhehi* TS KSA · *śrotram me dāh* AV MŚ

*caḥṣur dehi* (TA *dhehi*) KS TA *caḥṣur me dhehi* (KS KSA *dehi*) VS KS KSA. ŚB *caḥṣur mayi dhehi* TS · *caḥṣur me dāh* (*svāhā*) AV MS.

*tejo mayi* (AŚ *me*) *dhehi* (AŚ *dehi*) AV VS TS KS ŚB TB AŚ LŚ ŚG. ApMB : *tejo me dhāh* (AŚ *dāh svāhā*) TA AŚ

*varco mayi dhehi* VS TS PB ŚB ApŚ *varco me dāh* (TA *dhāh*) MS MŚ. TA.: *varco me dehi* VS TS ŚB ŚŚ PG · *varco me dhehi* VSK MS KS JB ApŚ *varco asmāsu dhatta* (AŚ *dhehi*) AV AŚ

*vīram dhatta* (AŚ *vīram me datta*, MŚ °*no datta*) *pītarah* AŚ ApŚ MŚ *vīrān nah pīlaro dhatta* ViDh *vīrān me pīlaro* (*tatāmahā*, *prata-tāmahā*) *datta* Kauś

*ūrjam mayi dhehi* VS VSK MS KS. PB ŚB LŚ. ApŚ MŚ *ūrjam me dhehi* (PB LŚ. *dehi*) VSK TS KS PB GB TB Vait LŚ KŚ *hṛdisprk kratusprg varcodāh* (MS °*dhā asī*) MS AŚ

§104. Prose formulas of a somewhat less simple type continue the same style of variations without introducing any additional criteria of textual correctness or priority

*asvibhyām pradhāpaya* (TA °*dāpaya*) MS TA

*apām oṣadhīnām garbham dhāh* (MŚ *garbham me dāh*) TS MŚ

*adhi dātre vocah* VS TS ŚB · *adhi dhātre vocah* MS KS

*caḥṣurdā varcodā varivodāh* TS · *varcodhā varivodhāh* MS *varcodā varivodāh* (TA *varivodā dravimodāh*) VS TS KS ŚB TA

*bhūs* (also, *bhuvas*, and *svas*) *ivay dadhāmi* (MG *te dadāmi*) ŚB BrhU PG HG MG. *bhūr bhuvaḥ svah sarvam ivay dadhāmi* (MG *svas te dadāmi*) ŚB BrhU PG MG

*anādhṛtāh sīdata sahaṇaso* (TS MS KS *sīdatorjasvatīr*) *mahi lṣatram* (*rarcāh*) *lṣatriyāya dadhatih* (KS *dadatih*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

*īyam vah sā satyā samdhābhūd* (MS *sanvāg abhūd*) *yām indrena samadhadhvam* (MS °*dadhvam*) TS MS *eṣā vas sā satyā sanvāg abhūd*

*yām indrena samadadhvam* KS *yām indrena samdhām samadhathlāh* (comm and some mss *samadhathlāh*) AV. Where the noun *samdhā* occurs, it guarantees connexion of the verb with the root *dhā*, note that in MS KS it is replaced by *samvāg*; but even so, *samadadhvam* may perhaps be felt as from root *dhā* (Wackernagel I p 128).

*astṛto nāmāham . . . ātmānam nī dadhe dyāvāpṛthivībhīyām gapīthāya* (KS . *dyāvāpṛthivyor ātmānam parī dade . .*) AV. KS

*devīr āpo apām napād . . devebhīyo devatra dhātā* (VS ŚB. *datta*, KS *dāta*) VS TS KS ŚB . . *tam devebhīyah śukrapebhīyo dāta* MS

*puṣṭapate cakṣuṣe cakṣuh smane smānam . . dehy asmai* MS . *puṣṭipataye* (AŚ °*pate*) *puṣṭis . . asmai punar dhehī* (AŚ. *dhehī* or *dehī svāhā*) AŚ ApŚ For *smane smānam* see Bloomfield, *AJP* 21 324

*agnir annādo 'nnapatir . mayī dadhātu* (TB *yajamānāya dadātu*) ŚB TB. KŚ Similarly nine other formulas with other gods

[*udgātār devayajanam me dehī* ŚB ApŚ (Conc *dhehī* for ApŚ)]

§105. The metrical variants bring in a larger number of texts, but offer little new evidence, only the familiar chronological relations of the various texts offer any basis for distinctions of priority, as when, in the first cases to be mentioned, we naturally assume that the RV is original.

*rayīm devī dadhātu me* AV. *rāyo devī dadātu nah* RV.

*purumedhas* (SV °*dhās*) *cit takave naram dāt* (SV. *dhāt*) RV SV

*dakṣam dadhāsi* (KS *dadāsi*, v 1 *dadhāsi*) *jīvase* RV. MS KS TB. ApŚ *asmabhyam dattām* (AV *dhattām*, but comm *dattām*) *varunaś ca manyuh*

RV AV — Ppp also *dattam*

*vasudeyāya* (KS °*dheyāya*) *vidhate vibhātī* RV KS In RV *vasudeya* occurs twice more, but no *vasudheya*

*tato no dehī jīvase* RV TB TA . *tasya no dhehī jīvase* AV SV Kaus *tsro dadhur* (KS *dadur*) *devatāh samrarānāh* VS † (so for Conc RV)

19 81b, MS KS TB The majority are probably original

*somāya rājñe paridhātavā* (HG °*dā*) *u* AV HG ApMB. As Kirste remarks, HG is secondary or corrupt, the first pāda of the verse has *paridhatta* in all texts

*mā no andhe tamasy antar ādāt* MŚ (properly emended by Knauer to *ādāt*, cf §101) *mā sv* (Poona ed *mo sv*) *asmāns tamasy antar-ādāt* TA *mo śvatvam asmāntarādāt* MS † (corrupt)

*pratyādāyāpara ṛsvā* AV 10 1 27, read *pratyādāyā*°, see Roth, *ZDMG* 48 681, and Whitney's and Bloomfield's Translations



*dhātā dadhātu* (TS. ApŚ. ApMB. *dadātu*) *no rayim* AV. TS. MS.† KS. ApŚ. ApMB. Kauś. See §106 first two variants.

*dhātā dadhātu* (ApŚ. *dadātu*) *sarmanas yamānāḥ* AV. MS. KS. ApŚ.

*indre a rā indriyam dattam ojaḥ* AV.: *asmin nara indriyaṁ dhattam ojaḥ* TS. Comm. on AV. and Ppp. *dhattam*.

*āyur no dehi jīraṣe* ŚG.: *āyus te* (AV. *āyur no*) *riśato dadhat* AV. TS. TA. ApŚ. AŚ. HG. BDh. Cf. *ray n no dehi* . . . §106.

*rāyas paśaṁ cīrituṣe* (AV. °ṣi AŚ. *yajamāne*) *dadhātu* (ŚŚ. *dadātu*) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*iṣaṁ ūrjāṁ yajamānāya ddehi* (Vait. *dattā*, AV. *duhrā*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait.

*leham asmai yajamānāya dehi* (MU. *dhehi*) TS. KSA. MU.

*trāṣā rūpāri dādātī* (ŚB. KŚ. *dadātī*) *sarasatī* ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. *dadātī* is a secondary adaptation to *dadātu* in the next pāda.

*asme dheli* (SV. *dehi*) *jātarato rahi śraraḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. *hīrī* (AV. *hīrā*) *sararṣāṁ adadur* (AV. *adadhur*) *ritasrate* RV. AV. N.

The AV. is undoubtedly secondary, but it is perhaps a little strong to call it a 'corruption' (Whitney).

*derabhya* (VS. *derānām*) *bhāṣadā* (TS. °*dha*) *asat* VS. TS. MS. KS.†

*pra na* (MS. KS. *rā*) *brūṣed bhāṣadhān* (ApŚ. °*dham*, MS. °*dām*, KS. *dhariṇā*) *deratāsu* (KS. °*ubhyach*) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

§105. In the preceding there seemed to be some reason for preferring one reading or the other. In the following we find none, or so little as not to be worth noting:

*dhātā dadātu* (AV. *dadhātu*) *dāṣuṣe* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. AG. ŚG. N. See next.

*dhātā riśatā rāyā dadhāt* AV.: *dhātā dadātu dāṣuṣe rasūni* TS. MS. ApMB. In variants like this and the preceding, the occurrence of a derivative of the root *dhā* in the context may be noted. But as an argument for priority it may be a two-edged sword. Does it indicate that the original verb was *dhā*, or rather that an original *dā* was attracted to it?

*rayim no dehi jīraṣe* ŚŚ.: *rayim no dheli yajñīṣam* MS. Cf. *āyur no dehi jīraṣe*. §105.

*medhām agnir dadātu me* (SMB. *dadhātu te*) SMB. ApMB.; cf. *medhām* *ta indro dadātu* HG, *medhām dhātā dadātu* (RVKh. Scheftelowitz. *dadhātu*) *me* RVKh. VS.

*tasmat rā devāḥ paridattēha sarre* AV.: *tasmai no devāḥ paridattēha* (KS. MŚ. °*dhatta* PG. °*dattēha*) *sarre* (MŚ.† *riśre*) TS. KS. MŚ. SMB. PG. BDh. Comm. on AV. also °*dattēha*, called by Whitney a better reading: of this we are less sure.

*tasya no rāsa tasya no dhēti* (AŚ *dāh*) AV. AŚ.  
*jūana ca prati tat te dadhāmi* (SMB *dadāmi*) TA SMB †. *jirannu ca*  
*pratidatte dadāmi* MŚ  
*udno* (AV. ed. *ūdno*, but mss. *utno* etc.; Whitney transl. reads *utno*)  
*diryasya no dhātah* (TS. KS *dēti*) AV. TS MS KS (comm. on  
 AV. *dhāta*, explaining by *dēti* (!)  
*mahi tarcah kṣatryūya dadhatih* (KS *dadatih*, TS *amānāh*) TS. MS  
 KS.

§107. Leaving now the roots *dā* and *dhā*, we come to other *d* and *dh* variations. They are practically all lexical, or else involve dubious and probably corrupt readings. But their very frequency, and the frequency of corruptions between the two sounds in the mss., certifies to the ease with which they could be confused. We begin with a group in which the variant forms are still fairly close to one another in external form; in the first they are even etymologically equivalent, concerning divergent forms of the desiderative of the root *dabh*. Thus (originally \**dhabh*) produces both *dhīps* and *dīps*, of which the first is historically regular, while the second, tho analogical in origin (*dhabh*), is the usual form. *nindād yo asmān dīpsāc* (VS ŚB. *dhīpsāc*) ca VS. TS. MS. KS ŚB. TA. *dhīpsyam cā saṅkalara janebhyah* MS : *aditsan rā samjagara janebhyah* TA. Here *dhīps* varies with the negative desiderative of *dā* (cf. §§180, 45).

*yam te śradhāvan śradayanti dhenavah* RV. : *yam te śradāvan śradanti gūrtayah* RV. The second version is inferior in sense and meter; see RVRep on 8. 5. 7a and 8. 49. 5c.

*sā brahmajāyā vi dunoti rāṣtram* AV. : *sā rāṣtram ara dhūnute brahmajyasya* AV. Roots *du* and *dhū*.

*rajani* (AV. ed. em. *rajjuni*) *granthiher dānam* (AŚ. *dhānām*) AV. AŚ. Vait. The emendation *rajjuni* is very pat; the passage means 'the tying of a rope', and *dhānām*, like *rajani*, is nonsense.

*adhi kṣami* (SV. *asmin kṣaye*) *prataram dīdhyānah* (SV. \**rām dīdhyānah*) RV. AV. SV. See Whitney on AV. 18. 1. 1 and Geldner, *Gurupūjākaumudī* 20. SV. has an obvious lect. fac infected by ideas such as RV. 5. 64. 5, *sudītibhik . . . se kṣaye . . . vṛdhase*, or RV. 5. 23. 4, *eṣu kṣayeṣu . . . dīdhi*. Geldner seems to have the right sense (with *dīdhyānah*).

*yad banhiṣṭhaṁ nātvīdhe* (TB \**vide*) *sudānū* RV. MS. KS TB. AŚ. Both readings make a sort of sense; TB comm. *nātyantam labhyam*. But the compound *atī-vid* is not really Sanskrit, and is properly wanting in the lexicons. However, one ms. of MŚ. has \**vide*.

*indra darta* (SV *dharta*) *purām asi* RV. SV. AV The foolish antonym of SV is disproved by RV. 1 130. 10, 3 45 2, 6. 20 3

[*dhāmno-dhāmno rājan* VS TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ KŚ LŚ ApŚ MŚ MG. So also mss. on AV 7 83 2, emended by RWh to *dāmno-dāmno* Whitney, Transl, keeps the emendation, tho even Ppp has *dh-* But Keith on TS, 'from every rule' (ordinance), which is conservative and possible At any rate there is no variant In the preceding verse also the AV mss have *sarvā dhāmāni muñcatu*, emended by RWh to *dāmāni*, the variant KS 3 8, AŚ. 3 6 24 has *dhāmno-dhāmna iha muñcatu* ]

§108. A little less close to each other are the roots *vid* and *vr̥dh*, which exchange several times, the 'Prakritic' exchange of *r* and *ṛ* also comes in here In the first two variants *vid* is clearly original, in the last the precedence is less clear

*mā no vidad* (KS *vr̥dhad*) *vr̥jinā* (KS TB ApŚ *vr̥janā*) *dveṣyā* †*yā* AV KS TB ApŚ Cf Conc under *mā no vidad* (*vidan*)

*hotrāvidah* (RV. \**vida*, TB \**vr̥dha*) *ślomalaṣtāso arkaḥ* RV AV MS TB On *hotrāvid* cf RV 5 8 3; *hotrāvr̥dh* is not recorded

*indrartubhir brahmaṇā vāvr̥dhānah* TB ApŚ · *indra ṛbhuhir brahmaṇā samvidānah* ŚŚ

§109. Remoter lexical variants are the following:

*śyenasyeva dhrajato* (MS KS *dravato*) *añkasam pari* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB. *dravatah* is a banal easing up of the poetic *dhraj-* with *śyena*; cf RV 1 165 2

*avocāma kavaye medhyāya* RV. VS TS MS *pra vedhase kavaye vedyāya* (TB ApŚ. MŚ *medhyāya*) RV KS TB ApŚ MŚ *śrulkarnāya kavaye vedyāya* AV KS ApŚ

*āpo asmān* (MS *mā*) *mātarah śundhayantu* (AV MS KS *sūdayantu*, TS ApŚ *śundhantu*) RV. AV VS TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ApŚ *sūd°* is evidently secondary Note that in AV 20 136 16d the word *śuddham* of the vulgate is based on mss readings *sudam* and *śunam* (Whitney, Index).

*tam tvā bhrātarah suvr̥dho* (HG *suhṛdo*, AV *suvr̥dhā*) *vardhamānam* AV ApMB HG *suvr̥dhā vardh°*, 'growing with good growth', is original In iHG. there is a slipshod assimilation in sense to *bhrātarah* ('brothers, friends')

*spardhante dhuyah* (TS. KSA *divah*) *sūrye na* (SV *sūre na*, TS KSA † *sūryena*) *viśah* RV SV TS KSA In RV., 'Pious thoughts (prayers) vie for him (Soma) as people (vie for) the sun,' poetic but intelligible, is done over in TS KSA, into 'The people of the

sky vie with the sun (seated on Soma as on a steed) ' So at least the TS comm., followed by Keith; this however implies emendation of the accent of *divah* to *divāh* (ignored by them). If correct, this concept is otherwise apparently unknown, and it is strange that it supplants the familiar notion of 'conflicting prayers' (Bloomfield, Acts 14th Congress Orientalists 242ff, or *Johns Hopkins Circulars* 25 1ff) The whole verse is obscure.

§110. The rest are obscure if not corrupt:

*apa snehūtīr* (KS ms *snihūti*, em v Schroeder; SV. *snīhātīm*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāh* [so divide], KS † *nṛmanām adadhrām*) RV AV. SV KS · *upa stuhi tam nṛmnām* (Poona ed *snuhi tam nṛmanām*) *athadrām* TA —KapS reads *snehūtī nṛmanām athamdrī* In RV 'He, the heroically minded, drove away the enemies' Cf. 1 74 2 Benfey takes *adhad* as aorist of *dhā*, and *rāh* as 'riches' The TA comm. understands *snuhi* as *bhūmau prasarāvaya* (root *snu*), and glosses *athadrām* by *adhodravanaśīlam* (v. 1 *atho*°, as if *atha* = *adhas*+*drā*!) Why these terrible readings instead of the simple version of RV.?

*anāgaso adham it samkṣayema* TB · *anāgaso yathā sadam it sam kṣiyema* Vait Comm. on TB. *adham id, anantaram eva*; but no adverb *adham* is otherwise known It seems to be a nonce-formation = *adhā* by proportional analogy, on a pattern such as *sadā sadam* = *adhā adham*, note that the TB. comm assigns to it the meaning of *sadam*, 'always' Cf VV I p 195

*upākṛtam śaśamānam yad asthāt* (MŚ *sadhassthāt*, v 1. *sad asthāt*) AV. TS. KS MŚ If *sadhassthāt* is more than a blunder it must depend on *upākṛtam* 'fetched from home' or the like

*vanā vananti dhṛṣatā* (MŚ. mss *dhṛṣadā* and *drṣadā*) *rujantah* RV. TS. JB ŚB MŚ See §60

*ud vanśam iva yemre* RV SV TS KB N · *ūrdhvam kham wa menire* Mbh

*adhā viśtah pitum addhi prasūtah* KS *adomadam annam addhi pramuktah* AV And others, §870 *adomadam* is obscure, we suspect that it contains *adas* (pronoun).

[*tayā madantah sadhamādyeṣu* (RVKh VS. *sadhamādeṣu*) RVKh VS MS KS TB And others; §325 Scheftelowitz prints °*mādhyeṣu* in RVKh; but his ms °*mādyeṣu*.]

*p* and *ph*

§111. Only in the synonymous roots *guṣp* and *gulph* Aspiration in the latter may be somehow connected with sibilation in *guṣp*, but the

relation is obscured by other forms such as *guph*, *gumph* (Whitney, *Roots*), see Bloomfield, *Hymns of the AV* 338, top, where *guṣṭam* ŚB 3 2 2 20 is a misprint of that text

*mano yad asya guṣṭam* (ApŚ *gulphitam*) MS ApŚ

*yad asya guṣṭam* (ApŚ *gulphitam*) ḥṛḍi MS. ApŚ

*vṛṣāne vi śya guṣṭam* (some mss and comm *gulphitam*) AV

#### p and bh

§112. These sounds vary chiefly in rime-words of nearly synonymous meanings most commonly the roots *pr* and *bhr*, in the meanings 'preserve' and 'support' In AV 3 5 4c, *tam pṛyāsam bahu rocamānah*, we must read *bhṛyāsam* with Whitney

*manas tanūṣu bībhṛatah* (TB \* ApŚ \* LŚ *pīpratah*) RV VS TB LŚ

ApŚ Kauś Both readings in TB. ApŚ.

*utem* (ŚŚ *uto*) *āśu mānam pīpartu* (ŚŚ *bībhartu*) AV AB GB ŚŚ One

ms of ŚŚ *pīpartu*, which should perhaps be read even in that text

*tam pīprhi daśamāśyo* 'ntar udare ŚG *tam mātā daśa māso bībhartu*

ApMB HG

*sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtam bībhartu* AV 13 1 1d, Ppp according to Roth *pīpartu* for *bī*°, which must be secondary if Ppp has *subhṛtam* as indicated by Roth's silence This is just the converse of the following, which concerns three pādas of AV 11 5 (1d, 2e, 4d).

*sa ācāryam tapasā pīpartu* (Ppp *bībhartu*),

*sarvān sa devāns tapasā pīpartu* (Ppp *bībhartu*), and

*śramena lokāns tapasā pīpartu* (Ppp *bībhartu*), all AV. and Ppp

§113. There are also two interchanges of the partly synonymous roots *yup* and *lubh*, the former being original both times, see Bloomfield, *AJP* 12 414ff.

*samyopayanto durtāni vīsvā* RV MG *samlabhayanto durtā padām* AV *ayupitā* (ApŚ. *alubhitā*, and once *āyupitā* by misprint, see Errata to

Vol. 2) *yonih* MS ApŚ MŚ

§114. Finally two miscellaneous cases

*agner jīhvāsi suhūr* (VSK TS TB *subhūr*, KS *supūr*) *devebhyaḥ* (TS TB *devānām*) VS VSK TS. KS TB ŚB ŚŚ *suhū*, 'calling enticingly,' fits *jīhvā* best

*yā sarasvatī varṣambhalyā* (ApŚ °*balyā*, vv 11 °*phalyā*, °*bhalyā*)

TB ApŚ The true form, derivation, and meaning of this epithet are unknown TB comm has a fatuous explanation

## ASPIRATE MUTES AND H

§115. That there was in Vedic times, as in Prakrit, a tendency to reduce aspirates to *h* is indicated e g by Wackernagel 1 §218 Nearly all our cases concern *bh* and *h*; and a majority of these, again, the single root *grah* (*grabh*) Any rule as to early phonetic interchange between these two forms of the root (Wackernagel, l. c., p 252) is cheerfully neglected The same school or the same text will use *grabh* in one place and *grah* in another, under like conditions The popular texts, AV and most of the Grhya Sūtras, seem to like *grah* a little better, but they are not consistent, they are merely moving in the direction of Classical Sanskrit, with which they are in other respects more closely affiliated than the hieratic language Perhaps the same preference may be discernible in TS and KS RV and other archaizing texts—seemingly including VS, MS, ŚB. and ApMB—and the RV. sūtras prefer *grabh* on the whole But really the one stable factor is inconsistency.

*bh* and *h*

§116. We begin with *bh* and *h*, which includes *grah*: *grabh* and with it nearly all that may have historical significance First, *grah* and *grabh* *gr̥bhñāmi* (AV. HG *gr̥hñāmi*) *te saubhagatvāya* (ApMB HG *supra-jāśtvāya*) *hasam* RV. AV AG ŚG SMB PG HG ApMB MG *jagr̥hmā* (RV *jagr̥bhñā*, TB *jagr̥bhñā*) *te dal.ṣinam indra hasam* RV SV MS TB Svidh In VV I p 252 we have suggested that the form *jagr̥bhñā* (comm *vayam gr̥hīlavantah*) may have been a 1st person subjunctive [In the ms of this section Bloomfield wrote. 'If this startling form is more than an old and inexplicable blunder, it seems to contain dissimilation of *m* to *n* after the labial aspirate' I myself am now inclined to see in it only a sort of confused blend-form, *jagr̥bhñā* (in which *-mā* is the 1st plural ending) of RV is stupidly altered to *-nā* with thought of the present infix in forms like *gr̥bh-nā-ti*—F E]

*na hy asyā* (ApMB *asyai*) *nāma gr̥bhñāmi* RV ApMB : *nahī te nāma jagrāha* AV

*hṛanyapāvāḥ paśum āsu* (SV *apsu*) *gr̥bhñate* (AV.† *gr̥h*°) RV. AV SV *savitā* (AG. ApMB HG. MG °*tā te*) *hasam agrabhū* (AV SMB MG °*hū*) AV. AG ŚG SMB ApMB HG. MG : *devas tē savitā hasam gr̥hñātu* AV.

*idam rādhaḥ prati gr̥bhñīhy* (JB. *gr̥hñīhy*) *aṅgrāḥ* AV. GB. JB ŚŚ *bhagas te hasam agrabhū* (AV. °*hū*) AV ŚG. ApMB

*agnṣ te hastam agrabhūt* (SMB °hūt) SMB ApMB. HG  
*aryamā* (ApMB. °mā te) *hastam agrabhūt* (SMB °hūt) ŚG SMB ApMB  
*oṣadhayah prati grbhñta* (TS KS *grhñtāgnim etam*, MS MŚ *grbhñ-*  
*tāgnim etam*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB MŚ  
*nākam grbhñnāh* (TS KS *grh°*) *sukṛtasya loke* VS TS MS KS ŚB  
*agne brahma grbhñṣva* (MS MŚ *grhñṣva*, KS *grhṣva*) VS MS KS  
 ŚB MŚ

*apo devīr* (VS ŚB *devā*) *madhumatīr agrhnan* (MS KS *agrḥhnām*,  
 VS ŚB *agrḥhnan*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

*āpo devīh pratigrbhñta* (TS KS ApŚ † °*grhñta*) *bhasmantat* VS TS  
 MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

*devo vah savitā hiranyapānīh prati* (MS MŚ °*pānir upa*) *grhnātu* (VS  
 ŚB *pratigrḥhnātu*, VSK °*vah savitā pratigrhñātu*. ) VS VSK  
 TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ

*aditis te* (VS MS ŚB °*ḥṣ te*) *bilam grhnātu* (VS MS ŚB *grbh°*) .  
 VS. TS MS KS ŚB TA ApŚ

*tam vo grhnāmy* (MS *tam te grbhñāmy*) *uttamam* VS TS MS KS ŚB  
 TA

*prati grhnāmi* (MS. TB † AŚ *grbh°*) *mahate vīryāya* (MS. KS *mahata*  
*īndriyāya*) MS KS TB AŚ—TB. Poona ed text and comm  
*grbh°*.

*yasya yonim pakireto grbhāya* (HG *prati reto grhāṇa*) ŚG HG *vy asya*  
*yonim prati reto grhāṇa* ApMB

§117. The same variation occurs in the independent but semantically  
 synonymous roots *bhr* and *hr*, without other motive than the close  
 similarity in sound. The first two variants in §118 belong also here  
*parāpuro nūpuro ye bharantī* (MŚ *har°*) AV VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ  
 SMB

*rātrīm-rātrīm* (VS ŚB \* *ahar-ahar*, AV TS *rātrīm-rātrīm*) *aprayāvam*  
*bharantah* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB (both) *ahar-ahar bāhm it te*  
*harantah* AV

*śarma varmedam ā bhara* ApMB *śarma varmantad ā hara* AV

*viṣṇuh sambhriyamānah* VS *viṣṇur upāvahriyamānah* TS

*prānāpānābhyām balam āharantī* (ApMB *ābhar°*) SMB ApMB  
 (Other forms, see Conc)

§118 Next come a number of shifts between the participles *-hita*  
 (*-dhita*) and *-bhṛta* (*-hṛta*, cf preceding) Tho quasi-Prakritic as regards  
 both vowel and consonant change, this variation really concerns approxi-  
 mate synonyms Cf also *-dhita* *-bhṛta*, §175

*hiranye 'smin samāhitāh* (HG *samābhṛtāh*) RVKh HG ApMB Schef-  
 telowitz reads °*hṛtāh* in RVKh

*devir devaih samāhṛtāh* (TB °bhṛtāh) SV TB : *devair devih samāhṛtāh* RVKh But Scheftelowitz, here also, reads °hṛtāh for RVKh<sup>6</sup>; if this is right the variant belongs in the preceding paragraph alone. *gandharvo dhāma vibhṛtam guhā sat* VS : *gan° nāma nihitam guhāsu* TA MahānU. And others; §855.

*sūryaraśmim samābhṛtam* TS TB . *sūryāñ* (p p °yāt) *śultram samābhṛtam* MS *sūrye santam* (KS TA *śultram*) *samāhṛtam* (KS TA °bhṛtam) VS. KS ŚB TA.

*yad agne pūrvam prabhṛtam* (AŚ *prahitam*; MŚ *nihitam*) *padam hi te* TB ApŚ AŚ MŚ

§119. Next we group together a number of cases in which derivatives of the root *bhū* vary with others from *hū* and *hu*. All are ritualistic epithets compounded with *su-* or *sva-*, and in such language these epithets are very nearly interchangeable, one does about as well as another

*agner jihvāsi suhūr* (*subhūr*, *supūr*) *devebhyah* (*devānām*), see §114

*ekayā ca daśabhiś ca svabhūte* (AV *cā suhūte*) AV VS MS ŚB. TA AŚ.

ŚŚ According to Roth Ppp has *cā bhūte*, 'evidently intending *cā svabhūte*, which is presumably original. Vāyu is addressed

*ā tvā subhava* (AB AŚ *suhava*) *sūryāya* AB KB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ

*samudram na suhavam* (AV *subhuvas*, TB °oona ed *suhavam*) *tasthivānsam* AV. TB ApŚ : *mahīṣam nah subhvam tasthivānsam* MS —

AVPpp reads as MS except *subhavas*, for which Barret, JAOS 35 46, reads *subhuvas*. The root *hu* may be concerned here, despite TB comm (*sukhenāhvātum śakyam*).

*suhutakṛtāh stha* . . AŚ : *subhūtākṛta stha* ApŚ. : *subhūtākṛtāh subhūtām nah kṛnuta* ŚŚ

§120. In two cases—besides the *grah*·*grabh* variants—the identical word, or a derivative of the same root, appears with *bh* and *h*

*kakubham* (VSK TS ApŚ *lakuham*) *rūpam vṛṣabhasya* (KS *rūpam rṣ°*) *rocate brhat* (VSK *brhan*) VS VSK. TS MS KS ŚB (*pratikas*, ApŚ MŚ) —*kakuha* occurs already in RV, which does not know *kakubha*. Cf §23

*apām gambhān sīda* VS ŚB KŚ *apām gambhīram gacha* KS ApŚ . *apām tvā gahman sādāyām* . . MS MŚ

§121. Miscellaneous cases

*brāhmanebhyo hy anuṣṇātā* (TA °bhyanu°) TA MahānU *hi* (a) *bhī asambhavyam* (JB *asamheyam*, perhaps for *asamkhyeyam*) *parābhavan* AV JB

*abhi dyumnam* (RV. VS *sumnam*) *devabhaktam yaviṣṭha* (MS KS *devahitam yaviṣṭhya*) RV. VS TS. MS. KS ApMB



*nābhīmṛṣe* (MS KS *nābhīdhṛṣe*) *tanvā* (TS *tanuvā*) *jarbhurānah* (TS MS KS *jarhṛṣānah*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB  
*asmān* (MS KS *asmān*) *u devā avatā haveṣu* (MS KS *bhareṣv ā*) RV.  
 SV VS TS MS KS *asmān devāso* †*vatā haveṣu* AV

### dh and h

§122. Here we find only a few variants. They are partly based on familiar phonetic alternates (imperative ending *dhī hi*, participle *hita dhita*), partly on lexical changes

*nṛnh* (MS *nṛnṣ*) *pāhi śrnudhī* (SV *°hī*) *gīrah* RV SV VS MS KS ŚB Cf Wackernagel I p 253

*uṣnena vāya* (ApMB *vāyav*) *udakenehi* (SMB GG *°nandhi*, MG *vāyur udakenet*) AV AG SMB GG PG ApMB MG *ihī edhi*, both regular, the latter obviously secondary

*upasthe soma āhitah* (ApMB *ādhitah*) RV AV ApMB MG Note archaism in ApMB

*ye bhakṣayanto na vasūny ānṛdhuh* (TS *ānṛhuh*, MS *ānaśuh*) AV TS MS Whitney (*Roots*) rubricates *ānṛhuh* under *arh*. The obscurity of the passage makes it impossible to say whether this is right or whether it is a phonetic form of *ānṛdhuh*, see Whitney's note on AV 2 35 1 and Keith on TS 3 2 8 3

*grdhrah śitīkakṣī vārdhrānasas te divyāh* (KSA ms *vārhīnasas te 'divyāh*) TS KSA Von Schroeder emends to *vārdhrī°*, questionably, see Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 28, and above §23

*harṣamānāso dhṛṣṭā* (TB *°atā*) *marutvah* RV TB N *harṣamānā hṛṣṭāso marutvan* AV Three mss of AV *dhṛṣṭāso*, Ppp ms *ṛṣamānāso ṛṣadā*, for which Barret, *JAOS* 35 59f, reads *dhṛṣṭā*. The form *hṛṣṭ°* is obviously suggested by the preceding *harṣa°*

*usrāv* (VSK KS *usrā*) *etam dhūrṣāhau* (VSK MŚ *°vāhau*, KS *°bādhdā*) . VS VSK TS KS ŚB MŚ

### gh and h

§123. We find only a few cases, which seem on the whole to concern phonetic reduction of *gh* to *h*

*arghah* HG *arghyam* ŚŚ HG *arghyam bhoh* Kauś *arhanāyā āpah* ApG See §321, end *arh* = *argh*

*aṅghārīr* (ŚŚ *anhārīr*, all mss) *aśi bambhārīh* VS TS MS KS PB ŚŚ LŚ The word is obscure, but ŚŚ looks like a phonetic reduction

*somam le krīnāmy ūrjasvantam payasvantam tvīryāvantam abhīmātīṣāham*

(KS *vīryāvāntam bahvargham śobhamānam*) TS KS : *somavikrayin somam te krīnāni mahāntam bahvarham bahu śobhamānam* MS  
*am ghed agnir vṛdhāvati* RV TS : *tam hed agnir vidhāvati* MS Particles  
*gha* and *ha*

*āram hi* (read *avīraghnī*?) *vīravatah suśevā* MG : *avīraghno* (ApMB †  
 °nī) *vīravatah* (ŚG *vīratarah*, HG °*tamah*) *suvirān* (HG *suśevān*)  
 AŚ ApŚ ŚG HG ApMB

#### lh and h

§124. Only one real variant, which concerns an onomatopoeic word imitating the sound of a frog With this cf *asambhavyam* (JB *asam-heyam*) *parābhavan* AV JB, where *asamheyam* may be for *asamkhyeyam*; see §121

*khanvakhā3i khaṁmakhā3i madhye taduri* AṼ : *haṁmahā3 haṁmahā3*  
 KŚ Cf *haṁmahā3 idam madhv*. ŚŚ LŚ. ApŚ

## CHAPTER IV. INTERCHANGES OF THE MUTE SERIES

### 1. GUTTURALS AND PALATALS

§125. Interchange between gutturals and palatals is of special interest, because both go back to identical IE sounds, namely velars or labio-velars, with the exception of the voiceless aspirates which are peculiar. The general rule that palatals appear before IE *e*, *ē*, *i*, *ī*, and *y*, much disturbed by analogies even in established words and classes of words, is still further rendered unstable by the more sporadic forms that mostly appear among the variants. Especially VSK. affects forms like *taratā* for *taracmi*, *yanagmi* for *yanajmi* (§§127, 131), etc. It may be observed that in these particular forms VSK. is historically regular, the variant forms being analogical. But since VSK. also replaces *j* with *g* before *m* when *j* is an IE palatal, which should never appear as *g*, it is unlikely that it here preserves unchanged a real prehistoric form. Rather we are dealing with a secondary matter of school oddity. Wackernagel I §§119ff., especially 121ff., deals fully and ably with the leading aspects of the interrelation of these sounds.

#### *k* and *c*

§126. The variants are not numerous. They occur occasionally in the same word, but more often in words which, while not identical, are available for interchange because of greater or less semantic proximity. Thus, first, in two derivatives of the root *cit*:

*ac-cit-tārā cetā abhira-cit-kāśādhara* (TB. *keṭo abhira-cit-kāśādhara*) AV. TB. *ā ro cyeṇa cucturā* (TB. ApS. *śuketurā*) RV. SV. MS. TB. AS. ŚS. ApS.

The *cetan* *keṭa* is *ṛṣ.ṣey*, and is doubtless due to confusion between *cetā* and *keṭa*, both of which are historically regular. TB. *comri. sukāśādhara*, the meaning of the Classical *keṭa* (perhaps from *cī*, 'pile', rather than *cit*). The form *-ketu* of the second instance is (to be sure with different meanings) commoner and more primary than *-cetu*, patterned after the prevalent *c* forms of the root. Cf. Wackernagel I p. 146, and further Oldenberg on RV. 5. 65. 4; Neisser, *ZWsch. d. RV.*, s. v. *ketunā*. Yet the reading *suketurā* is evidently secondary.

*śobhā* (TS. *śoṣā*) *prithivā idā nā divas pari* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *śoṣā* is *ṛṣ.ṣey*, and analogical.

*kanīkhunad va sāpayan* TB : *canīkhudad yathāsapam* AŚ *c-* is again analogical; for the intensive reduplication see Wackernagel I p. 147. *yatrautān* (VS. ApMB °*nān*) *vellha nīhātān parāke* (SMB. *parācah*) VS AG Kauś SMB ApMB. HG MG. *parā(ñ)c-* and its extension *parāl-a-*

*nū ci* (SV. *nakīh*) *sa dabhyate janah* RV. SV. *cīl'* is, of course, in origin the regular neuter to the stem *ka-*; but equally of course no consciousness of this relationship can have been present at the time when this variation occurred

*atho adhunkartanam* (ApMB °*cartanam*) RV. AV. ApMB Here the two roots are unrelated. *kṛt* 'cut' and *cṛt* 'tie'. In both the initial sound has been generalized (Wackernagel I p. 145). The primary reading of this variant was 'cutting off'; the secondary, 'untying'. *ima udvāsīkārina* . TB. ApŚ . *imā uddhāsīcārīna* . . . MŚ. See §59 The MŚ reading is secondary and poor; it is felt as containing root *car*, as against the original *kṛ*

§127. In a class by itself is the curious phonetic treatment of an established root-ending *c* as *k* before *m* in VSK, see §125:

*indrasya* (MS. MŚ *indrāya*) *tvā bhāgam somena tanacm* (VSK *tanakm*, MS MŚ *somenātānacm*) VS VSK KS ŚB . *somena tvā tanacm* *indrāya dadhī* TS. TB ApŚ

#### *g* and *c*

§128. An isolated case concerning unrelated words; the majority reading with *c* is presumably original.

*na var śvelasyādhyācāre* (HG °*bhyācārena*, MG. °*bhyācāre*, AG *śvelas cābhyāgāre*) AG PG. ApMB. MG

#### *l* and *ch*

§128a. An isolated lexical variant.  
*chavīm* (KSA *ḥlavīm*) *chavyā* TS KSA. The latter is doubtless original, assimilation to the next word in TS, resulting in absurd repetition of the same stem.

#### *kh* and *ch*

§129. Two variants contain forms of *khud* and *chud*, identified by Haug, ZDMG 7 517, and hesitatingly by Uhlenbeck, *Etym Wbch* Wackernagel however (I §§121, 131), with most scholars tho against Brugmann, denies any historic connexion between *kh* and *ch*. See his references §131b, end, and cf Guntert, *Reinwortbildungen* 23, 32.

*yatah* (MS *yena*) *prajā akhīdrā* (MS *achīdrā*) *ajāyanta* . TS. MS KS  
*akhīdrāh* (ApŚ *aghorah*) *prajā abhivṛpāśya* KS ApŚ *achinnaputrāh*  
 (MS *°trah*) *prajā aruvīkṣasva* VS. MS ŚB

*g* and *j*

§130. The distinction between the two kinds of Sanskrit *j* (Wackernagel I §§120, 136ff) is such that *j* from IE palatal *g* should properly never vary with *g*, whereas *j* of the velar (labio-velar) series should appear only before IE *e*, *ē*, *i*, *ī*, *y* Nevertheless *j* from palatal *g* produces analogically some *g* forms (Wack §138), and the velar voiced sound at the end of roots before consonantal endings (usually *m* and *v*) is regularly treated as *j* (Wack §130c) The variants regard all historic distinctions of this sort little or not at all

§131. To begin with, VSK as we have remarked (and in one case SV) shows *g* for *j* before *m* (§§125, 127) This applies equally to both kinds of *j* (root *yuj* with velar, roots *mṛj* and *sṛj* with palatal)

*mitrārārunayos tvā praśāstroh praśiṣā yunajmi* (VSK *°gmi*) . VS

VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ

*agnim yunajmi* (VSK *°gmi*) *śavasā ghṛtena* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

KŚ ApŚ MŚ

*agnīṣomābhīyām juṣtam nī yunajmi* (VSK *°gmi*) VS VSK ŚB

*vājīnam tvā vājedhyāyāi* (TS *sapatnasāham*, KS *vājīn vājayatyāyāi*)

*sam mārjmi* (VSK *°gmi*) VS VSK TS KS ŚB

*vājīnīm tvā vājedhyāyāi* (TS *sapatnasāhīm*, KS *vājīni vājayatyāyāi*)

*sam mārjmi* (VSK *°gmi*) VS VSK TS KS Corresponding

formulas of other schools all with *mārjmi*, see Conc under *vājī tvā*

*upa tvā lāmān mahah sasṛjmahe* RV AV *upa tvā lāma īmahe sasṛjmahe* SV

§132. Besides the above, derivatives of the roots *yuj* and *sṛj* show each a couple of variations between *g* and *j*

*hinvāno mānuṣā yugā* (SV. *yujā*) RV SV

*daivyañ mānuṣā yugā* RV SV. VS TS ŚB *vīprāso mānuṣā yugā* KS

*daivam mānuṣā yujā* MS The SV form of the first variant may

be taken with Benfey as instrumental from root-stem *yuj* In this

case both are phonetically normal, as the RV. has a neuter plural

of *yugā* (cf Wackernagel I §128a, d) In the second case also

MS may have an adverbial instrumental

*diśtāya rajjūsarjam* (TB *°sargam*) VS TB

*prajāpale vīśi asṛj* (MS *°sṛj*, mss mostly *sṛk*, one *sṛj*) *jīvadhanyah*

MS TB AŚ † 2 14 12c [also in Conc under *īdam no deva pratiharya*

*havyam*, read AŚ. 2 14. 12d] ApŚ — The ἀπ λει. *rajju*<sup>o</sup> seems to mean 'rope-maker' (TB comm *rajjunām sraṣṭāram*), and the vocalism of the radical syllable points to an *a*-stem. Since *a*-stems from roots in velar *j* tend to have *g* (Wackernagel §128a), the root *srj* is carried away with the rest; cf. the familiar nomen actionis *sarga*. The 'historically correct' *sarja*, occurring here alone, may therefore be secondary. On *srj*·*srj* see Wackernagel I pp. 173f, 329. In the second variant *srj* before *j* might stand for *sr̥t*, cf. below, §112, *brahman tvam asi viśvasr̥t* (<sup>o</sup>*sr̥k*).

§133. Once an intensive reduplication varies between *g* and *j*; cf. the same with *k* and *c*, §126, *kanīkhunad* etc.:

*m galgaliti dhārakā* VS ŚB. *m jalgaliti* (KSA † mss. *jalgaliti*, ed. em. *jalgaliti*) *dhāmkā* TS KSA

§134. The rest concern miscellaneous words of independent origin: †*prajāyāmasy agratah* HG. *prajāyāmasy agratah* PG ApMB.: *prajāyāmy asyāgratah* MG. Verb forms of *pra-gai* and *pra-jan*, the latter obviously secondary, but found in other places besides HG; see Kirste's note

*sadā yācann aham girā* (SV. *jyā*) RV SV N. Comm. on SV. reads *girā* with RV. Since *jyā* is unaccented, Benfey posits a verb-form ('potential optative') of root *ji*, with loss of final *m*, for \**jyām* = \**jyām*. Very dubious

*apa* (AV. *ava*) *śveta padā jahī* AV. AG. ŚG. PG ApMB HG: *apah* (most mss. *apa*) *śvetapad āgahī* (so all mss.) MG. See §817.

*punar brahmāno* (AV. *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (<sup>o</sup>*nītir*, <sup>o</sup>*dhītam*, <sup>o</sup>*dhīle*) *yajñaiḥ* (AV. MS KS \**agne*) AV. VS TS MS. KS. (bis) ŚB. See §93.

## 2 GUTTURALS AND LINGUALS

§135. A single stray variant concerning obscure forms in *k* and *d*: *tekaś ca sasaramaṭaṅkaś ca* HG: *tekaś ca sasaramalandaś ca* ApMB. See §165.

## 3 GUTTURALS AND DENTALS

§136. The variations between gutturals and dentals are interesting, but none too numerous and for the most part difficult or dubious. To some extent they concern final consonants; in one of these cases the ultimate root concerned has a palatal ending, and the variation is really one of *sandhi*. The majority of guttural-dental variants are lexical in character; often the change is in consonant combinations, again bringing in (this time internal) *sandhi* or assimilation.

*k* and *t*

§137. We begin with lexical variants, where we find first the absolutely equivalent rime-roots *stabh* and *ślabh*; see Bloomfield, *IF* 4. 74ff; Guntert, *Reimwortbildungen* 26ff. Among the variants, RV always has *stabh*, while AV prefers *ślabh*

*jagatā sindhum divy astabhāyat* (AV *asla°*) RV. AV

*mahān mahi astabhāyad* (AV KS † *asla°*) *vi jātah* AV TS KS AB. AŚ  
*yam krandasī avasā tastabhāne* (AV *avataś casla°*) RV AV. VS VSK  
TS *ya ime dyāvāprthivī tastabhāne* MS KS AVPPP (Barret, *JAOS* 35 44f)

*vy astabhñā* (VS ŚB *asla°*, MS *aśla°*, KS *aśla°*, TS *aslabhñād*, TA *aślabhñād*) *rodasī viṣṇav* (°*na*, °*nur*) etc RV. VS VSK TS. MS KS ŚB. TA

*divam ślabhāna* KS : *dyām stabhāna* KS

§138. There are few other cases in which *k* and *t*, not final, exchange in a purely lexical or corrupt fashion:

*stuhī śūram vajrinam apratīlam* (TB. *apratīlam*) MS TB The Bibl.

Ind ed of TB. has *apratīlām*, but conum and Poona ed text correctly, *apratīlam*, 'invincible' MS has a mere blunder.

*avānyāns tantūn kirato dhatto anyān* TB : *prānyā tantūns tirato dhatte anyā* AV See Whitney on AV 10 7. 42

*purā jatrubhya* (TA ApMB *jatṛbhya*, MS. *caṭṛbhya*, p p *vaktṛbhyaḥ*)  
*ātṛdah* (MS °*da*) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ. ApMB See §57.

*ugro* (HG. *ūrdhvo*, MG *agne*) *virājann* (MG °*jam*) *apa* (MG *upa*)  
*sedha* (AV *ṣṇāḥṣva*) *śatrūn* (MG. *śakram*) AV. ApMB HG MG

§139. Next a group of cases in which the combination *tt* varies with *kt* (and occasionally with other consonants before *t*), cf. §416, to which all these variants also belong

*vi no rāṣṭram unattu payasā svena* TB . *sam te rāṣṭram anaktu payasā ghrīna* AV. For *vi-unattu* cf RV 1 164 47, 5 83 8, for *sam-anaktu*, RV. 10 88 4, 118 4 The variation is lexical, hardly phonetic

*devair nyuptā* (KS. *nullā*, AV *uktā*) *vyasarpō mahītvā* (AV °*tvam*) AV  
KS ApŚ MŚ 'Cast forth (KS impelled, AV spoken) by the gods thou (earth) hast spread out greatly (to greatness)' Ppp reads *mahītvā*, and also *ṣṣṣā* for *uktā*, seemingly an ancient gloss which states in plain language what all the texts really mean

*anyām icha pūrṣadam vyaktām* (ApMB. *vitām*) RV ApMB *jāmin icha pūrṣadam nyaktam* (read °*ām*) AV. Here the assimilated form of ApMB (with *samprasāraṇa*) is clearly secondary

*sarvān it tān anu vidur vasīṣṭhāh* RV. · *sarvam ukṭam anuvīdur vasīṣṭhāh*  
JB A more drastic reconstruction or Verballhornung in JB.

*cha prasatto* (AV *prasakto*, TB. *prasapto*) *vi cayaḥ kṛtam nah* RV. AV.  
MS. TB. *prasapto* (comm. *prakarṣena samūgataḥ san*, as if from  
*pra-srp* with Prakritic *a* for *r*) has no standing. AV, (tho also  
secondary, makes fair sense, 'attached'; RV. probably 'gracious',  
in the sense of the later *prasanna*

*viviktyai* (TB *vivītyai*, read with Poona ed. *vivītyai*) *lṣallāram* VS TB.  
*viviktyai*, 'for discernment', is certainly original TB comm.  
*viśeṣa-lābhābhīmāninyai* but the form of root *vid* is isolated if *vi*  
be regarded as the preposition, and anomalous if it be taken as  
reduplication

*dhātuh kakaḥ* (KSA *lakkaḥ*) TS KS Original form unknown; VS  
24 32 has *lakkaḥ*

*avimuktacakra* (v. 1 °rā) *āsīran* PG. · *vivṛṭtacakrā āsīnāh* HG ApMB.

§140. There are also several cases of variation between *lṣ* and *ts*, reminding us of the fact that both these combinations become *ch* in the Middle Indic languages, and to some extent in Vedic dialects, see below, §§183ff These variants indeed really belong in that chapter; they manifestly concern the pronunciation of both combinations as something verging on *ch* In five out of six cases the writing with *lṣ* (thrice in SV., once in AV, once in MS.) is secondary, and in three it is more or less foolish, if not utterly uninterpretable

*vṛṣanam prtsu* (SV. *prkṣu*) *sāsahim* RV. AV. SV. Here only *prtsu*, 'in battles', can be meant; 'in delights' (root *prc*) is silly.

*yat te ditsu* (SV *dikṣu*) *prarādhyam* RV. SV. The RV. has a nom sg. neut. of a desiderative adjective from *dā*, agreeing with *manas* SV clearly secondary and poor (Benfey, 'in aller Welt')

*yad ditsasi* (SV *yac chikṣasi*) *stuvate māvate vasu* RV. SV. In this case the two forms are practically synonyms; *śikṣeyam* and *dutseyam* together in RV. 8. 14 2; a similar passage RV. 1. 81 2.

*agnim* (AV *agnih*) *srucō adhvaṛṣu prayatsu* (AV. *prayakṣu*) AV. VS TS MS KS Cf. *prayaty adhvaṛ*, familiar formula in RV. at the ends of *pādas* (RVRep. 660) Wackernagel I §156a, note, erroneously suggests that *prayatsu* may be for *prayaṭsu* = *prayakṣu* (*prā-yaṭ*), but the form does not really construe The hymn AV 5 27, with its miserable corruptions (Bloomfield, *Atharvaveda* 54), does not call for any serious treatment of *prayakṣu* (the p p leaves it undivided); it is, like most of the SV readings with *lṣ* for *ts*, a phonetic blunder for *prayatsu*



*āvatsi* (MS *āyukṣi*) *sarvā oṣadhīh* RV VS TS. MS KS Roots *ā-vid-*  
*ā-yuṣ*

*prāsmān ava prtanāsu pra vikṣu* (TB *yutsu*) RV TB Here, of course,  
*kṣ* is original, *yutsu* is suggested by *prtanāsu*

§141. There is also one isolated anomaly in which *kn* is substituted for *tn*, somewhat as in the preceding Here too *kn* seems to be a phonetic variant or blunder, based merely on similarity of the sound combinations

*tādītā* (TB †*\*knā*) *satrum* (TB *\*ūn*) *na kilā vivitse* (TB Conc *vivitse*,  
read *vivitse* with Poona ed text and comm) RV TB *tādīknā* is  
repeated in the comm (Poona ed), which glosses *tādīśān*! It  
seems that it must mean simply *tādītā*

§142. Finally, a few cases of interchange between *l* and *t* final  
All concern the ends of *pādas* Two concern adverbial forms in *-ā*  
from *añc* stems, a third is simply a matter of external sandhi

*anamutram no adharāt* (KS *\*rāk*, VSK *me ṭadharāk*) AV VSK KS  
Equivalent adverbs, one abl of *adhara*, the other acc neut of  
*adharāñc* The same pair sonantized, below, §145, *ottarād adharād*  
(*\*rāg*) *ā purastāt*

*itad vipro abravīd udak* (ŚŚ *u tat*) AV ŚŚ See §65

*brahman* (MahānU *brahman*) *tvam asī viśvasṛt* (MahānU *\*sṛt*) TA  
MahānU There is a v. l *\*sṛt* in TA, and as the next sentence  
begins with *t*, the variant may be graphic Possibly, however,  
*sṛt* may be for *sṛt* by dissimilatory influence of the lingual vowel *r*,  
cf. Wackernagel I §156a, note, and as regards the final treatment  
of this root in general, §149a, α [Delete *brahma tvam asī* etc in  
Conc]

*samyak* (TS MS TAA ApŚ \* MŚ *sam ut*, KS \* *sarit*) *śavanti sarito na*  
*dhenāh* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TAA KŚ ApŚ MŚ See §830  
*sarasvatī tvā maghavann abhiṣṇak* (TB ApŚ *abhiṣṇāt*) RV AV VS MS  
KS ŚB TB ApŚ Altho TB comm fatuously glosses by *bhiṣ-*  
*ajyatu*, *abhiṣṇāt* (*abhi-+iṣṇāmi*) is doubtless an independent lexical  
word, 'inspire', into which the phonetic relation of *k t* enters as a  
factor While *abhiṣṇak* is āπ ley, the word, as well as the treatment  
of its final consonant (Wackernagel I §138), is primary

Note also *yaśo bhagaś ca mā rīṣat* MG 1 9 27c, where Knauer reports  
that practically all his mss point to *rīṣak* as the true reading, of course  
it must mean the same as *rīṣat* Cf Wackernagel I §260a, β, small  
print, §277a

Cf also AV. 1 18 2a: *nir aranīm savitā sāviṣat padoh*, so the vulgate,

but all mss. *sāviṣak*, retained by SPP. and approved by Whitney; see Whitney, *Grammar* 151a, and the preceding variant. According to Whitney, the comm and Ppp both have *sāviṣat*. The same form occurs in the VSK. version of the following, on the subject of final *k*: see most recently Renou, *Ehrendgabe für Wilhelm Geiger* 163n; Oertel, *ibid.* 137; and our §272a, *na me tad* etc; our §145; and *abhiṣyak* for °*ṣyat*, PG. 3. 1. 3b (VV I p 242, *infra*).

*tasyām no devah* (MS *tasyām devah*) *śavitā dharmān* (VS.† VSK † TS † ŚB † *dharmā*) *sāviṣat* (VSK ° *ṣak*) VS VSK TS MS. KS. ŚB.

The next is an error of the Conc :

[*trivṛd yad bhuvanasya rathavṛt* TB ApŚ . *trivṛd bhuvanam yad rathavṛt* KS Conc , but read *rathavṛt*, text °*vṛj jīvo*— ]

#### kh and t

§143. In the single variant following, PG. has a corruption, due to assimilation to the word *sakhyāni* in the following, Stenzler on PG 2 11 12 translates the AŚ reading See his note there, and his critical note

*pari satyasya dharmanā* (PG *sakhyasya dharmanah*) AŚ. PG.

#### g and d

§144. Except final, this interchange occurs in only a few stray variants The first may possibly contain a phonetic confusion or assimilation.

*ā galdā dhamanīnām* (ApŚ. *galgā dhavanīnām*) ApŚ. MŚ N. *galgā* is undoubtedly secondary (by assimilation to the preceding *ga*-?); *galdā* is Rigvedic (8 1. 20), but nevertheless obscure Pischel, *VSt* 1 84, and *KZ* 41. 183ff, discusses the word without knowing the full stanza in ApŚ MŚ. After him many others, see Oldenberg, *Noten*, on 8 1 20 The following word in ApŚ. is also a phonetic corruption for *dhamanīnām*, see §225 Caland leaves the pāda untranslated.

*yad annam admi* (PrānāgU. *agmr*) *bahudhā vrūpam* (etc., §619) AV. TA PrānāgU.

*na va gāvo mañḡirasya* (KŚ *mandīrasya*) KŚ Vait. MŚ. Proper names, of unknown etymology

*rudras* (MŚ *ugras*) *tantricaro vṛṣā* TB. ApŚ MŚ. GG KhG.

*marudbhīr ugrā ahīnīyamānāh* AV . *marudbhīr rudrāh samajānatābhī* TS. Whitney considers *ugrā* a corruption for *rudrā*

*āsminn* (KS. *ā sim*) *ugrā* (MS *ā samudrā*) *acucyavuh* TS MS KS. ApŚ. In an obscure ritual verse, MS doubtless a lect fac

§145. In the rest the sounds are final (either absolutely, or before pāda endings); as under *k.t* (§142), matters of external sandhi seem to some extent involved. But it is hard to isolate or define the extent of that influence; it is complicated by lexical confusions and corruptions. The first case is purely morphological, presenting (before a following sonant) the same two adverbs, *adharāt* and *\*rāl*, which we met in §142, first variant:

*ottarād adharād* (TB *\*rāg*) *ā purastāt* RV MS KS TB

*niyudbhīr* (AV. *viyugbhīr*) *vāyav* (AV VSK MS *vāya*) *iha tā i muñca* (ŚŚ *†muñcah*) AV. VS VSK MS ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ [Add to VV I §§25 and 156] Also:

*prayugbhya* (TB *prayud\**) *unmattam* VS TB. In the first of these two *viyugbhīr* is untenable, because the *niyutah* are technically the span of Vāyu (Brhaddevatā 4. 140). In the second, *prayugbhya* of VS is hardly translatable (not glossed by Mahidhara, Griffith, 'for Motives'). Comm. on TB glosses *prayud\** by *pralarṣena yoddhṛdvebhya*, as if from *pra-yudh*. At TB 3. 7. 9. 1, ApŚ 12. 3. 2 occurs *prayutah*, which TB comm. glosses *pralarṣena somam miśrayantah* (adopted by Böhtlingk, 'durcheinander mengend'). This idea fits *unmattam* 'mad', thus favoring the TB reading. But PB 1. 2. 5 reads *maruto* for *prayuto* in the corresponding passage; Caland gives up *prayutah*.

*nṛcakṣāh soma uta suśrug* (comm., and Poona ed. text, *suśrug*) *astu* TB. *sucakṣāh soma uta sasrud astu* MŚ. The latter is not quite certain; the mss. record forms which look towards the TB reading. But *sasrut* occurs several times in RV. TB. obviously contains root *śru* (comm. *śrotā*); so that apparently *g = k* must stand for *d = t*. It belongs with our §142, and Wackernagel I §§260a, β, note, 277a. See also our §283.

*mayum* (also *gauram*, *gavayam*, *meṣam*, *śarabham*) *te śug ṛchatu* (KS *te ḷṣut*) VS MS KS ŚB. Mixed lexical and phonetic (sandhi). KS actually reads *kṣud*, before a following sonant.

*trīśug* (AŚ *\*śrud*) *gharmo vibhātu me* (KS *gharmas sadam in me vibhātī*) KS TB TA AŚ *\*śrud* here is poor and doubtless corrupt.

*yamasya dūtaś ca vāg vidhāvati* MS *yamasya dūtaḥ śvapād vidhāvasi* TA. The subject is *grdhrah* 'vulture'; TA is correct, and MS an unintelligible corruption, in which the sandhi relations of *g(ḷ)* and *d(t)* have a share.

*dadhr̥g* (TA. *dadhad*) *vidhalṣyan* (AV. *\*ḷṣan*) *paryāñḷhayāte* (TA *\*tai*, AV. *pariñḷhayātai*) RV. AV. TA. Roots *dṛh* and *dhā*.

*ñ* (for *l*) and *n* (?)

§146. One variant concerns an obscure name of a gandharva, of which the original form is uncertain; it is obvious that MS. (secondarily) etymologizes on it, changing it to *su-vāc* 'beautiful-voiced':

*śutāñ nabhrād* . MS MŚ *svāñ nabhrād* . . KS : *svāna bhrājāñghāre*  
... VS TS ŚB : *svāna bhrāḥ* . TA.

*amāsi sarvāñ* (AŚ *sarvāñ*) *asi praviṣṭaḥ* AŚ. Kauś. The original is *sarvāñ* (*sarvāñc* 'turned in all directions'); AŚ. secondary.

#### Guttural and dental aspirates

§147. The few cases under this heading present little of interest. *grāme vidhuram* (HG *vikhuram*) *ichanāi svāhā* HG ApMB. Both in wretched hocus-pocus, from which scarcely any meaning can be extracted.

*aghadvīṣṭā devajūtā* AV. Kauś. *atharvyuṣṭā devajūtāḥ* ApŚ. The latter is a mere corruption.

*deva puraścara saghyāsam tvā* TA ApŚ: *devapuraś carasa ṛdhyāsam tvā* MS. The former is original 'may I be able to carry thee'. MS has a slipshod substitute.

*yad aghrīyata* (KS *°yathās tad ghṛtam* (KS adds *abhaias*) MS KS: *yad adhrīyata tad ghṛtam abhavat* TS. As Keith says, the TS etymology is not too bad for a Brāhmana; but the other is certainly original.

#### 4 GUTTURALS AND LABIALS

§148. Wackernagel's treatment of this interchange (I §117b) receives additional illustrations from the variants. They almost all concern *k* and *p*, and reveal no new principle. For the peculiar Taittiriya treatment (not mentioned in TPr.) of the final sound of the stems *anuṣṭubh* and *triṣṭubh* as *k(g)* in all case-forms except before vocalic endings, and as word-finals in sandhi except before surds (occasionally however *k* before *p*), and before *j*, *d*, and *dh*, see Weber, *IS* 13 109, n 2, Keith, *HOS* 18. p xxxviii. This applies to TB as well as TS., but apparently not to ApŚ.:

*anuṣṭup* (TB *anuṣṭuk*) *pañktya* (MŚ *pañkṭaye*) TB ApŚ MŚ  
*anuṣṭup* (TS *anuṣṭuk*) *pañktyā saha* VS TS MS KSA.  
*triṣṭub* (TS *triṣṭug*) *grāṣmī* VS TS MS KS. ŚB.

§149. The word, of unstable form, which occurs in the next group refers to some kind of aquatic bird; AV 11. 2. 25 adds *purīkaya* (comm. *puṛī°*). It may be noted that most forms contain both *p* and *k* somewhere in the word. The original form cannot be determined:

*mitrāya kulīpayān* (MS *pulīkayān*) VS MS

*nākro makarah kulīpayas* (TS *lulīkayas*, MS *pulīkayas*, KSA *pulī-rayas*) *te 'kūpārasya* (KSA *†hūvarasya*) VS TS MS KSA

*kulīkā devajāmibhyah* VS *devānām patnībhyah pulīkāh* MS

§150. Very varied also are the forms of the following words. It is impossible to say what the original form is, unless the solitary occurrence of *ncumpuna* in RV decides. It may be onomatopoeic.

*avabhṛtha ncumpuna* (TS TB ApŚ *ncañhuna*, MS KS MŚ *nicuñhuna*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB LŚ ApŚ N

*nicerur asī ncumpunah* (TS TB *ncañhuna*, MS KS *nicuñkuṇah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB LŚ. In same passage as preceding, nom changed to voc in TS TB by form-assimilation to the adjoining formula.

§151. Other, isolated cases which concern chiefly textual decay, with more or less obscure phonetic bearings, are the following, lexical considerations enter in faintly with some of them.

*lanālkābhām* (AŚ *pranālāphā*) *na ābhara* TB AŚ. Note the dental *n* in AŚ, despite preceding *r*. Comm on TB, desperately, *kanalavad bhāsamānām rūpavatīm lanyām*. Both forms are hopeless. *baṇābojopakāśinī* HG *khajāpo 'jopalāśinīh* ApMB. Again both are hopeless.

*kūtanānām* (VS ŚB *kukūnanānām*, MS *pūtanānām*) *tvā patmann ā dhūnomi* VS MS KS ŚB *kolanāsu* (sc *te sukra sukram ā dhūnomi*) TS. An otherwise unknown, perhaps onomatopoeic, epithet of waters.

*śam te* (AV \* *śam u*, TA *śam u te*, KS MŚ *śam nah*) *santv anūpyāh* (TA *anūkyāh*) AV KS TA MŚ *anūkyāh* might be considered a purely phonetic variant, it should be remembered that Tait texts show a certain preference for at least final gutturals in place of labials (§148). The word is an epithet of waters and must mean about the same as *anūpyāh*, from *anūpa*, so comm, *anūpadese bhayā anūkyā āpah*. Formally, however, *anūkyā* is imaginable from the stem *anvañc* ('successive'? or 'going along with', approximately 'helping?'), and it is likely that influence from this sphere has been at work in TA.

*pūlyāny* (ApMB *kulpāny*) *āvapantikā* AV ApMB *lājān āvapantikā* ŚG. PG. MG. *agnau lājān āvapantī* SMB HG *kulpāny* may conceivably be understood in the light of the Tait preference for gutturals, of the prec and §148.

*vanakrakṣam* (SV *\*prakṣam*) *udaprutam* RV SV 'Sounding in (vessels

of) wood' The onomatopoeic root *kṛakṣ* also in *kṛakṣamāna*, *arakṣaṣin* SV °*prakṣa* has no lexical basis and is doubtless phonetic, tho the comm., followed by Benfey, absurdly derives it from *pra-kṣi* 'alude'.

*ansum* (AV *ansūn*) *babhasī* (ApŚ. *gabh°*) *haritebhīr āsabhīh* AV. KS.

ApŚ The ApŚ stanza is otherwise corrupt, and *gabh°* is uninterpretable Caland gives up the verse

*grīvāyām* (KS *grīvāsu*) *baddho apīkalṣa āsanī* (MS. *apīpalṣa āsanī*)

RV. 1S TS MS KS ŚB N Original is *apīkalṣe*, a certain part of the body MS (p p *apī-pakṣaḥ*) may have been influenced by thought of *pakṣa* (cf Keith on TS 1. 7 S 3)

*risatopa vīradārasya tvāsañ juhomi* TS GB. Vant vīlōka vīradārye *tū samjuhomī srāhā* MŚ *vīlōka* is perhaps a sort of lect. fac., but *vīlōpa* is itself not clear, cf. Keith on TS 3 3 S 2

§152 The rest concern cases where lexical rather than phonetic considerations dominate, that is, words of independent origin seem more clearly to be involved

*agner* (ApŚ *deiā*) *akṛnann* (RV *apunann*) *uśījo amītyaie* (RV. °*rah*, ApŚ *amartyare*) RV. MS ApŚ

*yad adya dugdham pṛthurīm asrpta* (TB. ApŚ *asakta*, MŚ *abhakta*) AB TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ. In MŚ, as in AB AŚ, the parallel following pāda contains *asrpad*, in TB. ApŚ, *asarad*

*īha prasat°o* (AV. *prasakto*, TB *prasapto*) *vī cayat lṛtam nah* RV AV MS TB See §139

*krānā* (SV *prānā*) *śīsur mahīnām* RV. SV. And:

*kīānā* (SV *prānā*, AV *prānah*) *sindhūnām kalāsān acikradat* (RV. *avīvaśat*) RV SV AV The SV. is really inexplicable, AV attempts to rationalize it Cf Oldenberg, *Proleg* 279 On the much discussed *krānā* see last RVRep 136

*devair nyuplā* (KS *nultā*, AV *uktā*) *vyasarpō mahitvā* (AV. °*tiām*) AV KS ApŚ MŚ See §139

*aktam* (MS MŚ *aptubhī*, KS °*artham*) *rihānā vyantu* (*viyantu*) *vayah* TS MS KS ° TB MŚ GG KhG. And others, see §96 The stem *aptu* (certainly secondary here) is said to mean 'small' It is hard to apply this meaning here, perhaps adverbially, 'daintily' *asmīn goṣṭhe karīṣinīh* (Kauś °*nah*, MS *purīṣinīh*) AV MS Kauś The riming synonyms *karīṣa* and *purīṣa*, cf Bloomfield, *AJP* 16 409ff Different context, hence different gender, in Kauś

*lṛiyanta* (TB *prīyā ta* [so divide]) *ā bahīh* (TB Conc °*his*, Poona ed °*hīh*) *sīda* RV AV KS TB Preceded by *īmā brahma brahma-*

*vāhah* (TB † °ha) 'These prayers, O thou to whom prayers are offered, are made (TB, are pleasing to thee), sit upon the barhis' [*pra so agne tavotibhah*] *suwīrābhīs* †*tirale* (SV TS *tarati*) *vājabhar-mabhah* (SV TS °*karmabhah*) RV SV TS KS  
*sugandhum* (AV *subandhum*) *pativedanam* AV VS ŚB ApŚ *sugandhum* *puṣṭwardhanam* (KS *rayiṣṭanam*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TAA Vait, LŚ N The AV changes *sugandhum* by adaptation to the meaning of *pati-vedanam* (*pati* suggests *bandhu*)

§153. To the same category as the preceding section belong three cases of variation between the roots *pr* and *gr* (*gr*), which have a special interest because in each of the three derivatives of the root *yaj* are closely associated. These words are pivotal for the interpretation of the variants. The roots *yaj* and *gr* go naturally together (sacrifice and praise), and *abhi-gr* (as in the third variant) likewise goes with *yaj* because sacrifice gratifies the gods (*gūrta* = Lat *grātus*), see e.g. RV 1 15 3, 3 6 10, 10 15 6. On the other hand *yaj* and *pr* 'give' are perhaps even more constant companions (*iṣṭā-pūrta*), see Windisch, *Festgruss Böhrling* 115ff, Bloomfield, *AJP* 17 408ff. In the third variant *abhi-pūrtam* and *pūrtam* are clearly secondary, suggested by *iṣṭam* which recalls *iṣṭā-pūrta*. In the first variant text-history makes it equally clear that *gr* is secondary. In the second, KS seems to give the best sense, but may be a *lectio facilior*. The fact is that the two roots, riming in sound and ritualistically so close in meaning, easily slip over into one another. Aside from the matter of rime, they contain little of phonetic significance.

*indro yajvane prnate* (AV *gr*°) *ca śikṣati* (AV °*te*) RV AV TB  
*sviṣṭam agne abhi tat prnāhi* (PG *prnāhi*, KS *tad grnāhi*) KS TB ApŚ PG HG

*iṣṭam vītam* (AV *pūrtam*) *abhigūrtam* (AV °*pūrtam*) *vaṣaṭkṛtam* RV AV VS TS MS KSA [Delete in Conc. reference to AV under *iṣṭam vītam*]

§153a. The following variants, tho concerning independent words each of which is suitable to the context, are interesting phonetically as involving the quasi-Prakritic equivalence of *kṣ* and *ps* (cf. §§182-6)

*somasya drapsam* (AV *bhakṣam*) *avṛṇā pūṣā* (AV *śakrah*) AV TS MS KS. Either a 'drop' or a 'draught' of soma will suit, it is hard to see any reason for preference.

*hṛtsu kratum varuno* (MS °*nam*) *vikṣv* (RV *apsv*, MS *dikṣv*) *agnim* RV, VS †TS †MS KS ŚB †

## 5 PALATALS AND DENTALS

§154. These variants are mostly lexical in character except before *y*, the combinations *dy* and *gy* exchange on a purely phonetic basis. A suggestion of a similar 'palatalization' of *l* before *i* or *y* seems to occur in the first variants quoted under §156

*c* and *l*

§155. Here occur first a number of variations between the approximately synonymous riming roots *car* and *tar*

*yajñasyāyur anu sam caranti* (AŚ *taranti*) TS AŚ Cf *yajñayur anusamcarān* TB ApŚ

*na tad* (AV *nainam*) *raḥsānsi na piśācāś caranti* (VS *°cās taranti*, AV *°cāh sahante*) RVKh AV VS But Scheftelowitz reads RVKh as VS

*achinnam tantum anu sam tarema* (TA *carema*) AV TA Comm on AV *car*<sup>o</sup>

*śamyāh pralaratām* (Vait *°iā*) *iva* (MŚ *pracarati* *iva*) Vait KŚ. ApŚ MŚ

§156. The rest are sporadic, and partly corrupt; the first two have interesting phonetic aspects.

*sā śamīlāti* (SV. *°iā*; TB ApŚ *°cī*) *mayas karad apa sridhah* RV. SV. TB.

ApŚ The TB ApŚ reading (conceived as an adjective agreeing with Aditi, the subject) is apparently felt as modelled on directional adjectives in *-ācī*, fem to *-āñc* (like *prācī*), so, perhaps, the comm understood it (*anīṣṭaśamanaprāpikā satī*) But it seems at least possible that palatalization of the original dental was not unrelated to the following *i*-vowel Cf next

*arciśātrino nudatam pratīcah* AV *arciśā śatrūn dahatam pratītya* AG

Here in the secondary AG we have an essentially phonetic change, the reverse of the preceding

*satyaujasā* . TS MS. KS *sacelasāu* . . . AV. See §305 Here we suspect that AV is secondary, with palatalization of *ty* to *c*

*agre* (TB *agne*, Poona ed. *agre*) *yajñasya celatah* (RV. *śocatah*) RV. KS TB.

*vidyām yām u ca* (ŚŚ *uta*) *vidmasi* AB ŚŚ

*jagdhā vitṛṣṭir* (HG *vicāṣṭir*) . . . HG ApMB And others, see §634

Oldenberg on HG. assumes *vitṛṣṭi*, 'thirst'

*divo vābhiṣṭhām anu yo vicaṣṭe* MŚ : *devānām viṣṭhām* (ApŚ † *niṣṭhām*) *anu yo vitasṭhe* VSK TB. KŚ ApŚ



*yat kṣurena marcayātā* (MG *varlayātā*) *sulejaśā* (AG PG HG ApMB *supeśasā*) AV AG PG. HG ApMB MG —AVPpp reads *varcayātā* (*varcas*)

*vācam* (RV AV *vālam*) *viṣnum sarasvatīm* RV AV VS TS MS ŚB *viṣnum vācam sarasvatīm* KS *vācam* is secondarily suggested by *sarasvatīm*, note that KS places it next to that word AV comm also has *vācam*

*śraddhe kam indra carato vīrturam* (TB *vicar°*) RV TB The latter is perhaps mechanically assimilated to the preceding *car-ato* Comm regards it as an intensive formation from root *tvar*<sup>1</sup> (*viśeṣena tvarā yathā bhavati tathā*)

*yuktās tisro vimṛjah sūryasya* PB *yunaṣm tisro vipṛcah sūryasya te* (MŚ *virṛtah sūryah save, or savah*) TS ApŚ MŚ Here *j* as well as *c* is involved, cf next See §57

#### *j* and *i*

§157. Besides the last variant quoted, we find several miscellaneous lexical variants, the phonetic aspects are faint

*śabali prajānām śaciṣṭhā vratam* (ApŚ *śaviṣṭhā vrajam*) *anugeṣam svāhā* PB ApŚ *vrajam* hardly makes sense and is clearly secondary *tato yajñas tāyate viśvadānīm* KS MŚ *tato yajño jāyate viśvadānīm* TB ApŚ *yajñas tāyate* is standard, cf e.g. RV 7 10 2, 9 102 7, 10 90 15 It is interesting that Knauer reports all mss but one of MŚ as reading *tyāyate*, a middle stage leading to the lect *fac jāyate*

*devā no yajñam ṛtuthā* (TB ApŚ *ṛjudhā*) *nayantu* VS TB ApŚ *yajñam ṛtuthā* is supported by RV 1 170 5, 8 44 8, but in RV 2 3 7 the two points of view blend in *ṛju yakṣatah yajantāv ṛtuthā*. They are in fact nearly synonymous

*saṁ bāhubhyām dhamatī* (etc., §853) *saṁ patatrāḥ* (KS *yajatrāḥ*) RV AV VS TS MS KS TA MahānU ŚvetU

#### *c* and *d*

§158. Four cases, all lexical, three with secondary *c* for *d*, in the first *ucyate* is due to assimilation of sense to the preceding *vacas*

*somāya vaca udyatam* (SV *ucyate*) RV SV

*gīrā-gīrā ca dakṣase* (KS *calṣase*) RV SV VS MS KS PB ApŚ *sadā* (MS *śacyā*) *paśyanti sūryaḥ* RV SV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

NṛpU and other Ūp One ms of KS has *sadyā*<sup>1</sup>  
*ajāṣmādyāsanāma ca* (AV *°sanāmādyā*) RV AV *ca* and *adya*

## j and d

§159. Here occurs the purely phonetic variant of *dy* and *gy* in the roots *dyut*, *gyut* (Wackernagel, I §140a). It is flanked by a pair of hyper-Sanskritic readings in which *gyām* and *gman* are displaced by *dyām*, and by another case or two in which similar tendencies have had influence.

*sahasrīyo dyotalām* (TS TB *dīpyalām*, MS *°rīyo gyotalām*) *aprayuchan*  
VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

*ava gyām va dhanvanah* SV Vait Kauś ApMB : *ava dyām va dhanvinah*  
HG See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 29

*upa gmann upa vetase* VS TS MS KS. ŚB : *upa dyām upa vetasam* AV.  
Vait Kauś The absurd AV reading involves, like the preceding, a sort of hyper-Sanskritism, see Whitney's note.

*pavamānah so adya nah* RV VS *°pav° svarjanah (suar°)* MS KS TB  
ApŚ HG BDh In a secondary lect fac, *dy* becomes *j*  
*imam* (MS *imam ca*, VS TS ŚŚ *ya imam*) *yajñam svadhayā* (KS  
AŚ *°yā ca*, MS *sudhayā*) *dadante* (AŚ *yajante*, ŚŚ *bhajante*) VS.  
TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ.

*d-uyāya dhartre joṣṭre* (MS *dhātṛe deṣṭre*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Note  
the palatal diphthong after *d*, which is however doubtless secondary  
*°ccaurvāṇi pṛtanāṣāḥ* (HG *°sāham*, ApMB *°vādi pṛtanāṇi*) RVKh HG  
ApMB If ApMB is correct (v l *°vāṇi* is recorded) it is a hyper-  
Sanskritic absurdity, no form of root *vad* can be concerned here  
*prati śma* (AV *sma*) *raḥṣaso dāha* (AV *jahī*) RV AV

*ichanto 'paridākrītān* ApMB *ipsantah pariākrītān* HG See critical  
notes on HG 2 3 7. Both forms seem uninterpretable Olden-  
berg on HG, 'visiting those who wake (?)', apparently under-  
standing *°jāgrītān*

*erum tundānā* (TS *perum tuñjānā*) *patyeva jāyā* AV TS Roots *tuj*  
and *tud* are practically synonyms See Whitney on AV 6 22 3,  
Keith on TS 3 1 11 8, and cf Oldenberg, *Noten* on RV. 1 45 4  
The AV comm reads *tuñjānā*

*mā na āyuh param avaram mānadonariḥ* MS : *mā nah param adharam*  
(MŚ *†adhanam*) *mā rajo 'nariḥ* (MŚ *nariḥ*) TA MŚ. See §836

## j and dh

§160. Only lexical variants

*mālā yad vīram dadhanad dhanīṣṭhā* (MS *jayanaj janīṣṭham*) RV. VS  
MS KS TB Cognate verb and noun are both altered in MS to  
suit a more familiar aspect of the mother function, tho the super-

lative *janīṣṭha* is not otherwise recorded 'when the mother has borne a most prolific son' Cf the following similar variant  
*oṣadhībhyah paśubhyo me dhanāyo* (TS *paśave no janāya*) TS KS  
 ApŚ † MŚ .

*athāsya madhyam ejatu* VS LŚ *athāsya* (TS MS TB °*syā*) *madhyam*  
*edhatām* (Vait °*tu*, AŚ LŚ *ejatu*, ŚŚ *ejati*) VS TS MS ŚB TB  
 AŚ ŚŚ Vait *adhāsya madhyam edhatām* KSA

### y and d

§161. This seems a natural place to append two variants between *y* and *d*, in the first of which *y* seems to be secondary, while the second is dubious (*yaśo* seems to make better sense) The phenomenon may have phonetic meaning, continuing the relations between *j* and *d* on the one hand, and between *j* and *y* (below, §§192f) on the other  
*sūyavasini manave* (RV TA *manuṣe*, KS *mānuṣe*) *daśasyā* (TA °*syē*, TS MS KS *yaśasye*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA  
*dīśo* (TB *yaśo*) *yaṇṇasya dakṣināḥ* (TB °*nām*) TB AŚ Note that *d* is followed by *i*

## 6. PALATALS AND LABIALS

§162. Only a few cases, hardly showing phonetic tendencies We do not include here cases like *lakup* (TS *lakue*) *chandah*, where the TS reading represents *t* in sandhi, since they belong under dentals and labials, §178.

*lasyās te sahasrapoṣam puṣyantyāś caramena paśunā krināmi* TS  
*paramena paśunā krīyase* (MS *krīyasva*) VS MS KS ŚB Corruption in TS, see Keith Yet *carama* is not far from *parama* in meaning

*vīty arṣa canīṣṭhayā* (SV *panīṣṭaye*) RV. SV See §86  
*vāyosāvitra* (MS *vāyusavitrībhyām*) *āgomugbhyām caruh* (MS *payah*)  
 TS MS KSA

## 7. LINGUALS AND DENTALS

§163 In the main, the Sanskrit linguals are derived from dentals, influenced by neighboring *r*, *r* (*l*, *l*) or *ṣ*, whether actually found or historically assumable (Wackernagel I §§145-7) There are also cases of analogical transfer of lingualization (ibid §148a, cf especially §133, note), and also of linguals due to dissimilation (ibid §156a). In some cases, however, it seems that linguals are due to Prakritic influence Namely dentals are often replaced in Prakrit by linguals, without the

influence of any adjacent sound (Pischel, *Gram d. Pkt Sprachen* §§218–25), some dialects show the reverse tendency Especially *n* becomes *ṇ* in almost all Prakrit dialects (Pischel §224). The same spontaneous interchanges between dentals and linguals occur in Sanskrit and Vedic under the influence of popular speech, giving rise to Vedic variants with both sounds Classification of the individual sounds is unnecessary since the entire series is subject to the same tendencies We include also the nasals *n* and *ṇ*, except when *n* is conditioned by the normal rules for lingualization of *n* (on which see §§945–54)

§164. We shall begin with cases in which there is no reasonable doubt of the lexical equivalence of the forms with dental and lingual, and in which we hold that the lingualization is spontaneous, that is, dialectic, in the same class with spontaneous lingualization in Prakrit Here first we have three cases of *avaṭa* = *avata*, the latter each time in RV We may remark that the derivation of this word from an adverb *avar* (Bartholomae, *IF* 3 179, approved by Wackernagel I §146a), leaves *avata* unexplained and seems to us unlikely.

*avatasya* (SV. *avaṭasya*) *visarjane* RV. SV.

*ṛkṛtāhavam avatam* RV *ṛkṛtāhavam avaṭam* TS ApŚ

*gāva upāvatāvatam* (SV. *upa vadāvaṭe*) RV SV. VS.

§165. Next, some demonic names in the Gṛhya Sūtras, in which no influence of liquid or lingual sibilant, and no dissimilation, are at all imaginable, it is simply a case of lingual for dental spontaneously: *ṭekaś ca sasaramaṭaṇḥaś ca* HG *tekaś ca sasaramatandaś ca* ApMB

*manthākako* (HG *mandākako*) *ha vah piṭā* HG ApMB

In the following doubtful word, the lingual of MS KapS may be due to the preceding *r*.

*aiḍamṛdā yavyudhah* KS. *aiḍabṛdā* (MS *°mṛdā*, KapS *ilamṛdā*) *āyur-yudhah* (TS. *yavyudhah*; MS *vo yudhah*) VS TS MS. See §241.

Cf also *ahar* (MS. *vahad*, v l *vahad*, p p *vahaṭ*) *dwābhur* (MS *divyābhur*) *ūtibhuh* VS MS ŚB TA ŚŚ LŚ See §§272, 272a

Next an isolated variant concerning the root or roots *pan*, *pan*, which we think can best be explained as spontaneous (dialectic) lingualization, cf. Pischel, *Ved St* 1 199ff For attempts to explain *pan* as going back to an IE root containing a liquid, see Wackernagel I §172b, note, d, note

*sā me satyāśir devān gamyāj juṣṭāj juṣṭatarā panyāt panyatarā* (KS. *panyāt panyatarā*) MS KS ApŚ Cf Durga on N 6 8 (Roth's Erläuterungen 76 foot).

§166. These are the only clear cases of 'spontaneous' lingualization.

The curious form *padbhis* which varies twice with *padbhīs* has been explained in this way, this would be more likely if the lingualization were not restricted entirely to the instr plural. Some obscure lingualizing influence may be suspected, but nothing so far proposed is very convincing. Cf Bloomfield, *AJP* 11 350ff, *Johns Hopkins Circulars*, 1906, 15ff, Oldenberg, *ZDMG* 63 300ff, Pischel, *Ved St* 1 228ff

*uro vā padbhīr* (Kauś *padbhīr*) *āhate* (Kauś SMB °ta, but Jorgensen °te) TS ŚŚ KŚ MŚ Kauś SMB

*padbhīs* (ApŚ *padbhīs*) *caturbhīr akramīt* AV ApŚ One ms at AV 3 7 3 also *padbhīs*, but Ppp *pad*°

§167. In the case of one word the 'correct' form requires a lingual (final of root *lah*), and the dental is due to dissimilation from a preceding lingual, see Wackernagel I §156a, who quotes this form, noting that TS has *ḍitya-vāḥ* and *turya-vāḥ* in the same passage where *paṣṭha-vāḥ* occurs. This proves that dissimilation is responsible for *t*·

*paṣṭhavād* (TS °vād) *vayah* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

*paṣṭhavāt* (TS °vāc) *ca me paṣṭhauhī ca me* (MS omits *me*, twice) VS TS MS KS

§168. Next come a few cases in which it appears that the lingual is or may be due to the original presence of an *r*-sound or *ṣ*, in the first variant the dental occurs in a different verb-form where the conditions causing lingualization were lacking, in the others it may be due to dissimilation, since the preceding syllables contain *r*

*grhā mā bibhūta mā vepadhvam* (LŚ ApŚ HG *vepidhvam*) VS LŚ ApŚ ŚG HG *vepidhvam* is an *iṣ*-aorist, *vepadhvam* present

*purovāta* (KS °to) *jinvā rāvaḥ* (KS *rāvat*) *svāhā* MS KS *purovāto tarṣaṇ jinvār āvrt svāhā* TS ApŚ And similarly other formulas, beginning *tapati* etc; all in TS 2 4 7 2, MS 2 4 7, KS 11 9, all containing the sacrificial exclamations *rāvaḥ* etc in the same forms. A natural assumption would be that the lingual *t* in MS is due to an originally preceding vocalic *r*, as in TS (which divides badly, *jinvār-āvrt* for *jinvā-rāvrt*), the dental *t* of KS might be due to dissimilation to the initial *r*. But cf §632. The words are mere interjections and any form would pass

*ukīrīda* (VS °dra, KS °da) *vilohita* VS TS KS *vyākṛda vilohita* MS. Obscure epithets of Rudra, cf TB *atī-kīrīṣa*. The original presence of an *r*-sound, before or after *d*, seems indicated by VS and MS. The dental of TS may again be due to the *r* of the preceding syllable, thru dissimilation.

§169. Finally we come to lexical variants, tapering off into mere

corruptions First, the ritualistic root *id* and its derivatives are confused several times with more or less similar but independent forms. Twice the SV substitutes the more banal *indh*, 'kindle' (Agni is the object both times) for *id* 'revere':

*agnim idila* (SV *indhila*) *martyah* RV. SV

*yam sim* (SV *sam*) *id anya idate* (SV. *indhate*) RV. SV.

The same *id* figures along with the similar *iḍ* (and adjective *iḍu*) in exchange with other similar forms of different etymologies:

*tigmam anīlam viditam sahasvat* AV *tigmam āyudham viditam* (KS *°dham idilam*) *sahasvat* TS MS KS In AV. *viditam* 'found', is evidently a poor reading for *viditam*, certainly KS *iditam* is equally secondary.

*dhiṣṇe vidū* (VS VSK *vidvī*, KS *vīte*, MS MŚ *idite*) *satī* (MS KS MŚ omit) *vidayethām* (MS. MŚ *idethām*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ *vidū* or *vidvī* 'firm'; *vīte* 'pleasant', *idite* 'revered'. KS is the only one that has an adjective not related to the verb, which we take as proof of its secondariness. KapŚ has *idite idautthām*

§170. The rest are sporadic

*pari no helī rudrasya vṛjyāh* (VSK *°yāt*) RV VSK *pari no heda tarunasya vṛjyāh* RV *helī* and *hedas* are quasi-synonyms. See the list of very similar formulas, RVRep 573

*dvo vābhiṣṭhām anu yo vicasṭe* MŚ. *devānām iṣṭhām* (ApŚ *†niṣṭhām*) *anu yo vitasṭe* VSK TB KŚ ApŚ See §156

*yajñam* (KS *yajñiyā*) *yajñam prati devayadbhyah* (KS *† ŚŚ.† °yadbhyah*) VSK TS KS ŚŚ KŚ MŚ The stem *deva-yaj* (in sandhi *°yad*) varies with the denominative participle *devayat*, virtually a synonym, but probably secondary

*sarasvatyā* (AV *°yām*) *adhī manāv* (KS *mānā*, v. 1 *manā*, AV. *manāv*, SMB Conc *vanāva*, Jørgensen *manāv*) *acarkṛṣuḥ* (KS SMB Jørgensen, *acarkṛṣuḥ*, SMB Conc *carkṛdhi*, KS v. 1 *acark°*) AV. KS TB ApŚ MŚ SMB PG The original reading is probably that of most texts (loc of *manu*, 'on behalf of Manu'); but the AV (loc of *man*) is capable of interpretation ('over a luckstone')

*aśādḥāya sahamānāya vedhase* (TB *mīdhuse*) RV. TB. N.

*ghṛtam duhānā vīsvataḥ prapītāh* (TB ApMB *prapīnāh*, AVPpp *pravīnāh*) RV AV VS. TB ApMB. See §198

*pītā bhāsvaty aṇūpamā* TA : *pītābhā syāt tanūpamā* MahānU. See §838  
*nāvoś caranti svasica iṇānāh* VS TS ŚB *nāvo viyanti susico na vāṇih* MS KS

*mā no agnim* (p.p *agnih*) *nīrtīr mā na āṣṭān* (p.p. *āṣṭhām*) MS : *mā no rudro nīrtīr mā no astū* TA. See §87

In ŚŚ 17 12 1 *sarvā vinudya samīrḍyaḥ* (cf critical note, top of p. 276) is suspicious as regards its linguals

### 8 DENTALS AND LABIALS

§171. Interchanges of dentals and labials is rarely if ever purely phonetic. It is chiefly lexical, concerning in large part words which approach one another in meaning, but are etymologically unrelated. It is, however, noteworthy that a very large proportion of these variants concern the voiced aspirates. Possibly a specially close phonetic relation may exist between *dh* and *bh*, we may recall that both exchange with *h* (§§115ff, 122)

#### *dh* and *bh*

§172. We shall begin with these, and first of all with the considerable list of variants between the prepositions *abhi* and *adhi*. Both of these vary with other prepositions, but far oftener with each other, chiefly on account of their similarity in sound no doubt, tho in some aspects they are not far apart in meaning too.

*bhadrād abhi* (AV Kauś *adhi*) *śreyah prehi* AV TS AB KB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś.

*svapnah svapnādhikarane* RVKh. *svapna svapnābhikaranena* AV *brahmādhiguptah* (PG *brahmābhi*?) *svārā kṣarāni* (PG *surakṣitah syām*) *svāhā* AG PG *brahmābhigūrtam svarākṣānah* MG. See Stenzler's Translation of AG 2 4 14 (p 73, n 2), and the critical note on MG 2 8 6.

*tayor devā adhīsamvasantah* ApŚ *tasyām dvā adhi samvasantah* TS TB *yasyām* (v 1 *asyām*) *devā abhi samvśantah* MŚ

*viśvāvasur abhi tan no grṇātu* RV. TA *virebhur adhi tan no grṇāno* etc MS

*samānamūrdhnīr abhi* (PG *adhi*) *lokam ekam* TS MS KS PG *tā ekamūrdhnīr abhi lokam ekam* AV

*trīṇye ṛdhāmāny abhy* (VS *dhāmān adhy*) *arayanta* VS TA Mahān U *udam* (PG *imam*) *tam adhīṣṭhāmī* (PG MG. *abhi*?) ŚŚ AG MG PG *ṛtasya nābhāv adhi* (AV *abhi*) *sam punāmī* (AV *punāti*) RV AV *na vai śvetasyādhīyācāre* (AG *śvetas cābhyāgāre*, HG *śvetasyābhyācārena*, MG *śvetasyābhyācāre*) AG PG HG ApMB MG.

*mā rudrīyāso abhi gur vṛdhānah* (MS *abhi gulbadhānah*) MS TA *mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu* (mss *nuh*) MŚ

*adhi skanda vīrayasva* AV. *abhi kranda vīlayasva* ŚG

*ṛṣinām putro adhīrāja eṣah* (AŚ *avīrāja eṣah*, AV *abhiśastipā u*, VS

ŚB *abhīśastipārā*, TB *abhīśastipā ayam*) AV. VS TS MS KS  
 ŚB TB AŚ SMB N  
*yamo rājābhīṣṭhaṭi* (KS MŚ *rājādhi*°) KS. TA ApŚ MŚ.

§173. As the roots *ślabh* and *stabh* were seen to interchange (§137), so the roots *śudh* and *śubh*, whose conjugations are parallel, interchange freely, without preference on the part of individual texts except that AV. seems to prefer *śubh* (five times); Whitney's *Index Verborum* confirms this tendency:

*tena mā saha śundhata* (AV *śumbhantu*) RV. AV. See VV I p. 239.  
*tāni brahmā tu* (AV ApMB *brahmota*) *śundhati* (AV. *śumbhati*; ApMB *śansati*) RV AV. ApMB

*śumbhantām lokāḥ pītṛśadanāḥ* AV. *śundhantām* etc. VS. MS KS  
 ŚB. MŚ. *śundhatām lokāḥ pītṛśadanāḥ* TS. ApŚ.

*śumbhañ mukham mā na āyuh pra moṣih* AV.: *śunddhī* (*śundhi*) *śiro māsyāyuh pra moṣih* AG PG ApMB. MG.

*āpah śundhantu* (AV. *viśve śumbhantu*) *mainasah* AV. VS KS ŚB TB  
*antaḥ śubhrāvata* (SV. *śundhyāvata*) *pathā* RV. SV.

§174. An interesting extension of the preceding correspondence appears in one case where *sūd*, instead of *śudh*, varies with *śubh*; this seems to be rooted in the rather standard relations of *śubh* and *śudh*, the latter being replaced by *sūd*:

*asūśubhanta* (TS. TB *asūśudanta*) *yajñīyā ṛtena* TS MS. KS TB.

§175. In the remaining variants between *dh* and *bh* lexical similarity, to the point of synonymy, continues to enter in largely. Thus in two cases of the participles *dhṛta* and *bhṛta*, which must be appraised in the light of the relations of *hṛta* and *bhṛta*, §118:

*sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtam bībhartu* (Ppp. *pipartu*) AV.: *sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhṛtām dadhātu* TB

*garbha iva* (SV. KU, Poley's ed., *ivet*) *subhṛto garbhiniḥbhīh* (RV. *sudhito garbhiniṣu*) RV. SV KU.

§176. Some of the remaining examples show such a degree of synonymy that we might expect a larger number of variants:

*dhartāras* (ApMB *bhar*°) *te* (MG. *te subhage*) *mekhale mā riṣāma* SMB  
 ApMB MG

*bhākṣimahi* (TS. MS. KS Vait. *d'ukṣimahi*) *prajāṃ iṣam* RV. SV. TS  
 MS KS. PB Vait.

*anādhrṣṭā apasyo vasānāḥ* VS MS KS ŚB.: *anūbhṛṣṭā apasyuro vasānāḥ* TS. Both mean 'undefeated'.

*saṃ bāhubhyām dhamati* (AV. *bharati*, TS. TA. *namati*, KS. *namate*, MS. *°bhṛyām adhamat*) *saṃ patatraiḥ* (KS. *yajatraiḥ*) RV. AV. VS  
 TS. MS KS TA. MahānU. ŚvetU.



*nikīrya* (MŚ KŚ *niḡīrya*) *tubhyam madhye* (MŚ *madhvah*, Vait. *tubhyam abhya āsam*, KŚ *sarvā ādhāh*) KŚ. Vait ApŚ MŚ See §47  
*avīḥṣobhāya* (KS °*ḷṣodhāya*) *paridhīn dadhāmī* KS. TB ApŚ. 'For non-disturbance' 'for non-hunger'. KS makes inferior sense  
*andha sthāndho vo bhalṣīya* VS ŚB KŚ. *ambhah* (TS ŚŚ *ambha*) *sthāmbho vo bha°* TS MS KS ŚŚ ApŚ. MŚ MG *andhah* '(soma-) juice' *ambhah* 'waters'  
*bhansaso* (ApMB *dhvansaso*) *vi vṛhāmī te* RV AV ApMB Here ApMB is meaningless

#### Aspirate and non-aspirate dentals and labials

§177. There are a few sporadic cases of *bh* and *d*, *t*, and *dh* and *p*  
*vi senābhīr dayamāno* (SV *bha°*) *vi rādhasā* RV SV *bhayamāno* is absurd, since the word is an epithet of Indra Benfey renders 'furchtbar', which it cannot mean

*bhūrnīm* (MŚ. v 1 *tūrnīm*) *devāsa iha suśrīyam dadhuh* RV. KS ApŚ MŚ

*dhanamjayam dharunam dhārayiṣnu* RVKh *bhūmīdṛnham acyutam pārayiṣnu* AV *bhūmīdṛnho 'cyutaś cyāvayiṣnuh* AV Quasi-synonyms 'establishing', 'saving'

§178. Ultimately, tho not superficially, here belong the variants of *lakup* (representing stem *lakubh*) and *lakuc*, *kakut*, *kakud*, *lakun*, all by regular sandhi for *lakud* Of these two stems, which are perfect equivalents tho of independent origin, TS and TB use *lakubh* only before vocalic endings (cf Weber, *IndSt* 13 109, Keith, *HOS* 18 p xxxviii)

*kakup* (and, *trikakup*) *chāndah* VS MS KS ŚB *lakuc* (and, *trikaluc*) *chāndah* TS

*kakup* (TB *kakuc*) *chanda iḥendriyam* VS MS KS TB

*apām napād āśuheman ya ūrmīh lakudmān* (MS *ūrmīh pratūrīh kakubhvān* , KS *ūrmīh pratūrīh kakudmān* ) TS MS KS .  
*devīr āpo yo va ūrmīh pratūrīh kakunmān* . VS VSK ŚB  
*bṛhaty uṣṣihā kakup* (TS *kakut*) VS TS MS KSA

#### *d* and *b*

§179. A single variant between *dulā* and *bulā*, both obscure; applied to fire-bricks

*ambā ca bulā ca* MS. MŚ . *ambā dulā* TS , cf *ambāya svāhā dulāya svāhā* TB 3.1 4 1

Another lexical variant:

*abaddham mano* . TS KŚ BDh · *adabddham mana* (MŚ. *caḥṣur*) ..  
MŚ ŚG.

*t* and *p*

§180. These two sounds interchange in quite a number of cases, usually in words which are near-synonyms, and seldom showing phonetic tendencies

*tiro raḡānsi asṛtāh* (SV *asṛtāh*) RV SV Both mean 'unconquerable'

The RV version occurs also with accusative *asṛtām*, 8 82 9b  
*ye cit pūrva ṛtasāpah* (AV °*sātāh*) RV AV Cf RV 1 179 2a, *ye cid  
dhi pūrva ṛtasāpa āsan*, which confirms the RV reading, if con-  
firmation were necessary to condemn the unintelligent version of  
AV ('won by *ṛta*', instead of the standard 'tending, loving the  
*ṛta*')

*matsarāśah prasupah* (SV °*tah*) *sākam īrate* RV SV Epithets of Soma  
The SV rationalizes desperately a word it does not understand  
(comm *prakarṣena sūtāh* [!], *abhiṣūtāh*) Benfey, 'zeugend' =  
*pra-su(t)*, but the comm is right to the extent of connecting SV's  
word with *su* 'press' The RV reading is obscure, cf Oldenberg,  
*Noten* on 9 69 6 (suggesting a derivative of *sup* = *swap*)

*vahnāh samtarano* (TA *sampārano*) *bhava* VS TA Practically syno-  
nyms, both 'rescuing'

*devair nyupitā* (KS *nūtā*, AV *uktā*) *vyasarpo mahitvā* (AV °*tvam*)  
AV KS ApŚ MŚ See §139

*yat kṣurena marcayātā* (MG *vartayātā*) *supeśasā* (AV MG *sutejasā*)  
AV AG PG ApMB HG MG Nearly synonyms See §156  
*upa* (MS *utā*) *no mitrāvarunāv ihāvatam* (MS °*nā ihāgatam*) MS TB  
TA

*mitro* (VS *vipro*) *babhūva saprathāh* RV VS TS MS TA

*sacelasāv* (VSK °*sā*, delete 'MS.' in Cone) *arepasau* VS VSK ŚB ·  
*sacelasau sarelasau* TB *samokasau sacelasā arepasau* MS. *samo-  
kasāv* (KS °*sā*) *arepasau* TS KS Kauś The TB. has a lect fac.  
to match *samokasau* which immediately precedes *sacelasau* (comm.  
*ekakarmapravartakau bhūtā*)

*yo gopā apī* (TB ApŚ *gopāyati*) *tam huve* RV AV TB ApŚ The  
denominative verb makes the same sense as the noun with copula  
'understood'

*suśevam somapītsaru* (TS *sumatītsaru*) VS TS MS KS ŚB VāDh  
*suśīmam somasatītsaru* AV—Ppp (Roth) *suśevam* (intending  
*suśevam*) *somapītsalam* For *suśīmam*, Whitney 'well-lying', but

it is a mere corruption Whitney and Keith regard the TS reading as the correct one; in that case the reading *\*pītsaru* would contain dissimilation But it is improbable that the isolated TS. has the original reading With Mahidhara, *somapi* may be taken as 'soma-drinker', and *somasa* as 'soma-winner' (cf *paśu-śā*, *prīya-śā*, both RV.); both would refer to the *yajamāna*, and the cpd would mean 'having a handle (ready) for the *yajamāna*' (or perhaps AV. 'having a soma-winning handle').

*dhīpsyam vā samcalara janebhyaḥ* MS *adītsan vā samjagara janebhyaḥ* TA 'Intending to deceive'. 'not intending to give' Others, §45 *āsannīṣūn hrīsvaso mayobhūn* RV. AV. TS KSA MS N: *āsann eṣām apsuwāho mayobhūn* SV The latter is wholly secondary, see §820

*rnān no narnam ertsamānah* AV *nen na ṛnān rṇava it samānah* TA *nem na ṛnān ṛṇavān īpsamānah* MS In AV desid. of *ā + ṛdh*; but comm *ecchamānah*, which suggests that TA intends *eccha*<sup>o</sup> (phonetic confusion of *ts* and *ch*) MS has a synonym, likewise with phonetic confusion of *ps* and *ch*

*tato na (na tato, na tadā) vicikītsati (vijugupsate)* VS VSK ŚB. BrhU KU IśāU See §45. Here the variation between *ts* and *ps* is connected with the approach of both of them to the Prakritic *ch*; see §182

#### *n* and *m*

§181. There are finally some cases of interchange between the dental and labial nasals Sometimes this concerns the indicative and subjunctive personal endings *mi* and *ni*; these concern verbal inflection and may be found recorded in VV I §§104c, 118, 119, 124; to §119 should be added the following, omitted there:

*pratīlāmīti* (AŚ *\*nūti*, TS KSA TB *pra sulāmīti*) *te pītā* VS TS. MS KSA ŚB TB AŚ. ŚŚ. The verbs concerned are obscure, and evidently taken from popular (vulgar) language

The rest are scattering

*agdhād eko 'hutād ekah samasanād ekah* TS: *adhvād eko 'ddhād eko ... sanāsanād ekah* MŚ. TS, 'eater of what is gathered' (Keith). Knauer takes the MŚ form as *sana + a-sana + ad*. Both uncertain Assimilation or dissimilation may be concerned *mademendram* (MS *maden*<sup>o</sup>) *yajamānāḥ svarkāḥ* VS MS KS. ŚB. TB Von Schroeder emends KS to *maden*<sup>o</sup>, without justification; the opt *madema* is probably the original form The other, with instr.

sg *madena*, is however construable, the pāda being then made dependent on the verb of the preceding sentence Assimilation or dissimilation in MS ?

*kad va ṛtam kad anṛtam* (SV *amṛtam*) RV SV See Benfey's note in his translation of SV, which is obviously secondary

*jīvam* (ApMB *jīvām*) *rudanti vi mayante* (AV *nayanly*) *adhvare* (AV. °ram) RV AV. ApMB Clearly a secondary effort in AV. to make an obscure passage 'sensible'

*abhīmam* (TS °mām, MS MŚ v. 1 °mān) *mahinā* (VS MŚ v. 1 °mā) *divam* (MS *divah*) VS TS MS TA ApŚ MŚ In the original the subject is Mitra, who encompasses 'this heaven by his greatness', in the secondary VS *mahimā* (acc to Mahidhara, Agni's 'greatness') is made the subject

*jāmim* (KS *ṛcamī*) *mā hinsīr amuyā* (MŚ *anu yā*) *śayānā* KS TB MŚ · mā *jāmim moṣīr amuyā śayānām* AV The MŚ is clearly secondary.

*akṣānām vagnum* (MS *ṛragnum*, AV *ganam*, read *gatnum*) etc, AV. MS TB TA. See §832

*pteṇa putram jarase nayemam* (MS *ma emam*) MS KS ApMB. HG. See §835

*nen na ṛnān* . TA · *nem na ṛnān* .. MS See §180 Particles *id* and *im*

*śūro nṛṣṭā śavaś* (SV MS *śra°*) *cakānah* (SV. *ca ṛkāme*) RV. SV. TS MS

## CHAPTER V. INTERCHANGES CONCERNING PALATALS

§182. Here we group a rather miscellaneous assortment of interchanges concerning palatal mutes, and the palatal semi-vowel and sibilant, which do not seem to fit well elsewhere. The regular correspondences between palatal mutes and those of other series (§§126-34, 154-61) contain some similar phenomena; and for the palatal sibilant and semi-vowel exchanging with other sibilants and semi-vowels, see the appropriate sections below. Notably the variations between *c* and *t* (§156), and still more those between *d* and *j* (§159) and *d* and *y* (§161), contain matters similar to the shift between *j* and *y* (below, §192). Also the exchange between *kṣ* and *ts* (§140), *lṣ* and *ps* (§153a), and *ts* and *ps* (§180, end) belong with the exchange of all these sounds with *ch*, as in the next following sections

### 1 *ch* varying with *kṣ*, *ts*, *ps*

§183. These changes are distinctly Prakritic; cf. above, §26, and note the references mentioned in the last paragraph. The shift occurs in both directions; when *kṣ* etc. are secondarily substituted for *ch*, this is to be regarded as hyper-Sanskritism. Confusion often occurs in the mss, so that it is sometimes not certain what a particular text really read in a given passage. As examples of pure blunders in mss we may mention *elatsandah* for *etac chandah* MS. 3, p. 22, n. 3; *āvṛchata* for *āvṛtsata*, ibid. 1, p. 18, n. 7; *ītsata* for *ichata* Kauś. 73. 15, *patsah* for *pacchah* Kauś. 82. 29. See further BR, s. vv. *laputsala*, *ucchādāna* etc. The pāda *pariṇādaṁ parilṣayam*, AV. Nakṣ., is read *parichavam* in many AV. mss; see Lanman's note ap. Whitney; and the Berlin ed. reads *uchantūnnā maruto ghr̥tena* in 3. 12. 4, with all of R.-Wh.'s mss and most of SPP.'s, tho SPP. reads (correctly) *ukṣantūdānā* with three mss and comm. (Ppp, Barret JAOS 32. 366, has *ukṣantūnā*, emended by Barret to *ūdānā*). Finally—altho the list might easily be extended further—for the pāda *tena yo 'smat samṛchātai*, TA 2. 4. 1c, the mss at MS. 4. 14. 17c read twice (247. 1 and 3) corruptly *samṛtsātām*, which von Schroeder emends to the TA reading—Mention may also be made of Bloomfield's generally accepted etymology of RV *lṣu*, as for *\*pṣu* (*:paśu*), IF 25. 185ff., which implies the same phonetic law.

§184. Most of the genuine variants, which are less numerous than one

might expect from the great confusion shown in the mss, concern *lṣ* and *ch*

*vācaspate vāco vīryena sambhṛtata menāyalyase* (TA °*yalyase*, Ś° °*yachase*) MS TA ŚŚ Tho *āyachase*, 'procure', is a possible alternative for the other reading, derived from *ā-yaj* 'obtain by sacrifice', it is doubtless a mere phonetic corruption See VV I p 29

*somī ghoṣena yachatu* (SV *raḥṣatu*) RV SV The preposition *ā*, found in the preceding pāda, goes with the verbs; *ā-yam* and *ā-rah* are here synonyms, 'bring hither' SV is of course secondary, with a sort of hyper-Sanskritic change in phonology

*tām pūṣānu yachatu* (AV °*pūṣābhi raḥṣatu*) RV AV *anu-yam* 'guide'; *abhi-raḥṣ* 'protect'. Quasi-synonyms, but since the object is the furrow in plowing, AV is obviously slipshod and secondary, again with hyper-Sanskritic phonetics The RV. original is much more neat and pointed

*achalābhūh* (KSA *acharābhūh*, MS *atsarābhūh* in p p, *matsarābhūh* in s p, VS *ṛḥṣalābhūh*) *kapīñjalān* VS MS TS KSA. In AV. 10 9 23 occurs the form *ṛcharā*, with v l *ṛtsarā* which is supported by Ppp The word is a name for a part of the horse's body, its original form is quite unknown Note that *ts* as well as *ḥṣ* and *ch* occurs Either *ts* or *ḥṣ*, or both, must be hyper-Sanskritic See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 29f

§185. For *ts* and *ch*, besides the variant last quoted, we find:

*namah kṛchrebhyah kṛchrapatibhyaś ca vo namah* MS KS.: *namo grtsebhyo grtsapatibhyaś ca vo namah* VS TS See §45

In AV 19 34 2a the mss read mostly *jāgrtsyas tripañcāśiḥ* (v l. *yā gr<sup>c</sup>*; Berlin ed *aksakṛtyās*, certainly wrongly). For this Ppp reads (with slight corruption, Barret, JAOS 44. 262) *yāḥ kṛchhrās* For the true Śaunakiya reading see §192

§186. For *ps* and *ch* we have noted only this.

*ichanto* 'paridākr̥tān ApMB *ipsantah parijākr̥tān* HG. The two words are of course perfect synonyms. One is reminded of the false identification of the two stems *icha-* and *ipsa-* by Goldschmidt, Göll Nachr 1874, 525, note

2 *sy* exchanging with *ś-c* or *s(h)* plus sibilant

§187. In an interesting little group of variants we find a genitive singular noun form in *-sya* varying with another form, generally the nominative case of the same noun, ending in a sibilant or *h*, the last

syllable of the genitive ending being represented by the first syllable of a different word (several times the conjunction *ca*, at other times a longer word beginning in a sibilant) All these cases, of course, involve different word divisions, and so belong to our later chapter on False Divisions Either reading may be at times the older

§188. We quote first the cases containing the conjunction *ca*, varying with *-sya*

*stomo yajñas ca* (TB *yajñasya*) *rādhyo haviṣmatā* (TB °*lah*) RV TB The TB awkwardly detaches *stomo* from the rest of the pāda, and makes *rādhyo* agree with Viṣṇu, with genitives dubiously depending on it, comm, *yajñena twam ārādhaniyah* —Here the nominative is the original form, in the next two it is secondary to the genitive *na vaḥ śvetasyādhyācāre* (AG *śvelas cābhyāgāre*, HG *śvetasyābhyācārena*, MG *śvetasyābhyācāre*) AG PG ApMB HG MG In AG the epithet *śvela* is attracted to the noun *ahir* in the next pāda Tho the majority reading is undoubtedly original, AG makes good sense, a snake-king is appealed to, to drive out snakes

*ubhāv indrā* (ŚB *indro*) *udītah sūryas ca* VS ŚB *aya(h)sthūnam* (TS °*nāv*) *udītā* (TS MS KS °*tau*) *sūryasya* RV TS MS KS The Conc unjustly stigmatizes *indro* of ŚB as an error, it is a nom. sing, replacing the elliptic dual *indrā* (=Indra and Sūrya) of VS to match the complementary nom sing *sūryas* which follows, cf Edgerton, KZ 43 110ff

*yad uttaradrāv uparās ca khādātā* AV *yad apsaradrūr uparasya* (ApŚ *apsararūparasya*) *khādātā* KS ApŚ

§189. In the rest the genitive *-sya* varies with a nominative in *h* followed by another, usually a longer word beginning in a sibilant, again the movement may be in either direction

*dyumattamā supratīkasya sūnoh* (AV *supratīlah sasūnuh*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB The AV secondarily alters the construction, making the epithets nominative to agree with the following, instead of genitive to agree with the preceding Agni is meant both times See Whitney on AV 5 27 1

*dhyā martah śasamate* (SV *martasya śamatah*) RV SV The SV has an unintelligent and far-reaching revision of the whole half-stanza, see VV I p 164

*yaśo bhagaś ca mā vidat* (MG *riṣat*, mss mostly *riṣak*) PG MG *yaśo bhagasya vīdatu* ArS Conc suggests *bhagaś ca* for ArS No doubt PG is original ('let glory and fortune find me') But ArS makes *yaśo* object, and since *bhagaś* cannot be accusative, changes it to a dependent genitive 'let him find glory of fortune'

*viprasya dhārayā lavih* RV : *viprah sa dhārayā sulaḥ* SV. In SV the stem *vipra* is attracted into agreement with the epithet *sulaḥ*, for RV *lavih*, which is a synonym of *vipra* and which SV contains in the preceding *pāda*

*somah sutasya madhvah* RV : *somah sulaḥ sa madhumān* SV. Like the prec ; the genitives are (so naturally!), made to agree with *somah*

*yunaṣṣu tistro vipraḥ sūryasya te* (MŚ *vivṛtaḥ sūryaḥ save, or savah*) TS ApS MŚ . *yuktās tistro vimṛṣaḥ sūryasya* PB —MŚ. is clearly corrupt

*mānasya patni śaranā syonā* AV.: *mā nah sapatnah śaraṇaḥ syonā* HG The latter is hopelessly corrupt; Oldenberg follows AV in translating

### 3. Interchanges of *kṣ*, *kś*, and *khy*

§190. The closely analogous phenomenon of interchange between *kh* and *ṣ*, *kṣ*, is treated by Wackernagel I §118 Our variants, however, are concerned with the combination *khy* in variation with *kṣ* or *kś* For the most part the forms involved are derived from the root *khyā* 'see', which regularly in MS, and once in KS., is spelled *kśā*; cf von Schroeder, Introduction to MS, p XLIII In fact the mss vary greatly; but von Schroeder has generalized the spelling in his edition This writing is also known to the grammarians

*anukhyātre* (KS °*kśātre*) *namah* KS. GB Varit KŚ The *kś* of KS. (both mss) is the more remarkable since it is immediately preceded by two parallel forms written *-khyā-*.

*vy akhyān* (MS *akśan*) *mahiṣo divam* (AV.\* TS *mahiṣaḥ s(u)vaḥ*) RV. AV (bis) SV ArS VS TS MS KS ŚB The mss of MS vary, p p *akhyat* AVPpp agrees with RV

*indra ṛbhukṣā marutaḥ parī khyān* (MS *kśan*) RV VS. TS MS KSA N. All mss of MS here *kṣyān*, p p *khyān*

*anv agnir uṣasām agram akhyat* (MS MŚ *akśat*) AV. VS TS MS. KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ. All mss of MS. *akśat* or *akṣyat*; p p *akhyat*. But most mss of MŚ *akśat*

*vikhyāya* (MS *vikśāya*) *caḥṣuā tvam* VS TS MS. KS ŚB.

*svar abhivyakhyam* (MS MŚ °*kśam*) *jyotir varīśvānaram* MS KS MŚ : *svar* (KhG *sur*) *abhivyakhyam* KS ApŚ. GG KhG

*nṛcakṣasam tvā deva soma sucakṣā ava khyeṣam* (MŚ *kśeṣam*) TS MS *duścakṣās te māvakṣat* (KS text with one ms °*kṣat*, v l °*khyat*) MS.

KS . *tam te duścakṣā māva khyat* TS † (so read) Whatever be the writing of KS, the meaning can only be that of *ava-khyā*



§191. In the following the reverse condition is found, the readings with *lhy* are secondary to *kṣ*.

*yas te agne sumatim maro akṣat* (AV *akhyat*, v 1 *akṣat*) RV AV If *akhyat* is the true reading, it makes quite good sense ('has seen', for the original 'has attained', a more recondite and difficult form) *viśvākṣam* (MahānU *lhyam*) *viśvasambhuvam* TA MahānU. No doubt *viśvākṣam* 'having eyes all over', is the original, but *viśvākhyam* is felt as a synonym, 'all-seeing'

*idhmasyeva prakṣāyatah* (ŚŚ *prakhyā*) TB TA ŚŚ ApŚ Both TB and TA comms derive from root *kṣi* with intransitive meaning(!), 'of him perishing like fuel (in the fire)', and similarly Caland on ApŚ Better from *pra-kṣā* (*kṣat*) 'burning up' In any case the ŚŚ (all mss) form shows phonetic decay; it makes no independent sense

#### 4 *j* and *y* exchanging

§192. The interchanges of these sounds are common enough to prove conclusively the genuine phonetic instability between them in the Vedic language, as in Prakrit Cf Wackernagel I §§188b, 140b, and above, our §§156, 159, 161 The change goes in either direction, and often appears in corruptions of the mss, e.g. in AV 3 11 6 several mss read *javam* for *yuvam*, and the comm evidently had this reading before him Some of our variants may perhaps fairly be called mere corruptions, and indeed some are eliminated in more recent editions of their respective texts But when is a corruption a true variant? Note the first case

*uto* (ŚŚ and GB Gaastra, *uta*) *padyābhīr yaṁsthah* (AB *ja*) AV AB GB ŚŚ The Berlin ed of AV also reads *yaṁsthah*, against all mss There is no doubt that this is the 'correct' form, the word can only mean 'swiftest' But only AB reads so in the mss, while not only AV and its Brāhmaṇa, GB, but the independent ŚŚ, have the 'corrupt' reading' Under these circumstances it seems more conservative to keep the reading of the mss, regarding it as a case of dialectic phonology Similarly in the next.

*yaṁnā* (*yaṁnā*) *netasann* (read, *ned asann*, GB Gaastra *netar asann*) *apurogavāsah* (*avīcetānāsah*), *yaṁnād eta sann apuro*, see §62 Again there is no doubt that *yaṁnā* is the 'correct' reading, but *j* for *y* occurs persistently in the tradition of various texts

*tato ha yaṁne* (MŚ *tato 'ham yaṁne*) *bhuvanasya gopāh* (MŚ *gopā*) TB ApŚ MŚ *te-ha yaṁne bhu* *gopāh* PB Here the reverse change has occurred, MŚ. is clearly secondary

*śatam yo nah śarado ajūlān* (SMB Conc *ajūāt*, comm. *ajūjanat*; PG *jūjān*) TS SMB PG But Jorgensen reads for SMB. *ajūyāt*; comm *ajūyād ajyāt*, *aja gatīkṣepanayoh*, *gamayatu ity arthah*. Three mss of the text read *ajyāt* See VV I p 92f

*saujāmim* (ŚG *saujāmim*), sc *tarpayāmī*, AG ŚG Here *saujāmim* (so v 1 of ŚG) is doubtless original It is a n pr

*yajñasya hi stha rīvijā* (TB. ApŚ *rīvijau*) RV SV KS PB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ *yajñasya rīvij-* is established from RV 1 1 1 on

*tsro yahvasya* (MS MŚ *jihvasya*, v 1 *yah°*) *samidhah pariṣmanah* RV MS ApŚ MŚ *jihvasya* probably corrupt, and certainly secondary

*īśāno vi śyā* (= *śyā*, TS *srjā*) *dṛtīm* AV TS MS KS The two forms are synonyms, TS is secondary

*jāgrītsyas tripañcāśīh* AV 19 34 2a, mss (v 1. *yā gr°*); R-Wh *akṣaḥ rīyās*, a bad emendation abandoned by Whitney, see his note Read either *yā grītsyas*, or better *yāh* (or *yās ca*) *kṛtyās* Cf §185

*añjanī suprayasam pañca janāh* RV MS, 'the five tribes anoint him (Agni), possessed of good regalement' *yuñjanī suprayasam* etc, AV Ppp 2 74 1 (Barret, JAOS 30 244), 'the five tribes employ him of good offspring' (secondary but not bad Vedic sense)

§193. Somewhat remoter are the following

*hṛdo astu antaram tej jujoṣat* (TA. *tad yuyota*) RV. KS TA—TA secondary

*samvatsarasya dhāyasā* (AV VS *tejasā*) AV VS TS KSA HG

*ramayata* (KS °tā) *marutah syenam āyinaṁ* (MŚ °tāh *pretam vājinaṁ*) TS KS ApŚ MŚ

*āśum tvāṇu* (ApŚ *ākhum tvā ye*) *dadhire devayantah* KS ApŚ MŚ Corrupt in ApŚ, Caland translates the KS reading Explained in §296

*ya rīte* (TA ApŚ ApMB *yad rīte*, P B *īyakṣate*) *cid abhiśṛīṣah* RV AV SV PB *ī* 9 10 1a, TA KŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś GG *jari cetid* (mss *cetid*, p p *cya itī, itī*) *abhiśṛīṣah* MS (corrupt)

### 5 Palatal stops and ś(ṣ)

§194. There are next a number of cases of palatal stops varying with the palatal sibilant, or once with the lingual sibilant (which varies frequently, as we shall see, with the palatal sibilant, so that this variant may represent the same tendency) But in all cases the lexical element is so marked as to make uncertain the degree to which real sound change enters The single case of § 15

*abhy arṣata* (AV. Vait Kauś *arcata*) *suṣṭutim gavyam ājim* RV. AV. VS KS Vait ApŚ Kauś For the favorite formula *abhy-arṣ* with *suṣṭutim* see *RVRep.* 523ff The AV variant is a lect fac (root *stu* suggests the synonym *arc*)

§195. The rest concern ś:

*pratyāñ janān samcukocāntakāle* N. in Durga (Roth, Erläuterungen 12, n. 4); *pratyāñ janās tiṣṭhati sarvatomukhah* (ŚvetU. and ŚirasU.\* *tiṣṭhati samcukocāntakāle*) VS. ŚvetU. ŚirasU. Dhātup has a root *kuś* 'embrace, enfold', with which Durga's form seems connected *ayasmayam vicrtā* (KS *viṣṭā*, v 1 °*dr̥tā*) *bandham etam* VS TS. MS KS ŚB.: *ayasmayān vi crtā bandhapāśān* AV. The original *vicrtā* means 'loosen thou'. KS. seems felt as 2 plur. from *vi-ṣṭ* 'destroy', but there is no explanation of the plural.

*vistasya devī mṛcayasya* (ŚŚ. *mṛśa*°) *janmanah* AB AŚ. ŚŚ *mṛcayasya* is rendered 'perishable'; perhaps better with causative force, 'injurious'. ŚŚ's *mṛś*° may well be a corruption, but the word is obscure in either form

*prthivyāh samprcah* (MS MS. °*cas*, VS ŚB *samspr̥cas*) *pāhi* VS TS MS. ŚB. TB ApŚ MŚ Also: *divaḥ samspr̥cas* (MS *sampr̥cas*) *pāhi* VS. MS. ŚB. The two words are synonyms

*śvitro* (MŚ *citro*) *raṭṣitā* AV. MS. TS ApMB. Also: *śvitra* (MS *citra*) *ādityānām* VS MS Again the two words are synonyms Some AV. mss. have *citro* in the first variant; Ppp. ms *śaltro*, Barret JAOS 32. 370 em *śvitro*.

*yat kṣureṇa marcayatā* (MG *varṭayatā*) *sulejasā* (AG PG HG ApMB *supēśasā*) AV. AG. PG. HG. ApMB MG.

*agre* (TB. *agne*, Poona ed *agre*) *yajñasya cetalah* (RV *śotalah*) RV KS. TB.

*ūrdhvacitah* (MS. KS. °*śrūtah*) *śrayadhvam* (VS. text *śśna*°, doubtless misprint tho repeated in comm, which glosses *sevadhvam*; ŚB correctly *śra*°) VS TS. MS. KS ŚB TA. Assimilation to *śrayadhvam* in MS. KS

*mṛśase* (SV. *mṛjyase*) *parase matī* RV. SV. The change from (*pari*-) *mṛś* 'thou dost embrace', to *mṛjyase* 'thou art purified', is suggested by the following *parase*, or by recollection of *mṛjyase soma sālaye* RV. 9. 56 3.

*chilīṭipu chilīṭīṣate* ŚŚ : *asīlīṭipu ślīlīṭīṣate* AV (mss ; R-Wh. em *asīlīṭīṣum ślīlīṭīṣate*). Unknown words.

*tanūpās* (TB Conc *tanūpāc*, Poona ed. text and comm *ṭlanūnapāc*) *ca sarasvatī* VS KS TB. The TB (which obviously reads *tanū-*

*napāc*) has repeated this word from the preceding pāda, where it occurs as a name of Agni. The other reading is clearly original.

#### 6 Miscellaneous

§196. Finally, a couple of miscellaneous variants, in two of which *j* and *h* vary, in the other *lṣ* and *by*.

*mahnā jinoṣi* (MS *hinoṣi*) *mahini* RV TS MS KS ApMB N. Synonymous rime-words

*āyurdā* (*āyusmān*) *deva* (*agne*) *jarasam* (*haviṣo*, *haviṣā*) *vrnānah* (etc.), see §854

*dwyah koṣah samukṣitah* MS. *dawyah koṣah* (AV *devakoṣah*) *samubṛutah* AV. TS KS. The MS. reading is a riming corruption.

## CHAPTER VI LABIAL MUTES AND V AND M

§197. The variants in this chapter are in large part genuinely phonetic. Especially the section on *b* and *v* is related to the almost complete confusion between these sounds in the later dialects, and the interchanges of *v* and *m* also are rooted deeply in phonetic relations between these sounds. But morphological relations, as for instance the parallel noun suffixes in *v* and *m*, are also concerned, and merely graphic corruptions likewise have no doubt played an important part, especially as between *v*, *b*, and *p*.

*p* (once, *ph*) and *v*

§198. Here we have undertaken to separate the cases in which *p* is the more original, they are listed in the following

*yas tān* (TA MahānU *tad*) *veda sa pituh* (AV *sa pituṣ*, most mss *pituh*, TA *savituh*) *pitāsat* AV VS TA MahānU *yas tā vijānāt sa pituṣ* (TA *savituh*) *pitāsat* RV AV TA N 'He shall be Savitar's-father' is an absurd but persistent mouthing over of 'he shall be the father's father', cf. Bergaigne 2 104, 108

*abhiśaster avasparat* (SV *avasvarat*) RV SV 'Fight away' 'sound away', in either case 'protect' (SV. comm *pālayatu*) But *ava-spar*, and not *ava-svar*, is elsewhere used in this sense; see e.g. RV 10 39 6, 8 66 14

*ṛtasya goptrī tapasah paraspī* (SMB °*vī*, MG *tarutrī*) SMB ApMB MG *paīaspī* 'protectress (of *tapas*)' *parasvī* (also in some mss of ApMB) may be a case of dissimilation from initial *p* (comm *utkr̥ṣṭadhanarūpā*)

*spārḥā* (TB *svārūḥā*) *yasya śrīyo dṛṣe* RV KS TB And *spārḥo* (TB *svārūho*) *deva nyulvatā* RV SV VS TB The TB reading is of course secondary, and unmetrical. Comm., wobblingly, once *suṣṭhu ratham ārūdhah*, once *svasmad eva prarūdhāh*

*hiranyaparna śakune* PG *hiranyavarnah śakunah* MU *hiranyapaśah śakunih* HG Practically synonyms. Contrast *darbhah śr̥ṇīta* etc. under §200

*jāmim ṛtvā māva patsi lokāt* AV *jāmim itvā mā vivitsi lolān* TA The AV original 'may I, going to my kin, not fall from heaven' Poona ed. of TA reads *jāmi māvā mā vivitsi lokāt* (*v* 1 *lolān*)

Its comm regards the second person as addressed to the *yajamāna* (gloss, *lapsyasi*) But neither reading of TA. really makes sense, tho they may contain a mechanical assimilation of *p* to preceding *v* *nākro malarah kulīpayas* (TS *kulīkayas*, MS *pulīkayas*, KSA *pulī-rayas*) te 'kūpārasya (KSA † *kūvarasya*) VS TS MS KSA Von Schroeder suggests *kūvārasya*; certainly rightly. *kūvāra* and *kūpāra* are quoted lexically as equivalents for *akūpāra* 'ocean'.

*nāpa vr̥jāle na gamāto antam* AV *nāvapr̥jyāte na gamāte antam* TB. *ava-prj* is the original, it seems to be a technical term for bringing to an end the warp in weaving Note *apa· ara* also (§201)

*yatrāspṛkṣat* (HG *yatrā vr̥kṣas*) *tanuvam* (AV *tanvo*, HG *tanuvc*) *yatra vāsah* (AV *yac ca vāsasah*) AV. ApMB HG 'Wherever (defilement) has touched my body or my garment' HG's corruption seems primarily due to the preceding line, *yadī vr̥kṣāgrād abhyapatat phalam*

*yamasya dūlās ce vāg vidhāvati* MS. *yamasya dūtah śvapād vidhāvati* TA. See §145

*yunajmi tistro viprcāh sūryasya te* (MŚ *tistro vūrtah sūryah savah*, or *save*) TS ApŚ MS See §57

*ajāsvah paśupā vājapastyah* (TB °*vastyah*) RV. MŚ TB Comm. on TB, *vastyam gr̥ham* (= *pastyam*, see *RVRep.* 58) This, and the lexical statements that *vastyā* means 'house', may be based on corruptions of *pastyā*, but thoughts of the root *vas* 'dwell' doubtless helped

*yat paśur* (Kauś *yad vaśā*) *māyum akr̥ta* (Kauś *akrata*) TS ŚŚ. KŚ.

ApŚ MŚ SMB GG Kauś A synonym is substituted in Kauś *sarpadevajanebhyah* (AŚ *sarva*°) *svāhā* AŚ. AG Tho the context is different, AŚ looks suspiciously like a lect fac

*śatāpāsthādya* (read, °*ṣ(hā gha*, with both Poona edd) *viṣā pari no vṛnaktu* TB TA *śarā vāṣṭād dhaviṣā vārṇah* MS See §86

*ghṛtam duhānā vīsvatah prapītāh* (TB ApMB *prapīnāh*, AVPpp. *pravīnāh*) RV. AV VS TB ApMB Barret, *JAOS* 35 88, would keep *pravīnāh*, but since this is a late word, it is probably only a corruption

§199. The one case of *ph v* concerns a senseless substitution of *śavam* for *śapham*, some sort of implement:

*īṣām khṛgalyam śavam* MS *īṣām khagalyam śapham* ApŚ. Tho corrupt in *śavam*, MS seems to be correct in *khṛgalyam* (cf *khṛgala*, RV), for which ApŚ has a Prakritic ṣπ. λεγ.

- §200. The *v* reading seems to be original in the following.
- vr̥ṣṭim* (SV \* *pr̥*<sup>o</sup>) *divah parīsrava* RV SV (bis) *pr̥ṣṭim* can mean nothing but 'rain', as Benfey translates, perhaps the root *pruṣ* (which also appears as *pr̥ṣ*, §680) may have infected the word
- mahyam daltvā vrajata* (TAA *prajātum*) *brahmalokam* AV. TAA. The TAA. reading, at best a poor infinitive from *pra-jan*, is an untranslatable corruption. Comm. takes it for *prajātam* by Vedic license!
- yathāpah pravatā yanti* TA TU Kauś *yathā yanti prapadah* SMB See §60.
- iheha vah svatavasah* (TA *svatapasah*) RV MS. KS TA AŚ. Significant of the growth in importance of *tapas*, which here crowds out *svatavas*, a standard epithet of the Maruts
- tve kratum api vr̥ṣṇanti viśve* (AV *api pr̥ṣṇanti bhūri*) RV AV. SV VS AA ApŚ. MŚ. See §57
- divyam suparnam vāyasam* (AV. *payasam*, KS. VS TS \* ŚB *vayasā*, MS TS \* *vayasam*) *br̥hantam* RV AV VS TS (bis) MS. ŚB AŚ Suparn. There is no point in calling the eagle 'milky'; but Ppp. agrees on *payasam* (twice). Once the AV. comm. has the hardihood to say that *payasam* is for *va*<sup>o</sup> by Vedic license
- payasvan māmakam vacah* (AV \* *payah*) RV AV. (bis) KS. In AV. assimilation to preceding *payasvan*, obviously secondarily. But TS TB MŚ have a further alteration: *payasvad vīrudhām payah*
- amba niṣpara* (TS. ApŚ *niṣvara*, KS KapŚ *niṣvara*, MS *nismara*, p p *nih*, *smara*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ. The majority (in which we count MS with *m*) points to *v* rather than *p*, but the word is obscure in all forms
- suvarnapaṣṣāya* (MahānU *suparna*<sup>o</sup>) *dhīmahi* TA. MahānU 'Golden-winged' is doubtless original, see under next.
- darbhāṣṭh stnīlā haritāṣṭh suparnaṣṭh* (KS †*suvarnaṣṭh*) KS MŚ. *hotṛṣadanam haritām hiranyayam* AV *hotṛṣadanā haritāṣṭh suvarnāṣṭh* TB ApŚ *suvarna-* is certainly original, as AV. shows, cf. preceding, and, for the reverse change, *hiranyaparna śakune* etc., §198
- parivādam pariṣṣavam* (mss. mostly *parichavam*) AV Nakṣ. *parivādam pariṣṣapam* ApMB. The variant word must mean 'sneezing', see Lanman ap. Whitney. The ApMB can hardly be anything but a corruption, one ms. has *°vam*
- tvam rājāsi pradivah* (VS VSK *pratīpat*) *sulūnām* RV VS VSK TS MS KS. N See §64
- tam ajarebhīr vṛṣabhis tava* (ApŚ *tapa*) *svaṣṭi* RV KS ApŚ. Followed by *tapā tapīṣṭha tapasā tapasvān* RV. KS, *tapa tapasva tapasā tapīṣṭha*

ApŚ, which has clearly changed *tava* under the influence of this pāda Caland understands *tapa* as a voc., 'O Brennender.'  
*sa bhūmim viśvato* (ArS *sarvato*) *ṛtvā* (VS. *sarvata sprtvā*) RV AV. ArS VS TA Comm. on VS *vyāpya* 'pervading', which is not far from *ṛtvā* 'encompassing'.

*anupahvad* (ApMB. *anu po 'hvaḍ*) *anupahvayet* (ApMB *anuhvayah*) HG ApMB In ApMB *po* intends *vo* (pronoun), HG is corrupt and obscure See §732 There is no real variant here, both forms having *p*

*āñjanena sarpiṣā sam viśantu* (AV. *sprśantām*, Ppp. [acc. to Roth] *viśanta*, TA *mśantām*) RV. AV TA.

*jaḥṣwānsaḥ papwānsaś ca viśve* VS etc ; the text of VS. is misprinted as *papṛpānsaś*, corrected, p XXII ]

§201. In a class by themselves and of notable bulk are the variants between the prepositions *apa* and *ava* So close are they in meaning that it is sometimes hard to decide the relative originality, except in so far as it is indicated by general usage, by the preponderance of one form among the variants, or by the historic relations of the texts in general: *nāpa vrñjāle* (*nāvaprjyāle*) . see §198

*ava* (AV *apa*) *tasya balam tira* RV. AV. Note that RV has only *ava-tr*, never *apa-tr*

*apa* (TA. ApŚ † *ava*) *bādhātām duritāni viśvā* MS TA ApŚ. Both familiar

*dvīṣantam me 'vabādhasva* (Poona ed °*dhāsai*, but v. l. and comm. °*sva*) TA : *dvīṣantam apa bādhasva* SMB If the Poona ed text is right, this should be added to VV I §152

*dhātā samudro apa* (AG 'va) *hantu pāpam* AG PG.

*yat tatraino apa tat suvām* AV · *yad atraino ava tat suvām* TA

*idam aham amuṣyāmuṣyāyanasya pāpmānam ava* (ApMB. *apa*) *guhām* HG ApMB

*yad avāmṛkṣac* (ApŚ *apā°*) *chakunih* KS ApŚ. MŚ

*yenāpāmṛśatam* (SMB v 1.°*mṛśatam*) *surām* ŚŚ. SMB.: *yenāvamṛśatām surām* PG

*apa* (AV *ava*) *śveta padā jahṇ* AV AG ŚG PG ApMB HG : *apah śveteḥ pad āgah* MG

*ābhur anyo 'pa* (ApMB 'va) *padhyatām* ApŚ HG ApMB · *mātur anyo 'va padhyata* ŚG.

*sarvān ava yajāmahe* KS † TB TA ApŚ · *sarvān apa yajāmasi* Kauś. *ava-yaḥ* is more archaic

*indur indum avāgāt* (KS *avāgan*, MŚ *upāgāt*, v 1 *apāgāt*) KS. PB TB. ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ



*ava dīlśām asrkṣata* (ApMB. *adāstha*) *svāhā* AV ApMB *iyam apa*  
(v l *ava*) *dīlśām ayaṣṭa* SMB

*apa kṣudham nudatām arātīm* TB *ava sedīm tṛṣṇām kṣudham jah*  
Kauś

§202. To these obviously belong two interchanges of *avāñc* and *apāñc*, both of which are contrasted with *prāñc*, which makes it certain that *apāñc* is intended, and indeed this should probably be assumed as the true reading in TB in the first case

*apāpāco* (TB °*vāco*) *abhībhūte nudasva* RV AV AB GB TB But

Poona ed of TB text and comm. *apāpāco*, clearly correctly  
*āyus ca prāyus ca prāñ cāpāñ* (ApŚ *cāvāñ*) *ca* MS ApŚ

*p* and *m*

§203. The few variants under this head are dubious or obscure, except for several cases of exchange between the roots *tap* and *tam*. A certain phonetic fluidity (or perhaps graphic confusion?) seems suggested by all of them

§204. The roots *tap* and *tam* are quasi-synonyms since early times. They interchange three times, in two passages, so that *tap* occurs exclusively in RV. texts, *tam* in Tait texts

*tapasas* (TB *tamasas*) *tan mahinājyatarikam* RV. TB  
*mā tamō* (AŚ *tapo*) *mā yajñas tamat* (AŚ *tapat*), followed by  
*mā yajamānas tamat* (AŚ *yajñapatis tapat*) TB ApŚ AŚ

§205. The rest are sporadic  
*kṣumāsī* VS *kṣupāsī* VSK An arrow is addressed obscurely. Comm on VS 'shaker', thinking of the Dhātup root *kṣmā*(v), perhaps confused with *kṣubh*- Is VSK influenced partly by *kṣip*?

*amba nṣpara* (*nṣmara*, etc), see §200

*yuktās tisro vimṛjah yunajmi tisro vipṛcah* (*viṛtah*), see §57  
*namo 'gnaye prthivīṣṭe* (ChU MU *prthivī*°) *lokasṛte* (MU °*smṛte*, ChU °*ṣṭe*) TS KSA ApŚ ChU MU And similarly *namo vāyave 'ntarikṣaṣṭe*, *nama ādityāya* (*namah sūryāya*, *nama ādityebhyaś*), each time with MU alone reading *lokasṛte*. All in the same passage. There is no doubt that *lokasṛte* is original, Deussen renders MU 'Weltgewahrer', seemingly having °*sṛte* in mind

*āñjanena sarpiṣā sam viśantu* (AV *sṛṣantām*, Ppp [Roth] *viśanta*, TA *mṛśantām*) RV AV TA

*apāma edhī mā mṛthā na indra* SMB *amā ma edhī mā mṛdhā na* (AŚ *ṛma*) *indra* AŚ ŚG See §78

*viśvā sṛdho* (AV *mṛdho*) *abhimātīr jayema* RV AV TA

## b and v

§206. This wide-spread interchange, tho partly graphic, is largely phonetic, and very common in later times. But it occurs also extensively in early times, applying both to original *b* and original *v*, see Wackernagel I §161. The mss are unstable and inconsistent in their writing of the two sounds. There are indeed words like the prepositions *vi* and *ava*, or the roots *vid* and *vad*, or the noun *vīra*, which are presumably never, or at most very rarely, written with *b*. On the other hand there is scarcely any original *b* which is not occasionally written *v* (*pivāmi*, for instance, for *pibāmi*). This elusive theme (cf. Grassmann, KZ 12 123) is, perhaps, rather illustrated than cleared up by the Vedic variants. The divergent readings of the printed texts are not to be regarded as 'school' differences, but as illustrations of the total of an unstable and largely untrustworthy tradition.

§207. Nearly all cases are purely phonetic variations, in so far as they are not, possibly, graphic. There are only a few which involve real lexical change. These are-

*carmevāvādhus* (TB °*bādhus*) *tamo apsu antah* RV MS KS TB ApŚ

The original *avādhus* = *ava* + *adhus* 'they have put away'. TB understands it as an anomalous root-aorist from *bādh* 'they have overcome'. Poona ed of TB has indeed *avādhus* in its text, but the comm even there has *abādhus*, glossing *vināśitavantaḥ*.

*devīm aham nūrṣṭim bādhamānah* (TS *vandamānah*) TS KS ApŚ  
'Subduing' or 'praising' the Goddess Destruction. TS doubtless secondary, since its own sūtra agrees with KS, but it is natural enough, since the preceding passage ends with 'Homage to Destruction'.

*yatra-yatra vibhṛto* (KS *bibhṛato*) *jātavedāh* AV KS : *yatra-yatra jāta-vedah sambabhūta* (TB *sambabhūva*, but Poona ed text and comm °*tha*) TB ApŚ. The form is dubious. The text tradition of AV. (19 3 1) supports *bi-*, not *vi-*, mss almost all *bibhṛto* or *bibhṛato*, tho the comm reads *vi-*, and so both editions. All three mss of KS *bi-* (vv II *bibhṛto* and *bibhṛato*). In spite of all this, it seems hardly possible to construe anything but *vi-bhṛto* (note that the accent must be also changed in both texts). Cf next.

*alandrāso ywatayo jvibhṛtram* (TB Conc *vibhṛtram*, Poona ed text and comm *bibhṛ*°) RV TB. Cf preceding, here we have adjective epithets of Agni (TB comm *poṣakam*, understanding a reduplicated form of *bhr*).

*sakhāyau saplapadāv abhūva* (ApMB °*padā babhūva*) ApMB HG. The

absurd form of most ApMB mss is retained for reasons explained by Winternitz, *Introd*, xvi.

*usrā* (MŚ *usrāv*) *etam dhūrvāhu* (KS *dhūrbādā*) . . VSK KS MŚ Others, §122

*yāv* (MS KS *yā*) *ātmanvad bībhṛto* (KS † *°tho*, AV *vśatho*) *yau'ca rakṣatah* (AV KS *°thah*) AV. TS MS KS

[*tujo yujo vanam* (ŚŚ. text, *balam*) *sahah* AA ŚŚ : *tuje janā* (ArŚ *jane*) *vanam svah* AV ArŚ This difficult passage only seemingly concerns our theme, since *balam* is Hillebrandt's emendation in ŚŚ ]

§208. All the remaining cases concern the same word which appears now with *b*, now with *v*, the meaning being precisely the same. There are no school customs governing the sounds as a whole, tho there are some as regards individual words. The variation is about equally common with original *b* and original *v*, and in not a few cases it is impossible to be sure which was original. Among indications of greater originality three criteria may be considered, aside from the number and relative antiquity of the texts concerned. First, general prevalence of one spelling in the language as a whole. Second, such prevalence in the older texts. Third, the evidence of etymology. When all are combined, the case becomes quite clear. But especially *b* is for the most part doubtful historically and etymologically (cf. Wackernagel I §§158b, 162), so that the variant words whose etymology is certain nearly all contain *v*.

#### Original *v*

§209. We begin with forms in which *v* is certainly or probably original. There are no less than nine variants (not all textually certain) containing forms of the root *vddh* or *badh*, of which the former seems older (*badh* not in RV) and remains commoner thru the language. The occasional *b*-forms met with from AV on are probably in part due to the suggestion of the root *bādā* (and perhaps of *bandh*). In several variants, VS texts (particularly VSK) seem to favor *badh*, but contrary instances occur:

*divṣato bādho* (MŚ *vadho*) 'sī VS KŚ MŚ

*mā tvā samudra ud vadhīn* (VSK *badhīn*) *mā suparnah* VS. TS. MS KS

ŚB

*tvayāyam vṛtram vadhyāt* (VSK *ba°*, VS ŚB *badhet*) VS VSK TS MŚ

KS ŚB

*mā me dīkṣām mā tapo nīr vadhiṣṭa* (KŚ *ba°*) TS KŚ MŚ

*abadhiṣma rakṣo* 'badhiṣmāmum asau hatah' (VSK *rakṣo* 'muṣya *tvā*

*badhāyāmum abadhiṣma*) VS VSK ŚB. KŚ. *avadhiṣma rakṣah*

TS. MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ

*rīrān mā no rudra bhāmīto* (SMB ŚvetU °mīno, Jørgensen °mīto for SMB) *vadhīh* (TAA SMB. *badhīh*; but Poona ed of TAA and Jørgensen's of SMB. both *va°*) RV. TS MS KS TAA. ŚvetU. SMB : *mā no rīrān rudra bhāmīno vadhīh* VS

*avartyai badhāyopamanthitāram* (TB *avartyai* †*vadhā°*) VS TB (so Poona ed)

*nātārīd* (TB °rīr) *asya samṛtīm vadhānām* (TB *ba°*, but Poona ed. *va°*) RV TB

*ayanam mā vivadhīr* (TAA *vība°*, but Poona ed text and comm *vīva°*) *vikramasva* TA TAA.

Cf. also the following, in which MS is surely corrupt (see §260) Apparently MS MŚ understand forms of *vadh*, *badh*, while TA has a form of *vrdh*:

*mā rudrīyāso abhi gur vrdhānah* (MS *abhi gulbadhānah*) MS. TA : *mā no rudrāso adhi gur vadhe nu* (mss *nuh*) MŚ

§210. Another group of seven variants contains the name of the demon Vala, also written Bala from AV. on (under the influence of *bala* 'strength'). Aside from the fact that Vala is the exclusive form in RV., the word is probably connected with root *vṛ*:

*īndro valam* (MS *balam*) *rakṣītāram dughānām* RV. AV. MS.

*ivaṁ valasya* (AŚ *balasya*) *gomatah* RV †1 11 5, SV AŚ

*bībheda valam* (AV AŚ *balam* but many AV. mss *valam*) *bhṛgur na sasāhe* (AV *sasahe*) AV SV AŚ ŚŚ

*ud valasyābhīnat* (but all mss °nas, which read) *tvacam* ApŚ *ud balasyābhī nas* (read *balasyābhīnas*) *tvacam* MŚ The form *abhīnas* is for *abhīnat*, 2d person imperf, with *s* for *t* by analogy with 2d persons in *s* This curious and interesting form might be recorded in VV I §262; but there is no real variant, the true reading of both texts being *abhīnas*

*yo gū udājad apa* (MS *apī*) *hi valam* (MS *balam*) *vah* RV MS

*īndro yad abhīnad valam* (GB *balam*, but Gaastra *valam* with most of his mss) RV. AV SV AB GB

*sa bībheda balam* (VS and Poona ed of TB *valam*) *magham* (MS *madyam*) VS MS KS TB.

§211. There is no doubt that the words for fat, *pīvas* etc, have original *v*, as shown by the cognate languages as well as by the preponderance of *v* in Sanskrit Nevertheless there are a few *b* forms, some of them of doubtful textual authenticity.

*pīvo vṛkīla udārathīh* RV KS *pībasphākam udārathīm* AV. In AV Shankar Pandit prints *pībasphākam* (comm *pīvasphākam*, explained

as 'fat-cooking'), and declares this to be the unanimous reading of his authorities, which is at variance with Whitney's mss Ppp has *pīvasākam* (Barret, *JAOS* 30 191, em *pīvaspākam*) *udāhṛtam* Cf Whitney on AV 4 7 3, 3 17 3, and Index Verborum of AV under *pīw°* and *pīw°*.

*prapharvyam ca pīvarīm* VS TS MS KS ŚB VāDh *pībarīm ca prapharvyam* AV (comm *pīw°*, Ppp according to Roth reads like VS etc except *prapharvyām*)

*neva mānse na pīvasi* AV *naiwa mānsena pīvari* PG—SPP with some mss and comm reads *pīvasi* in AV, so also Ppp (Barret, *JAOS* 26 205) PG, tho with correct *v*, is corrupt otherwise (as if voc sing fem of *pīvan*)

§212. In the root *vrh* or *brh* 'tear', the original consonant is uncertain. It has no known etymology, and both *b* and *v* are traditionally recorded in RV. Wackernagel I §161 regards *v* as original, on not very substantial grounds. He also points out that confusion between this and the other root *brh* 'be great' etc, has helped the variation in spelling (cf §215). Later, *brh* seems to be commoner in the sense of 'tear'. The two variants recorded amount practically to only one, as they are modulations of the same formula in the same passage. In them *vrh* is the real reading of all texts, Weber erroneously prints *brh*- in TS against nearly all his mss.

*ādityās tvā pra brhantu* (most mss *vrh°*) TS *viśvebhyaś tvā devebhyaś pra vrhām* KS *ādityebhyaś tvā pra vrhām* MS Add to VV I §312

*vasavas tvā pra vrhantu* (TS ed *brh°*, most mss *vrh°*) *gāyatrēna chandasā* TS ApS

§213. There are five examples, mostly dubious, of *vandhura* (*vandhur*) *bandhura*, RV always spells the word with *v*. Connexion with root *bandh* is therefore unlikely. Bloomfield, *RVRep* 236, analyzes the word as *van* + *dhura* (*dhur*) 'board at the head of the wagon pole' *trivandhuro* (TB *triban°*, Poona ed *trivan°*, comm *triban°*) *manasā yātu yuktaś* RV TB (in Conc by error, TS) MS

*ā yāhy arvān upa vandhureṣṭhāh* (GB AA *ban°*, but Gastra and Keith in both *van°*) RV AB KB GB AA ŚŚ  
*pra nūnam pūrnāvandhura* (VS ŚB LŚ *°ban°*) RV VS TS MS KS. ŚB, LŚ

*ratham hiranyavandhuram* (TA *sahasraban°*, but Poona ed text and comm *°van°*, with *v* l *°ban°*) RV TA  
*trivandhurena* (KS *triban°*) *trivṛtā rathena* RV. KS

§214. In the following isolated cases *v* is also probably original:  
*rahīṣhebhur* (MS *ba*°) *vīharan yāsi* (TB *pāhi*, but comm and Poona ed text, *yāsi*) *tantum* RV MS KS TB AŚ ApŚ The word can only mean 'swiftest', root *vah*  
*stad brahmann upavalhāmasi* (AŚ *apa*°, LŚ *upabalihāmahe*) *tvā* VS AŚ ŚŚ LŚ The root is *valh*, apparently always except here in LŚ It is perhaps a form of *vṛh*, §212  
*capyam* (TB Poona ed *cappam*) *na pūyur bhīṣag asya vālah* (KS *vārah*, TB *bālah*, Poona ed *vālah*) VS MS KS TB The word means 'sieve' and is regularly *vāla*, or in the older language *vāra* The converse of this in the variant *kūr̥kuro bālabandhanah* (*vāla*°), where properly *bāla* 'child', §215

Original *b*

§215. In the following the *b* form is certainly or probably original The VS texts seem to show a tendency towards *v*, in spite of their seeming (?) preference for *b* in forms of *vadh* (§209) First, three cases in which etymology proves *b* the older

*savitṛprasūtā bṛhaspataye* (PB LŚ \**†vṛh*°) *stuta* GB PB Vait LŚ.

Twice in LŚ, once printed *vṛ*° and once *bṛ*°, but comm both times *vṛ*° which must be correct (since quoted from PB which has *vṛ*°).—

On the other root *vṛh*, 'tear', see §212

*kūr̥kuro bālabandhanah* (ApMB *vāla*°) PG ApMB. Both must intend *bāla*, 'child', probably connected with Russian *balovat* 'spoil' (treat as a child)

*ya ābabhūva* (PB *āva*°) *bhuvanāni viśvā* (PB *viśvāh*°, comm *viśvāni*) VS JB PB ŚŚ. Vait Tho PB comm repeats the incredible *āvababhūva*, it is doubtless corrupt

§216. In the following *b* forms are older or more usual, tho the etymologies of the words are unknown

*yad dhasṭābhyām cakṛma* (MS TB TA *caḥara*) *kīlbiṣāni* (TA. *kīlv*°, but Poona ed *kīlv*°) AV MS TB. TA

*viśvasmād devakīlbiṣāt* AV MS *sarvasmād devakīlbiṣāt* (VS °*kīlv*°, LŚ *eva kīlv*°) RV VS MS LŚ ApŚ

*kṛte yonau* (KS *kṛto yonar*) *vapateha bījam* (VS ŚB *vījam*) RV. AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB

*basto* (VS *vasto*) *vayah* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

*dhamantī bākuram* (JB *vā*°) *drtum* RV JB.

Original *b* or *v* uncertain

§217. In the rest there seems to be no decisive evidence as to the originality of *b* or *v*. The VS texts again seem to favor *v*. First, three cases of *padbīṣa* or *\*vīṣa* 'fetter'. It is always spelled with *b* in RV, which is not favorable to its connexion with Latin *vincio* (Wackernagel I §161); cf. Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 30, and on the false form *\*vinṣa*, JAOS 51 170

*alho* (LŚ ApŚ *nur mā*) *yamasya padbīṣāt* (VS *\*vīṣāt*, LŚ † *ṣadvinṣāt*) RV  
AV VS LŚ ApŚ

*samdānam arvanam padbīṣam* (VS MS *\*vīṣam*) RV VS TS MS KSA  
*yac ca padbīṣam* (VS MS *\*vīṣam*) *arvatah* RV VS TS MS KSA Here  
the sole ms of KS has *\*vīṣam*

§218. Two variants contain the word *bāna* or *vāna* 'arrow', both R̥gvedic. In later Sanskrit the *v* form is commoner  
*yatra bānāḥ* (VS *vānāḥ*) *sampatanti* RV. SV. VS TS AG  
*viśalyo vānavān* (TS *bā°*, MS *bāṇavan*, KS *bānavān*, NīlarU *vānavān*)  
uta VS TS MS KS NīlarU

§219. The rest are sporadic, and all concern words of obscure origin.  
*māgadhaḥ punṣcali kṛtāvah kṛbo* ... (VSK *punṣcali kṛvāḥ kṛtavo* . . .)  
*te prājāpatyāḥ* VS VSK *kṛbo* appears to be commoner  
*digbhyo vadabe* (KSA *vadave*) TS KSA *badabā* and *vā°* are also found  
*drvāsi* VS . *drbāsi* KŚ . *drubāsi* VSK. An arrow is addressed, said to  
mean 'piercing' (root *ḍr̥*)

*lṣatrasyolbam* (VS TB *\*vam*, but TB Poona ed *\*bam*) *asī* VS TS MS  
KS ŚB. TB ApŚ MŚ. Both common, RV knows only *b* (once).  
*viśvarūpā śabalīr* (KS *śavaly*) *agnikṛtuh* TS KS PG *b* is commoner  
*marudbhyo gṛhamedhībhyo* (MS *\*dhebhhyo*) *baṣkīhān* (MS *vaṣ°*, ApŚ  
*bāṣkān*) VS MS ApŚ. Rare and obscure

*subīraṇa* (HG *suvirīnah*) *srja-srja* (ApMB adds *śunala*), and,  
*śunām agram subīranah* (HG *suvirīnah*) HG ApMB. Anomalous  
name of a dog-demon. The ApMB mss are discordant  
*aulaba* (HG. *\*va*) *it tam upā hvayatha* (HG *\*la*) HG ApMB. In same  
context as the preceding

*bh* and *v*

§220. These variants, few in number, are never purely phonetic but always involve tolerable lexical shifts. From out of the facile interchanges of all prepositions come a small group involving *abhi* and *vi*, in most, probably all, of which the *abhi* forms are prior  
*viśvāny anyo bhuvanābhicaṣṭe* (MS *\*nā vicaṣṭe*) RV MS TB . *viśvānuo*

*bhuvanā vicaṣṭe* AV. Cf *abhi yo viśvā bhuvanāni caṣṭe* RV, and *abhi viśvāni bhuvanāni caṣṭe* RV  
*devānām viṣṭhām* (ApŚ † *niṣṭhām*) *anu yo vi tasthe* VSK TB. KŚ ApŚ.  
*dīvo vābhiṣṭhām anu yo vi caṣṭe* MŚ  
*mandrābhībhūtiḥ* (MŚ *mandrā vibhūtiḥ*) *ketur* TS. TB ApŚ. MŚ  
*aśrūmulho rudhīrenābhyaktah* (TA. °*avyaktah*) MS TA. *abhyaktah*  
 'smeared', is clearly original TA. comm understands *a-vyaktah*  
 (not *ā-*), explaining *īdrgjātūr uti niścetum aśakyah*

§221. The participles *ābhṛtam* and *āvṛtam* exchange in two pādas of the same stanza, the original form of which contained both; secondary texts variously assimilate each to the other, see Whitney on AV. 6 125 2.

*vanaspatibhyah pary ābhṛtam* (MS *āvṛtam*) *sahah* RV. AV. VS TS. MS KSA

*apām ojmānam pari gobhur āvṛtam* (AV. *ābhṛtam*), same texts SPP with some mss and comm *āvṛtam* for AV.

§222. The rest are sporadic.

*yamūr yamasya bibhryād* (AY *virhād*) *ajām* RV AV. *virhād* is unintelligible; it has intruded from the two preceding stanzas where it makes good sense See Whitney's note

*ye no dviṣanty anu tēn rabhasva* AV · *yo nṛ dveṣṭi tanūm rabhasva* MŚ.:  
*yo no dveṣṭy anu tam ravasva* ApŚ See AJP 27 413; Caland on ApŚ 7. 17. 2

*adṛihathāh sarkarābhis trivṣṭapī* (MŚ *tribhṛṣṭibhūh*) KS. ApŚ. MŚ  
 The original means 'Thou hast made thyself firm over heaven with pebbles'. The MŚ assimilates the last word in meaning to *sarkarābhis*, 'thou hast made thyself firm with three-pointed pebbles'.

*bhansaso* (ApMB *dhvansaso*) *vi vrhām te* RV. AV. ApMB. Cf. §176; *dhva°* has a sort of assonance to *bha°*.

*v* and *m*, phonetic changes

§223. This theme is important both for text-variation, and for the history of Indian dialects Much is here added to Bloomfield's paper JAOS 13 xcvi ff., and it may be remarked that grammatical treatises since that time (1886) hardly credit the phenomenon with the degree of importance that attaches to it. See Wackernagel I §177 note

§224. The cases which seem most clearly phonetic, in the sense that they defy independent lexical interpretation, are presented first They are, to be sure, often mere corruptions, but even these contribute their



mite of evidence to the proof of instability between these sounds  
First, with original *v*

*uc chvañcasva* (TA *chmañ*<sup>o</sup>) *prthwi mā nṛ bādhatāh* (TA *nṛ bādhatāh*)  
RV. AV TA And.

*ucchvañcamānā* (TA *ucchmañ*<sup>o</sup>) *prthwi su tiṣṭhatu* (TA *hṛ tiṣṭhasi*) RV  
AV TA (To be added to VV I §§116 and 332) See Wackernagel  
I §177

*suśimam somasatsaru* AV. *suśevam somapitsaru* (TS *sumatitsaru*)  
VS TS MS KS ŚB VāDh Attempts are made to explain  
*suśimam* as *su-śiman*, or from root *śi* with suffix *ma*, but while some  
such influence may have contributed, probably the variant is  
essentially phonetic

*jyog jīvema saravavīrā vayam tama* MG (all mss) *agne sakhye mā riṣāmā*  
*vayam tava* RV AV SV MS SMB HG ApMB *mā riṣāmā*  
*vayam tava* Vait GB AVPPP (Barret, JAOS 26 278) The formula  
*vayam tava* 'we belong to thee' seems to have been mispronounced  
in MG, was the latter vaguely felt as vocative of an impossible  
\**vayamitama* (as if superlative to *vayas*)?

*ā tvam* (GB *ātman*, Gastra *ā tvam* with *v* 1 *ātman*; LŚ *ā svam*)  
*indrāya pyāyasva* VS TS MS KS AB GB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait  
LŚ (Probably *ā tvam* is to be read in LŚ, its edition is very untrust-  
worthy) The converse corruption in Kauś 65 15, where four of  
seven mss read *devā tvā* for *devātmā*

*anamivāsa idayā* (MS *anamīmāsā idayā*, but p p \**vāsah, idayā*) *mad-*  
*antah* RV MS TB ApŚ *anamīmāsa*, if correct, might perhaps be a  
case of assimilation, but it may be only a misprint which escaped  
the editor's attention The *pratīka* occurs as *anamivāsah* later  
in MS 4 12 6 (197 8)

*nī dūraśravase vaha* (ŚŚ *mahah*, all mss; ed em *vahah*) AV ŚŚ

§225. On the other hand the *m* forms are original in the following,  
the *v* forms being often mere corruptions; cf JB *pratītam devebhyo*  
*juṣtam ha vyavasthāt*, where \**havyam asthāt* is pretty certainly intended  
*ā galdā dhamanīnām* MŚ N *ā galgā dhavanīnām* ApŚ *dhamanī* 'vein'  
is correct, indeed the whole pāda is corrupt in ApŚ, see §144  
Possibly thought of *dhav(dhu) = dhāv* 'run' may have fitted thru  
the mind of the ApŚ redactor.

*agne yāhi dūtyam mā riṣanyah* (TB \**dūtyam vāriṣanyah*) RV MS TB  
ApŚ Comm on TB *vāriṣanyo mā rīriṣah* (= *māriṣanyah*)

*punar dātām* (TA *dattām*) *asum adyeha bhadrām* RV AV TA 'Let  
them (the two dogs of Yama) today give back happy life' The

preceding *pāda* is *tāv asṁabhyam dṛśaye sūryāya*; perhaps TA's *dattāv* is contaminated by the preceding *tāv*. The comm., at any rate, feels it as 3 dual impv. act. = *dattām* (*dattau prayachatām*)  
There is no accent on *dattāv*

*a mā mṛta* (MG *vṛtat*, one ms *mṛtam*) AG ApMB MG cf. *tam mā mṛdhah* ŚG *mṛta* is required 'may he not die'

*sarasvatyā adhi manāv* (KS *mānā*, SMB Conc *vanāva*, Jørgensen *manāv*) *acarḥṛṣuh* (*acarḥṛṣuh*, *carḥṛdhi*, see §170) KS TB ApŚ *sarasvatyām adhi manāv acarḥṛṣuh* AV The mss of SMB which read *vanāva* have simply a phonetic corruption

*ṛhaspatiḥ tvā* (TS KS ApŚ *\*tis tvā*) *sumne ramnātu* (TS ApŚ *ranvatu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ And

*deva tvaṣṭar vasu rama* (TS. *ranva*, MS *rane*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Here the verb stem *ranva* of the Tait school is based on the adjective *ranva*, but surely promoted by the affinity between the sounds *m* and *v*. Comm. on TS 1. 3 7 1, *ranva ramanīyam kuru* See VV I p 121

#### *v* and *m*, lexical variants

§226. Next we come to cases in which the lexical element is more prominent than the phonetic That is to say, taken case by case, these interchanges might be regarded as involving synonymic *pādas* or formulas, in the sense in which they are dealt with in *RVRep* 553ff Yet, because a large number of such cases persist in showing variation between *m* and *v*, there is surely a phonetic basis for even these as a whole

§227. Thus the roots *man* and *van*, and derivatives interchange a number of times, beginning with the RV. itself.

*sīdantu manuṣo yathā* RV *sīdanto vanuṣo yathā* RV SV LŚ In *RVRep* 60ff the first form is taken to be original The mental operation at the bottom of the change reappears in the next variant (there discussed), in which, as in nearly all the cases in this paragraph, *m* is again prior:

*manuṣvad* (TB *vanuṣvad*) *deva dhīmahi pracetasam* RV. TB

*etat tvātra* (LŚ *etat tām*) *pratīmanvāno* (AŚ *\*vanvāno*) *asmī* (AŚ † LŚ *asmīn*) VS. AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ 'Thinking in reply' 'offering, presenting in return'

*purutrā te manutām* (AV *vanutām*) *viṣṭhītam jagat* RV AV VS TS MS KSA. N. 'Take note of' 'acquire', *jagat* is subject in RV. etc., object in AV See VV I p 266.

*yat lṣurena marcayatā* (MG *varṭayatā*) *suteṣasā* (AG PG ApMB HG *supeśasā*) AV AG PG ApMB HG MG 'Injuring' 'moving' In AVPPP we find *varcayatā*, a sort of *vox media*, perhaps with thought of *varcas*, but really of course corrupt

*yuktās tīsrī vimṛjah* . *yunaṣṣmī tīstro vipṛcah* (*vwṛtah*) , see §57

§235 In some of the preceding, other changes than this one are made in the words In the remainder these changes are rather more drastic, so that the phonetic resemblance between the two words becomes much fainter, the variation in these is presumably almost purely lexical, with only the slightest phonetic tinge

*ā raśmīn* (RV *raśmim*) *deva yamase* (TB *yuvase*) *svaśvān* (RV TB *svaśvah*) RV VS ŚB TB Tho TB is secondary, it makes about as good sense as the others, comm *raśmīn pragrahān āyuvase ādāya mīśrīkuru*

*drapsas caskanda prthivīm anu dyām* (RV *prathamān anu dyūn*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA Interesting case of the spread of *dyu* in the sense of 'heaven', producing its opposite *prthivī* in all later texts against RV

*kauberakā viśuvāśah* HG *mīśravāśasah kauberakāh* ApMB (probably original)

*avimuktacakra* (v 1 °rā) *āsīran* PG *vwṛttā akrā āsīnāh* HG ApMB *sa me mukham pra mārṣyate* (ApMB *vekṣyati*) PG ApMB 'He will cleanse (enter) my mouth' Probably PG is original

*āñjanena sarpiṣā sam vīsanu* (AV *spr̥santām*, TA *mṛsantām*) RV AV TA —PPP (Roth) *vīsanu*

*adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā* ApMB *adharo vad asau vadā svāhā* HG † *adho vadādharo vada* HG ApMB certainly original, the first form of HG unquestionably intends the same, and *vad* is a corruption or phonetic variant for *mad*

*vṛtrasyāśi* (KS *mitra*°) *lanīnikā* (VS ŚB °*nalah*) VS MS KS ŚB MŚ MG *vṛtrasya lanīnikāśi* (VSK °*nakāśi*) VSK TS ApŚ Secondary change in KS

*anu tvā harino vṛṣā* (ApŚ *mṛgah*) AV ApŚ

*aśādhāyu sahamānāya vedhase* (TB *mīdhūṣe*) RV TB N

*mitro* (VS *vipro*) *babhūva saprathāh* RV VS TS MS TA

*pra hansāsas tṛpalam manyum* (SV °*lū vagnum*) *acha* RV SV

*kalpantāmī te* (TA \* *me*) *dīśah sarvāh* (TA \* *śāgmāh*) VS ŚB TA (both)

§236 Deserving separate rubrication are a few cases which involve differences in word-division, or in division of parts of compound words Here the partially phonetic character of the change seems particularly clear, even if the secondary reading yields good sense

- ulem anamnamuh* TS MS AB AŚ ApŚ MŚ: *uleva namnamuh* KB  
 ŚB ŚŚ KŚ
- athem ava sya* (AV *athemam asyā*) *vara ā prthivyā* AV TS. AŚ ŚŚ MŚ  
 The original is *ava sya* 'set free', AV secondarily brings in the familiar notion of *iyam prthivī* (in genitive form)
- tuvi-śvanasam* (TS JB *tuviṣ-manasam*) *suyajam ghṛtaśrīyam* RV TS JB. ŚB. MŚ The RV supports its reading by numerous instances of *tuvi-śvan* (-i, -as), whereas *tuviṣ-* does not occur in compounds
- viśvavidam* (AV. °vido) *vācam amīsvam-invām* (AV. *aviśva-vinnām*) RV. AV. The AV change is due to preceding *viśva-vido*, see Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield* 128
- manmā dādhyaṇā ulā nah sakhāyā* MS *anvādīdhyāthām iha nah sakhāyā* TB See the context, quoted VV I p 163; note that the preceding *pāda* ends in *m*
- dame-dame suṣṭutir* (AV KS °tyā, TS °lir, MS °ti) *vāṛdhānā* (AV °nau, AŚ ŚŚ *vām iṇānā*) AV TS. MS KS AŚ. ŚŚ The sūtra texts mouth over the passage into a sort of nonsensical sense 'good praise (is) going to you two in every house'
- bharatam uddhareṃ anuṣiṇca* (MŚ *uddharema vanuṣanti*) TB. ApŚ MŚ. The TB comm says that *im* (in *uddhara-im*) is for *imam chāndaso 'yam mavarnalopah* The corrupt MŚ reading then seems to have a phonetic substitution of *v* for *m*
- vatso vrājo vṛṣabho maṭinām* AV · *pitā virājām ṛṣabho rayīnām* TB See §359.

### *v* and *m* in inflectional endings

- §237. Variations in nominal and verbal inflection elicit interchange between acc sing and nom-acc dual, between nom-acc dual and gen plur; between 1st person dual and plural, and so on. Similar cases occur among corruptions of the mss, thus in Kauś 60 19 two mss read *manthanlām* for *manthanlāv*, and in Kauś 71 1 all mss *anśo rājā vibhajatiām agnī*, where the ed emends *imām* to *imāv*
- ṛlena* (MG *ṛle 'va*) *sthūnām* (ApMB HG. *sthūnāv*, MG *sthūnā*) *adhī roha vanśa* (MG *vanśah*) AV AG. ApMB HG. MG. Kauś Roth quotes Ppp as *sthūnā dhi*
- aya(h)sthūnam* (TS °nāv) *udilā* (MS TS KS °lau) *sūryasya* RV TS MS KS For the VS ŚB form see §188
- putrah pitarāv* (AV °ram) *avṛṇīta pūṣā* RV. AV The original dual refers to the Aśvins, AV has a stupid simplification
- yena śrīyam* (PG *śrīyam*, ŚŚ *śrīyāv*) *akṛnutam* (PG °tām, ŚŚ *akuru-tam*) ŚŚ PG SMB GG The ŚŚ is secondary and poor

*apsarasāv anu dattām rnam yat* (TB TA *ṛnāni*) AV TB TA · *apsara-sām anudattāṇṛnāni* MS (p p *anu, dattām, ṛnāni*) MS is hopeless, see VV I p 282

*īdam vatsyāvah* (AG *vatsyāmo bhoh*) AG HG See VV I p 249, others on the same page and on pp 263, 276

*adhṛṣṣam dhṛṣṇvojasam* (SV *dhṛṣṇum ojasā*) RV AV SV 'Having terrible strength' 'terrible in strength'

### *v* and *m* in noun-suffixes

§238. On this subject cf Bender, *Suffixes mant and vant*, Baltimore, 1910 The variation between *mant* and *vant* is there shown to depend on the next preceding vowel, without regard to intervening consonants If that vowel was an *a*-vowel, the *v* form is regular, otherwise the *m* form In prehistoric times perhaps the *m* form occurred only after *u*-vowels, cf Sturtevant, *AJP* 50 360ff, *TAPA* 60 33ff The difference between this and Bender's formula would concern practically only preceding *i*-vowels, and Bender's work shows that after them *v* is much commoner than after *u*-vowels, which looks towards Sturtevant's position In any case the original conditions are, of course, much confused in the historic texts, and much more so in the later than in the earliest texts Our variants, however, show one or two cases in which an irregular form in an older text is replaced by a regular one later The same conditions appear to apply to other *m* and *v* suffixes that are found with *mant* and *vant* Variants occur in the readings of individual mss, thus at AV 19 42 3 *śutrāmne* for *śutrāvne*, and at Kauś 89 1 four out of seven mss *manvabhīh* for *manmabhīh* We shall return to this subject in our volume on Noun Formation

§239. We begin with variations of *mant* and *vant* (or, once, *vin*, once, *varī*)

*udyan nahṣatram arcivat* (TB °*mat*) RV SV TB Note that RV also knows *arcimat*

*tapur yayastu carur agnīvān* (AV KS °*mān*) *wa* RV AV KS N *agnīvān* is read by AVFpp; *agnimant* not in RV This may perhaps be used in support of Sturtevant's theory

*pūṣā jñātīmān* ŚG · *pūṣā jātvin* (read *jñātī*°) Kauś

*trītyasya savanasya ṛbhumato* (ApŚ °*syarbhū*°) *brhaspativato* (KŚ °*mato*) . KŚ ApŚ MŚ The majority show *vat* after *i*

*indram ādityavāntam vājavāntam brhaspatimāntam* (AŚ °*vāntam*) *viśvadevavāntam āvaha* KB AŚ ŚŚ Here only AŚ has *vant*,

and it is doubtless secondary, since the Brāhmaṇa text has *mant*; *vant* may be due to the influence of the surrounding forms in *vant*. But cf next

*tāsv adhvarjo* (ŚŚ °*yav*) . *vājavate bṛhaspativale* (ŚŚ °*male*) *viśvade-vyāvate* AB AŚ. ŚŚ Here again we might suggest the surrounding *vant* forms as source of *bṛhaspati-vate*, but this time the older Brāhmaṇa text reads *-vate* Note that AŚ belongs to the school of AB., and ŚŚ. to that of KB (cf. *prec*), the two schools seem to have affected different forms

*puṣpavatīh* (TS V1Dh. *puṣpā°*) *prasūvarīh* (AV KS °*sūmatīh*, TS °*sūvatīh*) RV. AV. VS TS MS KS V1Dh The original form has suffixal *varī*, fem of *van*; according to any theory it must be judged as unhistoric It is replaced in later texts by the more regular *matī*, or in TS by the still irregular *vatī*, which looks like a blend of the other two

*apām napād* . . *kakudmān* (MS *kakubhvān*) . . TS MS. KS . *devīr āpo* . *kakunmān* . VS VSK ŚB. See §178

*hranyavad annavad dhehī* (ApŚ [read] *annamad dhehī*) *mahyam* KS ApŚ See *AJP* 27 415

*tveṣam cakṣur dadhare codayanvatī* (RV °*matī*) RV TB ApŚ Psychologically, tho not formally, this variant belongs here, *codayan-matī* in RV is a compound with the noun *matī*. 'they made (thee, Agn) a bright eye that inspires devotion'. Later texts conceive the word as containing a suffix, allowing it the *v* form required after an *a*-vowel TB comm., accordingly, *vidhāyakavākyayukte* (*karmanī*).

§240. The rest concern *man* and *van* or related suffixal forms.

*nṛṣadvā* (SV. °*mā*) *sīdad apām upasīthe* (SV *apām vvarthe*) RV SV. *sadman* (also RV.) is in the mind of SV

*kṣipreṣave devāya svadhāvne* (TB. °*mne*) RV TB N. The otherwise unquoted form of TB. plays upon *dhāman* (*sva-dhāman svadhāvan*).

*ādityānām patvānv* (PB °*mānv*) *ihi* (KSA.† *ehi*) VS TS MS KSA. PB ŚB TB. MŚ ApMB. Both forms are Rīgvedic; cf next

*āyoh patmane svāhā* KS . *āyoṣ patwane svāhā* ApŚ Cf. *prec*

*kavīn pṛchāmi vidmane* (AV *vidvano*) *na vidvān* RV AV Assimilation to *vidvān* in AV

*mitajñavo varimann* (TB °*vann*, but Poona ed *mitajmavo varimann*) *ā pṛthivyāh* RV MS. TB *varivan* is not recorded, unless here

*varṣmā* (VS *varṣimā*) *ca me drāghimā* (TS *drāghuyā*, KS *drāghvā*, MS *drāghmā*, KapS *drāghīmā*) *ca me* VS TS MS KS The curious TS form seems to contain in its *u* a relic of suffixal *van*

[*āpataye tvā paripataye grhnāmi*] *tanūnaptre* (KS adds *śakmane*) *śak-varāya śakvana* (KS *śakmann*) *ojṣṭhāya* VS KS ŚB *tanūnaptre śakmane śālvarāya śakmanā ojṣṭhāya* MS *tanū° śakvarāya śakmann ojṣṭhāya* VSK In KS the stem *śakman* is first used as an adjective 'strong', then as a noun 'strength'

*abhikhyā bhāsā brhatā śuśukvanīh* RV *ḍṛśe* (MS *ḍṛśā*) *ca bhāsā brhatā suśukvanīh* (KS *\*vabhīh*, MS *suśikmanā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The MS form owes its *i* to dissimilation or thought of the word *śikvan* 'able' (RV), the change to *m* may be due to the feeling that *m* should occur after a non-*a* vowel

*avavyayann asītam deva vasma* (TB ApŚ *vasvah*) RV MS KS TB ApŚ Comm on TB explains *vasvah* as acc sing of an agent noun, *vāsayitāram āchādakam* The form is very difficult, but one may think of *vasvah* as voc of a stem *vasvan* 'wealthy', agreeing with *deva*, in which case the accent in TB must be deleted

*prathamāya januṣe bhuvaneṣṭhāh* (ŚŚ *bhūma neṣṭhāh*, AŚ ed *bhūmaneṣṭhāh*) AV AŚ ŚŚ Ppp has *bhūm°* The ŚŚ reading makes good sense 'thou shalt lead the world' AV *b* has *bhuvane-ṣṭhāh*

#### *m* and *b*

§241. The few variations of *m* and *b* are related to those of *m* and *v* thru the medium of the unstable conditions that govern the relation of *b* and *v* A large number of interchanges between *mahat* and *brhat* are not included here, as being too simply and obviously lexical, see, provisionally, the Conc under these words

*parā dehi sāmulyam* (ApMB *sābalyam*) RV. AV ApMB The bridal garment, defiled after the wedding night, is named here alone *sāmulyam*, which at least suggests *śamala* 'stain' Apparently ApMB is influenced by *śabala* 'spotted' See §607.

*asambādham badhyato* (many AV mss *ma°*) *mānavānām* (Ppp *\*veṣu*) AV. Kauś *asambādhā yā madhyato mānavebhyaḥ* MS Sense and text tradition require *madhyato* The form *ba°* is probably due to assimilation to the preceding *-bādham* (so Whitney), it is in any case a corruption This is immediately followed by

*yasyā udvataḥ pravataḥ samam bahu* (MS *mahat*) AV MS Synonyms, cf *brhat mahat*, referred to above But the occurrence of *b* for *m* twice in one stanza suggests phonetic moments.

*aīdamṛdā yavyudhah* KS *aīlabṛdā* (MS °mṛdā, KapS īlamṛdā) āyuryudhah (TS *yavyudhah*, MS *vo yudhah*) VS TS MS The belongings of the word in question are entirely obscure; Mahīdhara on VS desperately, 'bringers of food' (*bhṛtah*!)  
*anuṣṭub* (°tum) *mitrasya*, see §412

*m* and *bh*

§242. The equally small group of *m* and *bh* variants is in general purely lexical.

*indra ukthebhīr mandīṣṭhah* (ŚŚ. *bhand*°) SV. ŚŚ Cf next; the roots are quasi-synonyms

*dwas* (*divah*) *prṣṭham* (PB *prṣṭhe*) *bhandamānah* (PB *mand*°) *suman-mabhih* RV PB TA ApŚ Cf pree

*tāsām īśāno bhagavah* (MS *maghavan*) VS TS MS KS. Practically synonyms

*sarvam tam* (AV *sarvān ni*, MS KS TA *sarvāns tām*) *maṣmaṣā* (TS ŚB *masmasā*, MS †*mṛsmṛsā*, v. 1 *mṛśmṛśā*, VS *bhasmasā*) *kuru* (AV *-laram*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA The onomatopoeic word found in various forms in the others is made into *bhasmasā*, as if 'to ashes', in VS

*savītā bhṛtyām* (KS *ms* † *manyām*) TS KS, von Schroeder emends to *bhṛtyām*

*aciṣyāma* (p p. *amī*, for *abhī*, *syāma*) *vṛjane viśva ūti* MS · *abhī ṣyāma vṛjane sarvavīrah* RV KS Corruption if not misprint

*yuktās tisro vimṛjah* (*vibhṛjah*) , and others, see §57



## CHAPTER VII INTERCHANGES OF Y, R, L, V, AND H

§243. Most of the sections included in this chapter are small and of little phonetic importance. That on *y* and *v*, however, is extensive, and while largely dealing with matters of noun formation (suffixes) or with lexical interchanges, contains also some curious and interesting phonetic shifts. And the large group of variations between *r* and *l* is almost purely phonetic in character, as is also the smaller group concerning *l* and *d* which we add at the end of the chapter.

### *y* and *r*

§244. Under this head occur chiefly variations between lexically different words, more or less close in meaning, and as usual often under suspicion of corruption.

*dvīṣas taradhyā* (ApŚ °*yaī*) *ṛṇayā na īyase* (SV *īrase*) RV SV. KS AB ApŚ . *dvīṣas tad adhy arnaveneyase* AV. Roots *īr* and *ī* (intensive), both 'go'.

*śāṇḍikera* (PG *śaunḍikeya*) *ulūkhalaḥ* PG HG. *śāṇḍerathas śāṇḍikera ulūkhalaḥ* ApMB. Fanciful names of demons.

*vāyosāvitṛa* (MS *vāyusavitṛbhīyām*) *āgomugbhīyām caruḥ* (MS *payah*) TS MS KSA.

*samvalsarāya paryūyṇīm* (TB *paryāṇīm*) VS TB. Fanciful epithets of doubtful meaning.

*ny aśvīnā hṛtsu kāmā* (ApMB *kāmān*) *ayansata* (AV *araṇsata*) RV AV ApMB *ni-yam* 'settle', and *ni-ram* 'rest'.

*prānasya vidvān samare na dhīrah* TS MS : *yaṇḥasya vidvān samaye na dhīrah* AV. Both *samara* and *samaya* mean something like 'junction'.

*apo* (RV AŚ *āpo*) *adyānv acāriṣam* RV VS MS KS ŚB. AŚ LŚ MŚ ApMB MG . *apo anv acāriṣam* (JB *ṣacāriṣam*) TS TB JB ApŚ . *apo divyā acāyīṣam* AV *anu-car* 'follow after' *cāy* 'fear, revere'.

*vasūni cārur* (SMB *cārye*, ApMB *cāryo*, HG *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB *bhījāsi*, HG *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV SMB ApMB HG. Stonner on SMB. understands *ca ārye*, 'O lady'. Is HG. Prakritic for *ca āryo*? (cf Pali *ayyo*) One ms. of ApMB also *cāyyo*. All very doubtful.

*yasyledam ā rajo yujah* AV ArŚ . *yasyledam ā rajah* AA. *yasyledam oja*

- ārujah* ŚŚ Obscure in all ŚŚ's *ārujah* looks as if blended of *ā rajo* and *yujah*, whereas AA seems to have lost (haplographically) two syllables, *āra(jo-yu) jah* Or ŚŚ. may be regarded as showing a sort of metathesis of *r*; *ojah* vaguely = *ā(y)ujah*
- gohya* *ṭupagohyo marūko* (PG *mayūkko*) *manohāh* PG. SMB See §81.
- sadā yācann aham girā* (SV *gyā*) RV SV. N. See §134
- rudra yat te krayī* (*krivi*, *kravi*, *giri*-) . . see §47
- tām pūṣānu yachatu* (AV. *pūṣābhī rakṣatu*) RV. AV. See §184
- antaḥ śubhrāvātā* (SV. *śundhyāvātā*) *pathā* RV. SV. See §173.
- vijye* *ṭvuye vilṣipet* (p p *ṛ-l-ṣepe*) MS *riyre vilṣipe vidhame* MŚ.  
(Read *vilṣipe* in MS) According to Knauer (note on MŚ) these words are vocatives of cow-names No etymology for *\*vijyā* or *\*vijrā* suggests itself which would seem appropriate to a cow.
- vanīṣṭhor hṛdayād* (AV *\*udarād*) *adhī* RV. AV. (both) ApMB
- agor arir* (SV *nāgo rayir*) *ā ciketa* RV SV. Wholly different words and constructions
- yena bhūyaś carāty* (MG *caraty*) *ayam* (AG *ca rātryām*, PG. *bhūriś carā dwam*) AG PG. ApMB MG *bhūyaś* and *bhūriś* are different suffixal formations from the same root
- śukram te* (TA *\*vām*) *anyad yajatam* (TA. *\*rajṣ*) *te* (TA. *\*īām*) *anyat* RV SV TS MS KS AB. KB. TA. (both) AŚ. Svidh. N. The Poona ed of TA reads *yajatam* for *rajṣ*, but with *v* I *rajṣ*, which the comm also reads, he has a labored and worthless explanation.

### y and l

§245. Under this head we find only partly synonymous variants concerning the roots *yup* on the one hand, and *luh* or *lup* on the other. The two instances of *yup* *luh* have been quoted in §113, which see The other is—

*mṛtyoh padam* (MG *padāni*) *yopayanto* (AV. *\*ta*, MG *lopayante*) *yad* (AV. omits) *eta* (RV *cita*, TA. *aima*) RV. AV TA. MG

### y and v

§246. Both *y* and *v* appear very frequently in suffixal and inflectional elements, among these must be included cases in which the *y* and *v* represent the vowels *i* and *u* under conditions required by morphology. There are, besides these, not a few variants of the kind which we call purely lexical, that is concerning radically different words. Not infrequently either the *y* or *v* form of a given variant is suffixal or inflectional while the other is radical. Indeed the rather numerous

variations in this section are unusually hard to classify. They present an aspect of great heterogeneity, suggesting in the large that the phonetic relations between the sounds *y* and *v* must have played some part in the matter, even tho in individual instances the precise extent of that influence is extremely hard to determine. It was probably most marked in the cases where a suffix containing *y*, such as *yin*, exchanges with one in *v*, such as *vin* (see the next paragraph). In the aggregate, these numerous variants form an important bulwark for the theory of interchange between the two sounds in Sanskrit and Prakrit, as recognized by Wackernagel I §188c, Pischel, *Gram d Plt Sprachen* §254.

§247. We begin with cases which seem most clearly to contain noun suffixes in both *y* and *v* forms. Prominent among them is a group of forms in suffixal *yin* and *vin*, found, as far as the variants are concerned, collectively only in YV texts, and that too so that the *v* forms occur only in Taittiriya texts, the *y* forms in those of other YV schools. We must associate this fact first with an apparent tendency of Tait texts to prefer *v* in other suffixal forms (§248), and further with the preference of the same school for the vowel *u* in place of *i* (§622). The relation between *yin* and *vin* seems to be this. The *yin* forms contain really suffixal *in*, added to stems in *ā* (all the variants noted concern such stems). The *y* bridges euphonically the gap between *ā* and *i* (cf §§338ff), precisely as *e g* in aorist passives from roots ending in *ā* (*adhāy* etc). The *vin* of Tait texts is best explained as a blend of *vant* or *van* with this *in*, *e g* *svadhā-vin*, product of *svadhā-vant* (RV) and *svadhā-van* with *svadhā-y-in*. It is therefore likely that these *vin* forms are secondary to those in *yin*. See Whitney, *Grammar* §§258a, 1230e, Brugmann, *Zur Geschichte der hiatischen Vokalverbindungen*, *BKSGW* 65 (1913), part 3, pp 211ff, Wackernagel I §188c (where, however, it is represented that the *y* and *v* forms exchange at random). Besides the forms noted in the following list, note *yāyin*, *sthāyin*, *r̥ṣabha-dhāyin*, in addition to Whitney's list §1230e.

*nama iṣumadbhyo dhanvāyibhyaś* (TS °*vibhyaś*) *ca vo namah* VS TS  
MS KS

*namah śrlāyibhyo* (TS °*vibhyo*, MS *śrgāyi*°) *jighānsadbhyah* VS TS  
MS KS

*nama rudrāyātālāyine* (TS °*vine*) VS TS MS KS

*putāmahebhyaḥ svadhāyibhyaḥ* (TB ApŚ °*vibhyaḥ*) *svadhā namah* VS

KS ŚB TB. ApŚ Also with *put̥rbhyaḥ* and *praputāmahebhyaḥ*

*ūrjasaṭiḥ svadhāyināḥ* (TS °*vināḥ*) TS KS.

§248. Besides these we find a considerable number of miscellaneous

cases in which *y* and *v* are in some sense suffixal, it is hard to classify them more precisely, and the degree of phonetic influence at work is likewise hard to determine. But it is to be noted that in not a few of them, also, Tait texts seem to prefer the *v* forms, altho instances of the contrary are not lacking

*aramgamāya jagmaye* (TB ApŚ *jagmave*) RV SV TB Ap, Note stem *jagmu*, otherwise unknown, in Tait texts, for regular *jagmī* *duvasyave* (TA. *duvasvate*) *tvā vāḍāya svāhā* MS. TA Stems *duvasyu* and *duvasvant*, but MS has *v* 1 *duvasvate*

*ojasvinī nāmāsi* TS ApMB *· ojasvā nāmāsi* MS Again Tait texts with *v*

*atharya pitum me pāhi* VS ŚŚ *atharva pitum me gopāya* (AŚ *†pāhi*) TB AŚ ApŚ *atharva* looks like a phonetic variant, suggested by *atharvan*, for *atharya* (cf. RV *atharī*, *atharyu*), epithet of Fire. Note *v* in Tait texts (to be sure also in AŚ)

*tapyatvai svāhā* TS *tapatyai svāhā* KSA TA Stems *tapyatu* (RV) and *tapati* Poona ed of TA *tapyatvai*, *v* 1 *tapatyai*

*ye te agne medayc* (KS *°vo*) *ya indavah* TS KS. Here TS has the regular *i*-stem *medī*, while KS substitutes an otherwise unknown *medu*

*punse putrāya vellavai* (ŚB [so, for Conc ŚG] BrhU *viltaye*, MG *kartavai*, KS *†* and *v* 1 of MG *kartave*) KS ŚB TB BrhU. ApŚ ApMB

*tvam no devatālaye* (AV *deva dālave*) RV AV N See §61

*śrudhī śruta śraddhivam* (AV *śraddheyam*) *te vadāmī* RV AV The anomalous RV form is, as it were, explained in AV

*viśvacarṣanīh sahurīh sahāvān* (AV. *sahīyān*) RV. AV. MS Again AV eliminates a rare hieratic form

*svā tanūr baladeyāya mehi* (AV *baladāvā na ehi*) RV AV 'Come to me unto strength-giving' (RV *p p mā, ā, ihi*) 'come to us, giving strength'.

*namo hradayyāya* (KS *hradavyāya*) *ca nveṣyāya* (KS *nveṣyāya*) *ca* TS KS: *namo nīveṣyāya* (*p p nī°*) *ca hr̥dyāya ca* MS *namo hr̥dayyāya ca nveṣyāya ca* VS Anomalous forms seemingly from *hr̥d* and *hr̥daya* (but cf. §658), or from *hrada* (Keith, 'of the lake') Stem *hradavya* quoted Pān 6 1 83, Vārtt 2, Pat

*idā manuṣvad* (AV mss *manuṣyad*) *iha celayantī* RV AV VS MS KS TB N The mss reading of AV is supported by APr 4 65 (comm *manuṣyavat*) and adopted by Whitney The APr comm looks in the right direction, it is a blend of *manuṣvat* and *manuṣya-*

*namah sūtāyāhantya* (TS °hantya, MS KS °hantwāya) VS TS MS.

KS. *a-hanti*, 'not smiting' *a-hantya* = *a-hantwa* 'not to be smitten' *arāyo tasmān abhūduhunāyale* TB. AŚ ApŚ *arāvā yo no abhi duchunāyale* RV TAA Vait MŚ The stem *a-rāy-a* (*rai*) is bahuvrīhi, *a-rā-van* karmadhāraya. Caland would read *arāvā yo 'smān* in ApŚ, it seems indeed that the syllable *yo* is inherited from the RV. form of the pāda

*vasuranvo* (MahānU °nyo) *vibhūr asi* TA MahānU *ranya* is from root *raṇ*, as to *ranva* we must remember the quasi-root *ranv* (see last variant in §225). Both comms have fatuous explanations, that on MahānU divides *vasur anyo* (= *stutyah*!)

*etena tvam atra śiṛṣanvān* (MŚ *tvam śiṛṣanyām*, Conc, but Van Gelder's ed, 6 1 2, *śiṛṣanyān*) *edhi* KS ApŚ MŚ The KS ApŚ reading alone makes sense 'by this be thou headed' = 'let this be thy head' The MŚ form, if Van Gelder is correct, can only be a phonetic variant for °vān.

*unnetar un non* (read *no*) *nayonnatar vasvo abhy un nayā nah* AŚ *unnetar vasīyo na un nayābhi* (KS *vasyo 'bhy un nayā nah*) MS KS ApŚ The AŚ form may be felt as acc pl of *Vasu* (n pr), but is really only a phonetic variant or corruption for *vasyo* (*vasīyo*) 'lead us unto welfare'

§249. In a little group of three cases, AV. substitutes the more popular *varīyah* for *varvāh*, of which the *v* is certainly connected with the *u* of *uru*

*asmabhyam indra varvāh* (AV. *varīyah*) *sugam kṛdhi* RV AV *asmabhyam mahi varvāh sugam kah* RV

*sakhā sakhībhyo varvāh* (AV \* *varīyah*) *kṛnotu* RV AV (both) TS KS GB Here Ppp has *varvāh*; one ms of GB *varīyah*, which, it seems, ought to be read in GB in accord with AV, unless GB quoted from Ppp

*tvaṣṭā no atra varvāh* (AV *varīyah*) *kṛnotu* AV TS

§250. In another small group the *y* is definitely part of a case-ending, while the *v* remains suffixal or is a stem final

*yābhūr indro vāṛdhe vīryāya* (AV *vīryāvān*) RV AV N 'Increased unto heroism' 'increased, (so as to be) full of heroism'

*gārhapatyah* (ŚŚ. °iyāt) *prajāyā* (VSK *prajāvān*) *vasuvitamah* VS VSK

ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Objective gen varying with possessive adjective *prajānanam var pratīṣṭhā loke sādhu prajāyās* (MahānU *sādhuprajāvāns*) *tantum tanvānah* TA MahānU But most mss of MahānU agree with TA, the ed follows one ms and the comm

*namah śamgare* (TS † *śamgāya*) *ca paśupataye ca* VS TS MS KS.

Wackernagel, II. 1 p 315, plausibly takes *śamgāya* for *śamgayāya*.  
*sa ghā* (TB *sadyā*, read *sa ghā* with Poona ed.) *no devah savitā sahāvā*  
 (TB *savāya*) RV MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

§251. In alternating verbal endings the same change between *y* and *v* occurs repeatedly. It is especially common in 3d person indicative-imperative variations, see VV I §§116, 104. We quote a single example here:

*pra ślomā yanty* (SV *yantu*) *agnaye* RV SV.

Another stray variant concerning verbal inflection has been noted:  
*brahmastad upāsvartat* (MahānU °*syantat*) *tapah* TA MahānU The  
 reading of TA is uncertain, see VV I pp 45, 125

[*madhye pośasya* (AG °*sva*) *ṛmpatām* (MG *puśyatām*, AG *tṛṣṭhanṭīm*)  
 AG ŚG MG For *pośasva* read °*sva* with Stenzler's Translation]

And in different present stem-formations of verbs

*manve* (ArS *manye*) *vām dyāvāpṛthivī* (ArS adds *subhojasau*) AV. ArS  
 Vait See VV I p 125

§252. We now come to the more strictly lexical variants, in which at least one of the two sounds *y* and *v* is not in any sense suffixal or inflectional (usually both are not). They are fairly numerous, but so miscellaneous that it is hardly profitable to try to group most of them. There are several interchanges of the pronoun forms *tyam* (*tyat*) and *tvam*

*tam u tvam* (SV *tava tyam*) *māyayāvadhīh* RV SV

*tvam* (KS *tyam*) *hy agne agnīnā* RV TS MS KS AB KB JB ŚB  
 AŚ ŚŚ Kauś

*imam ū* (MS *u*, p p *ū[m]*) *ṣu tvam asmākam* (TA ApŚ *tyam asma-*  
*bhyam*) RV SV MS TA ApŚ MŚ

§253. Another little group concerns real or specious derivatives of the root १ 'go' in variation with *av*. They tend to confirm the use of *av* as a verb of motion, see Neisser, *ZWbch d RV* 123ff

*āpo agre viśvam āvan* AV *āpo ha yad bṛhatīr* (TS MS KS *yan mahatīr*)  
*viśvam* (TA *garbham*) *āyan* RV VS VSK TS MS KS TA  
 'Went (rushed?) into the all', AV is of course secondary but perhaps  
 intends substantially the same as the rest, rather than the banal  
 'helped all'

*ati setum durāvyam* (SV *durāyyam*) RV. SV The derivation of the  
 RV form is uncertain, see Oldenberg, *Noten* on 9 41 2. The SV  
 form, at least, is clearly meant to be taken from root १ ('hard to  
 cross')

*ayebhyah* (TB *ave*°) *katavam* VS TB *aya* 'dice-throws' is of course original; note that *av-* occurs in a Tait text (see §247), is it a mere phonetic variant for *ay-*? (comm 'to helpers') Tho *aya* may not be derived from root 1, the variant belongs to this group

§254. Another group of cases is united by the circumstance that differences of word division produce different words in one form of the variant In the instances first mentioned the *v* (or, once, the *y*) is suffixal, the other sound belonging to a separate word (particle or light monosyllable):

*r̥ṣinām putro abhīśastipā u* (VS. ŚB °*pāvā*, TB °*pā ayam*) AV VS ŚB TB

*tanūpāvānas* (AV *tanūpā ye nas*) *tanvas tapojāh* (AV *tanūjāh*) AV AB AŚ *tanūpāvan* = *tanūpā*

*svarvaj* (AV *svaṛ yaj*) *jyotir abhayam svasti* RV AV KB TB

*satyam* (SV ApŚ *sa tiam*) *vṛṣan vṛṣed asī* RV SV ApŚ The RV original is less commonplace than the later substitute, which opens countless Vedic pādas

*utānyo asmad yajate vi cāvah* (TB *ncāyah*) RV MS TB N The original has *vi-ca-āvah*, *ncāyah* (comm *vīśeṣena pūjāyuktah*) is ἀ.λεγ, corrupt, and untranslatable See Kaegi, *Festgruss Roth* 159, 165

*yena bhūyaś carāty* (MG. *caraty*) *ayam* (AG *ca rātryām*, PG. *bhūriś carā dwam*) AG. PG. ApMB MG The PG reading is clearly secondary

*nāras caranti swasica yjānāh* VS TS ŚB *nāvo vi yanti susico na vānīh* MS KS The passage is mystical and obscure, tho the individual words are simple enough, VS etc may have a lect fac

*pīlā bhāsvaty anūpamā* TA *pīlābhā syāt tanūpamā* MahānU See §838

*praty eva* (ŚŚ *pra tveva*) *grbhāyata* AV AB GB JB ŚŚ

§255. The rest we shall not attempt to classify; note that in some of them one or the other form still contains suffixal *y* or *v* (tho not both) *ghṛtam ghṛtayne* (MS *ghṛtavane*) *pība* AV VS VSK TS MS KS

ŚB AŚ ŚŚ 'Home of ghee' 'rich in ghee', *ghṛtavani* is a secondary blend of the common epithets *ghṛta-vant* and *ghṛta-yoni* (both RV)

*anuvāsi* (VS *anuyā*, MS *anuvāya*, GB † *Vait † ahnānsi*, em *Vait ed to anuvāsi*) *rātriyai* (VS *rātryā*, MS KS † *Vait † rātriyai*) *tvā* (VS MS omit) *rātrīm* (VS MS KS † *rātrīm*) *jinva* VS TS MS KS *Vait* (pratika in GB) The two forms are quite uncertain and may be phonetic variants The lexicons take them as containing the

roots *vā* and *yā* But note that MS. presupposes a stem *anuva*, with short *a*

*trātāram indram akr̥nor avadhyaṃ* (VSK *ayudhyaṃ*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB Synonyms; note the *u*, preserving a trace of original *v* Something like the reverse process in Pāli *avudha* = Skt. *āyudha*

*āvitsi* (MS *āyukṣi*) *sarvā oṣadhīḥ* RV VS TS MS KS Roots *ā-vid* *ā-yu* Other interchanges of *vi* *yu* in §805.

*nāḍya śatrum nanu* (ŚB † *na nu*) *purā vivitse* (ŚB *yuyutse*) RV. ŚB. Metathesis of vowel and semi-vowel (*vi* *yu*)

*rāyah syāma rathyo vayasvatāḥ* (TB. *vivasvataḥ*) RV MS TB The startling change in TB is probably suggested by *su-yamasya* in the prec pāda Vivasvant goes well with Yama!

*śamgayā* (MS ŚB. °*gavī*, TB °*gaye*) *jīradānū* (ŚB *jīvadān*?) MS ŚB. TB AŚ ŚŚ *gaya* 'chattels' *go* 'cow'

*sonī ghōṣena yachatu* (SV *vakṣatu*) RV SV Substantially synonyms *spardhante dhūyah* (TS KSA *divah*) *sūrye na* (SV *sūre na*, TS KSA † *sūryena*) *viśah* RV SV TS KSA See §109

*sarāsvatyai yāśobhagmyai* (KS *veśabha*° *svāhā* VS KS

*bṛhann asi bṛhadravā* (TS KS °*dgrāvā*, MS °*drāyāḥ*, MŚ °*drāyah*)

VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ The Maitr texts obviously secondary *malmalābhavantīm tvā* (N °*tūtyā*, corrupt) *sādayāmi* TS MS KS TA N *rudra yat te krayā* (*kravi*, *kravi*, *giri*—) see §47

*dhūñkṣāgneyī* (VSK vv II *dhūñkṣyā*° and *dhūñkṣvā*°) VS VSK MS. *agnaye dhūñkṣnā* (KSA ° *ṣā*) TS KSA Wholly obscure words

*nūṭrya* (MŚ *nūṭrya*) *tubhyam abhya āsam* (ApŚ *tubhyam madhye*, MŚ *tubhyam madhvah*) Vait ApŚ MŚ *nūṭrya sarvā ādhīḥ* KŚ A desperate passage, see §47

*duṣṣvapnahan duruṣṣyaha* TA Bibl Ind, *duṣṣvapnahan duruṣṣaha* TA Poona ed, text and comm *duḥsvapnahan duruṣṣvāḥ* MahānU. Comm on TA *duruṣṣaha duḥkham utkarṣenābhībhava*, comm on MahānU *duruṣṣvāḥ tvam, duṣṭam uṣvam* (!) *dāham hanti*. The word seems to be *durasyuḥ* (°*hā*) 'killing him who plans evil (*durasyu*)'

*aśvān' anaśśato* (KS † ApŚ *anaśyato*, MŚ Van Gelder *anaśvato*, without v I) *dānam* KS TA ApŚ MŚ Poona ed of TA reads *anaśśato*, v I *anaśyato*, the comm. *ayakṣaphān*, with v I *anaśato* Obscure *revotī ramadhvam* (MS \* °*tīr amedhyam*) VS TS MS (both) KS The variant of MS is corrupt, see *AJP* 27 403 But the reading of the ed is an emendation, mss °*ramadhvam*



*ayuktāso abrahmatā vīdasāma* (RV *yad asan*) RV VS ŚB *vi-dasāma*,  
taken by Mahīdhara as from *vi + das* 'fail'

*y and h*

§256. A very few cases of miscellaneous character, consisting of easy lexical substitutions or corruptions Cf Weber, *IST* 4 224

*dyutāno vājībhīr yatah* (SV *hitah*) RV SV

*sam sravanī dīso mahīh* (HG *mayi*) ApMB HG

*endram vagnūnā vahata* PB *vagnūnendram hwayata* TB ApŚ Note  
the metathesis of *h* from the beginning of the original *hwayata* to  
the middle in *vahata* PB comm glosses *āhvayata*

*yamār yamasya bibhryād* (AV *vīrṣhād*) *ajām* RV AV See §222

*tam aham punar ādāde* KŚ PG *imam tam punar ādāde 'yam* (read  
'ham) HG (plainly corrupt)

*hīnūno hetrībhir yatah* (SV *hitah*) RV SV

*snuṣā sapatnā* (TB comm and Poona ed text *°nāh*) *śvaśuro 'yam astu*  
(AŚ 'ham *asma*) TB AŚ

*r and l*

§257. Nearly all the numerous variants under this heading are purely phonetic, the same word is spelled with *r* or *l*. The number in which lexical or other real difference is even conceivable is quite negligible. While the variants can hardly be said to establish any new principle, they furnish a large amount of new evidence for facts which have, on the whole, been fairly well recognized.

§258. There is a tendency towards *l* noticeable in younger and less hieratic texts. The RV, especially in its oldest stratum, has a marked fondness for *r*. In the RV itself are found doublets such as the roots *pru plu*, *mruc mluc*, *car cal*, *pruṣ pluṣ*, the words *puru pulu*, *aram alaham* [despite Wust, in *Ehrendgebe W Geiger* 185ff, which does not convince me—F E], *sahamūra sahamūla*, and the intensive stems *jargur jalgul*. Such instability continues after the Mantra period thru the history of the two sounds in Sanskrit and the medieval dialects, until in Māgadhī Prakrit, and sporadically elsewhere, *l* stands for any and every *r*. The reverse is also found, tho only sporadically in the Prakrit dialects recorded Pischel §259, and cf Wackernagel I p 215f, Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 30f. This confusion is reflected in the earliest language and thruout the Vedic period, not only in the variations of parallel texts, but in the ms readings of one and the same text.

§259. The variants confirm and extend by further examples the scope of these known facts. A few other stray instances which have come to our notice and are not included in Wackernagel. MS 3. 7 9 has *āṣvavāra* and *āṣvavāra* against *āṣvavāla* and *āṣ°* in the corresponding passages of KS 24.8 and KapS 38 1 (see Von Schroeder, MS, p xv). PG 1 15 4 has *grapsa* 'tuft of grass' for AG 1. 14. 4 *glāpsa* (GG. 2 7 4 *grathna*). The variant *pleñgha* for *preñkha* 'swing' occurs in ApDh. 1 11. 31 16. Later on, similarly, derivatives of the roots *jvar* and *jval* figure on the same page of the Kathāsaritsūgarā (5 118, 122). In Aufrecht's edition of AB., p. 428, it has been pointed out that this text has a number of cases of *r* for more usual *l* (*urūka*, *bahura*, etc.). Such a thing is not surprising in a Rgvedic Brāhmaṇa; and certainly AB's *bahura* goes RV one better, for that form is unknown in RV., where *bahula* is common. In fact, the AB passage in question, 2 20 14 (also in AŚ 5 1 15), containing *bahuramadhya*, imitates RV. 10 42 8, which contains *bahulāntāsa(h)*.—The statement was made by Von Schroeder, ZDMG 33 196, that MS has a general preference for *l* over *r*. But this is not repeated, so far as we can see, in his edition of the text; we gather that it was tacitly withdrawn. In fact, the variants do not show any such preference for *l* in MS. While Matr texts sometimes show *l* for *r* of other texts, one of these cases is a lexical variant (§260), and in most of the others the *l* form is more usual thruout the language generally. Per contra, note MS *āṣvavāra* above in this section, and *kharvāś* (to be sure with *v l khal°*), the only recorded occurrence of this word with *r* (§265).

§260. The very small group of lexical variants is now given first, one of them, even (the last), may possibly be purely phonetic—if not that, it is certainly corrupt

*te no 'gnayah paprayah pārayantu* (MŚ MG. *pāla°*) TS TB PB ApMB MŚ PG MG. The two words are practically synonyms, tho unrelated, both mean in effect 'preserve'. Note the adjacent *paprayah*, related to *pārayantu*

*adhī skanda* (Ppp *kranda*) *vīrayasva* AV. *abhi kranda vilayasva* ŚG. 'Play the hero'. 'be strong' (*vīl°* for *vid°*) See §272.

*dhik tvā jāram parasya janasya nirmārymi* . . MŚ. *dhik tvā jālmī* .

LŚ. The words are quite different in meaning and construction.

*mā rudrīyāso abhi gur vṛdhānah* (MS. *abhi gulbadhānah*) MS TA. *mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu* (mss *nuh*) MŚ. See §209 *gulbadhānah* is not divided in p p, it can only be a corruption (or phonetic variant) for *gur* (etc) = *guh*, 3 pl aorist

§261. The rest are all purely phonetic in character. We begin with a group in which *r* is regular in RV, but *l* is regular in later or less hieratic texts. The *r* forms are either Rigvedic, and in later texts copied from RV, or conscious archaisms imitating Rigvedic diction, like *bahura* in AB (§259).

*asrīrā* (AV ApMB *asīlā*) *tanūr bhavati* RV AV ApMB. The *r* form is not recorded outside of RV, which is the more remarkable because of its obvious connexion with the common word *śrī*. For this the suffix *ra* is responsible, first by dissimilation of one of the liquids, then by reassimilation of the remaining *r* to *l*.

*asrīram* (TB † *asīlām*, both edd.) *cit kṛnuthā* (TB † *\*thāt*, comm. and Poona ed. text *\*thā*) *supratīkam* RV AV TB.

*samūdham* (VSK *samūlham*) *asya pānsure* (SV *\*le*) RV AV SV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB N. The *l* form is regular after RV, the *r* form in RV only in this passage, directly repeated in all later texts. *mā tad bhūmyām ā śṛṣan* (VSK v l *śṛṣan*) *mā tṛṇeṣu* RV VS VSK TS MS KSA. Cf. *aśleṣā* (*āśreṣā*) below, §265.

*andhāhīn* (TS *\*he*, KSA. *\*heh*, em., ms. *\*he*) *sthūragudayā* (TS KSA *\*gudā*, VS *sthūlagudayā*, and so MS p p) VS TS MS KSA. The RV knows only *sthūra*, but *sthūla* is regular later (cf. however *sthavira*).

*anu no mārṣtu* (VS TS ŚB TA *anu mārṣtu*) *tanvo yad viriṣtam* (VS TS KS † ŚB TA ŚŚ *virṣtam*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ŚŚ. *riṣ* is Rigvedic, rare later.

*cappam* (TB Poona ed. *cappam*) *na pāyur bhiṣag asya vālah* (KS *vārah*, TB *bālah*, Poona ed. *vālah*) VS MS KS TB. The *r* form is almost limited to RV, cf. however *aśvavāra* in MS, §259.

*devāṅśo yasmar tvede tat satyam upariṣrutā* (ApŚ *aparīṣrutā*) *bhaṅgena* (ApŚ *bhaṅgyena*) VS ŚB ApŚ. The root is commonly *pru* in RV, only very rarely so later.

*aślonā*<sup>1</sup> (comm. *aśronā*) *aṅgair ahrutāh svarge* AV *aślonāṅgair ahrutā* (read *ahrutāh* or *\*tā* with Poona ed.) *svarge* TA. *śrona* chiefly RV.

§262. Next, a group concerning words in which both *r* and *l* are common in most periods of the language, but RV as a rule has *r* almost or quite exclusively. Here are included two variants in which AV goes RV one better in its hieratic *r*, but both RV passages are from the largely popular Book 10. Both cases, adjacent to each other, concern the root *rabh* *labh*, which in RV always has *r* except in a few passages of the tenth book, of which these are two. Both forms are common later.

*utālabdham* (AV. *utārabdhān*, Ppp *utāl°*) *spṛnuhī jātavedah*; followed by:  
*ālebhānād rṣṭibhir yātudhānāl* (AV. *utārebhānān rṣ° yātudhānān*) RV. AV.

The AV. is secondary and corrupt in its construction, see Whitney's note

The other variants in this section do not involve RV. Two concern *śukla* and *śukra*, both fairly common later, but the former not in RV. Another concerns *rohita lohita*, of which again RV. has only the *r* form. The case of *kṣudra lṣulla*, where the *l* form is clearly Prakritic (with assimilated consonant group), also concerns words both of which are well known in the language as a whole

*śukrāya svāhā* VS MS ŚB · *śuklāya svāhā* VS MS.

*peṣo na śukram* (KS TB *śuklam*) *asutam* (MS samh. mss *aś°*) *vasāte*  
 VS MS KS TB

*varunāya rājñe trayo rohitalalāmāh* (TS † misprinted *rohito-la°*, KSA. *lohita°*) TS KSA

*atho ye kṣullakā va* AV. *hatah kṛmīnām kṣudrakah* SMB. *atho śhūrā*  
*atho kṣudrāh* TA (perhaps consciously hieratic as regards both adjectives).

§263. Next, words in which *r* forms (all prehistoric) are more common in all periods, the *l* forms being largely problematic or textually uncertain (Wackernagel I §192b) In this group might perhaps have been placed *gulbadhānah* of MS, see §260

*asya kurmo* (RVKh *kulmo*, AVPpp ms *kṛnvo*) *harivo medinam tvā*  
 RVKh TS TB AVPpp (Barret, JAS 37. 263f.): *asmākam*  
*abhūr haryaśva medī* AV *īha kṛnmo harivo medinam tvā* KS.  
 Scheftelowitz p 112 reads for RVKh *īha kurmo ha° vedinam tvā*  
 But his *kurmo* is an emendation of a ms reading *kulso*, which is probably a graphic corruption for *kulmo*

*upapṛavada* (RVKh *upapla°*) *mandūkī* RVKh AV N Again Scheftelowitz reads *upapra°* in RVKh, this time with his ms The form intended is *upa-pṛa-vada*, cf *ā-vada* in next pāda The reading with *pla*, if it is anything more than a ms corruption, is mechanically assimilated to *plavasva* in the second half stanza

*anīrīkṣam purīlatā* (TS *purī°*, MS *pūḷ°*, KSA *pūḷi°*) VS VSK TS  
 MS KSA The *r* forms are commoner

*satatam tu śīrābhī tu MahānU samlatam śīrābhī* (Poona ed *śīl°*, but *v l* and comm *śīr°*, gloss *nadībhīh*) *tu* TA No *l* form of this word is otherwise recorded

§264. Words in which *l* is regular, *r* rare Here, first, eight passages containing *saṛīra* or *sahla* 'ocean' That MS invariably has *sahla*

cannot be considered significant (cf §259, end), since this is the regular form in all periods, even RV; neither RV nor AV knows *sarira*, which is practically restricted to YV texts and, along with many other *r* forms, may be regarded as a conscious hieraticism.

*aśvam jajñānam sarīrasya* (MS *sahlasya*) *madhye* VS TS MS KS ŚB  
*prapīnam* (MŚ v 1 °*lam*) *agne sarīrasya* (MŚ *sahlasya*) *madhye* VS  
 KS MŚ · *prapyātām* etc TS ApŚ

*vibhrājamānah sarīrasya* (MS *sahlasya*) *madhye* (TA °*yāt*) VS TS MS  
 KS ŚB TA

*vyacyamānam sahlasya* (VS KS ŚB *sarīrasya*, TS TA *bhuvanasya*)  
*madhye* AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB TA

*sarīram chandah* VS KS ŚB *sahlam ch*° TS MS

*sarīrāya svāhā* VS · *sahilāya tvā* TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ *sahilāya svāhā*  
 ŚB

*sarīrāya* (MS TA *sahilāya*) *tvā vātāya svāhā* VS MS ŚB TA

*sarīre tvā sadane sādāyām* VS KS ŚB *sahle* etc MS *sahle sadane*  
*sīda* TA

§265. The rest are miscellaneous

*kṛṣṇagrīva āgneyo rarāte* (MS *lalāte*) *purastāt* VS MS The *l* form is commoner.

*aśleṣā* (TS *āsreṣā*) *naḥsatram* TS MS KS In MS *p p aśl*°; KS may intend either *a-* or *ā-* The word regularly has *l* Cf. *mā tad bhūmyām* etc, §261

*adhoraṃa* (HG. text *atho*°) *ulumbalah* (HG *ṭulumbarah*) ApMB HG The word (usually *udum*°, probably related to *udumbara*, *ud*° 'fig-tree') appears in RV AV etc, always with *l* in the last syllable, except here in HG, which may show dissimilation to preceding *l* Cf. §273.

*mudgās ca me khalvās* (MS *kharvās*, v 1 *khal*°) *ca me* TS MS KS A kind of grain, the *r* form not found elsewhere Note that it occurs in MS (cf §259)

*achalābhūh* (KSA °*rābhūh*, MS [*m*] *atsarābhūh*, VS *ṛkṣalābhūh*) *kapīñjalān* VS TS MS. KSA See §184

#### *r* and *v*

§266. These interchanges, with the yet more scanty groups concerning *r* and *v* and *h*, are sporadic and of slight phonetic importance We record them on the chance that there may be a quasi-phonetic glide from one to the other in words that are lexically similar, which are regularly involved In fact, so far as they do not concern corruptions

(as is often the case), they mean substitution of one word for another similar in sound. Thus the very hieratic word *jīra-dānu* is twice replaced by *jīra-dānu* at a time when the former is no longer understood: *udādāya prthwīm jūdānum* (TS TB ApS °nuh; VS ŠB *jivadānum*)

VS. TS MS. KS ŠB TB ApS

*śamgayī* (TB °ye, MS ŠB °gavī) *jīradānū* (ŠB *jīva°*) MS ŠB TB. AŠ ŠŠ

§267. The rest are individual cases of more or less close synonymy, tapering off into doubtful or corrupt readings:

*avakraṣṇam vṛṣabham yathājuram* (SV *yathā juvam*) RV. AV. SV. 'Ageless' 'swift'

*ūrjasvatīr oṣadhīr ā rīśāntām* (KSA *vś°*) RV TS KSA † 'Grazed on': 'enter', the latter an evident lect. fac

*purū relo dadhre sūryasvītah* (AV °śritah) RV. AV KS. The AV is secondary and not very intelligent, 'sun-shining' and not 'sun-resorting' is original. Yet KapS (see note on KS) has °śritah, evidently intending °śritah

*rudra yat te krayā* (*krvī, kravī, giri-*) . see §47

*pāti priyam ripo* (and *rupo*) *agram padam veh* RV. (bis). *pāty agnir vipo* *agram padam veh* ArS

*dūredr̥ṣam gr̥hapatīr atharyum* (SV *athavyum*) RV. SV KS. ApS MS. N. The SV form is desperate. Benfey suggests *atharv-yum* with simplification of the group of three consonants (cf. §§419ff). In some way the *v* of *atharvan* seems to be concerned.

*aśvinā gharman pātam hārdvānam* (TA *hārdvānam*, read *hārdi°* with Poona ed; LŠ *pātam aharvyānam*, MS *pibatam hārdvānam*) VS. MS ŠB TA ŠŠ LŠ. The MS corruptly mounds over an obscure form. Note that the *v* of the original, by a kind of metathesis, reappears as the vowel *u*

*hūvī* (SV *hūvā*) *śiro jhuvayā vāvaduc* (SV *rārapac*) carat RV. SV.

*īatra rayiṣṭhām anu sambharatām* (MŠ °relām, AŠ corruptly °bhavatām) TB AŠ ApS MŠ

*rathe akṣeṣu vṛṣabhasya* (KS TB °ṣu vṛ°) *vāje* AV KS TB *ratheṣu akṣeṣu vṛṣabharājāh* VdDh. See §359

*mīśravāsasah kauberakāh* ApMB *lauberalā viśvavāsah* HG.

*āyurdā* (*āyusmān*) *deva* (*agne*) *jarasam* (*haviṣā*, °ṣo) *vṛnānah* (etc.), see §854

*asmān* (MS KS *asmān*) *u devā avatā haveṣu* (MS KS *bhareṣu ā*) RV SV VS TS MS KS *asmān devāso* † *vatā haveṣu* AV

*varunāya rīśādase* (KSA *vidase*) TS KSA. So the ms of KSA: but von Schroeder emends to *rīśādase*.

§268. In several cases assimilation or dissimilation is concerned  
*ugram oṣiṣṭham tavasam* (SV *tarasam*) *tarasvinam* RV AV SV Assimilation to *tarasvinam* in SV  
*vātajavair* (HG *vātājirair*) *balavadbhir manojavarh* MS HG Either assimilation in MS, or avoidance by dissimilation in HG or the banal sequence *vātajavair manojavarh* Since the latter process seems almost too clever for a sūtra text, probably MS is secondary  
*dhanamjayam dharunam dhārayiṣnu* RVKh *bhūmidṛṇham acyutam pārayiṣnu* AV *bhūmidṛṇho 'cyutaś cyāvayiṣnuh* AV The last, unquestionably secondary, changes to *cyāv°* after *acyutah*, 'unshaken (but) shaking (others)', an enticing mode of expression in the Veda (e.g. *ajuryam jarayantam*, RV 2 16 1).

*r* or *v* and *h*

§269. These cases are yet fewer and slighter in phonetic significance; cf §266

*aredatā* (KS \* *ahed°*, so ed, but ms *īdatā*, read probably *ared°* with *v* Schr on KS 32 3, n 3) *manasā devān gacha* (ApŚ *gamyāt*, TS *manasā tac chakeyam*) TS MS KS ApŚ *ahedatā* (ŚŚ *ahel°*) *manasedam juṣasva* AŚ ŚŚ The root *red* in Naigh 2 12 is followed immediately by *hed* in a list of ten words for 'be angry'  
*sahamānā sahasvatī* (PG *sarasvatī*) PG ApMB HG *sarasvatī* is a blunder

*īam tvā bhrātarah suvṛdhā* (ApMB *°dho*, HG *suhṛdo*) *vardhamānam* AV ApMB HG See §109

*tā (tāv) ehi* (*eha, iha*, MG *eva*) , see §§578, 888

*sa ghā* (TB *sadyā*, Poona ed *sa ghā*) *no devah savitā sahāvā* (TB *savāya*) RV MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

*l* and *d*

§270. It is a familiar fact (Wackernagel I §222) that every *d* and *dh* between vowels is changed in the Śākala and Bāskala recensions of the RV to *l* and *lh* This variation is ignored in the Conc, because it is carried out with mechanical completeness Clearly related to it is the change between vowels of the same sounds to dental *l* and *lh* in later Vedic texts, Wackernagel I §194 This alteration is carried thru, with as absolute completeness as in RV, in two texts, VSK and ŚŚ, and also in the twentieth book of AV These cases are recorded in the Conc, but we deem it a waste of space to list here the variants which concern VSK and ŚŚ alone Elsewhere the same change occurs sporadically.

It is clear that ms. tradition in this regard is untrustworthy, and that editors have exercised their discretion to some extent. Thus N. seems to intend to write *l* thruout. In the following list all the variants with *l* in AV. occur in Book 20 and mainly in those parts of it which are copied from RV. So far as we have observed, these are the only variations from the text of RV. in those parts of AV. 20.

§271. The list follows:

*idāsmān anu iastām ghṛtena* ApŚ MS. *idañāsmān* (RVKh. *ilaiva vām*) anu iastām *rratena* RVKh. AV. Vait But Scheftelowitz reads *idaua* . . *ghṛtena* for RVKh.

*aidamṛdā yaryudhah* KS : *ailabṛdā* (MS. °*mrdā*, KapŚ *ilarṛdā*) *āyuryudhah* (TS *yaryudhah* MS. *io yudhah*) VS TS. MS. See §241 *ādityā rudrā iasauas ielate* (AB *iel°*, for *tied°*, GB. Gacstra *ṭiennte*, with all mss.) AV AB GB. JB ŚŚ.

*aṣṭrām tādām pratīnāhā* (ApŚ † *tūlam pratīnāham*) MS ApŚ.

*yad devī devahedanam* (VSK TA \*°*helanam*, but TA. Poona ed both times °*hel°*, with v. l. °*hed°*) AV. VS. VSK MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. (bis) Vait ApŚ MS Kauś. BDh GDh.

*nahy anyam badākaram* (AA. *baln°*) RV AA. AŚ. But Keith reads AA. *balu°* (as is read in RV)

*aśrathnan dydhāradanta viditū* RV.: *arradanta iilitū* (fragment) N. *indraś ca mṛdayātī* (AV. ŚG. *mṛl°*) *nah* RV. AV. ŚG.

*ide* (ŚŚ VHDh *ile*) *dyāvāprthuī pūracittaye* RV. AB. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. MS. VHDh.

*idenyo* (AV. ŚŚ. Vait *ilenyo*) *namasyah* RV. AV. SV. ŚB. TB. AŚ. Vait *krīdanlau* (N. *krīl°*) *putrair naptṛbhīh* RV. AV. N.

*yad vidāv* (AV. *iilāv*) *indra yat sthure* RV. AV. SV. Svidh.

*iidu* (AV. Vait *iīlu*) *cid ārujatnubhīh* RV. AV. SV. Vait.

*vīhi sūra* (TB *sūra*) *purodāśam* (AV. °*lāśam*) RV. AV. KS. TB. N.

*vauṣaḥ* (ŚBK ŚŚ. *vauṣaḥ*) AB. GB. ŚB. ŚBK. ŚŚ. Vait MS. ApŚ.

*vy ānaḍ* (AV. *ānaḥ*) *indrah pṛtanāh svojāh* RV. AV.

*d* and *r*

§272. The same change occurs sporadically also between *d* and *r*. Twice this concerns the word *idā*, *ilā*, or *irā*; the other cases are lexical or corrupt. Cf also *ahar dvābhir ūtibhīh*, §360; here MS. has (for *ahar*) *vahad* (cf next §), but one ms. *iahad* and p p. *vahaḥ*.

*irāvati* (KS *idā°*) *dhenumatī hi bhūtam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. AŚ ApŚ. MS

*ida* (ŚŚ *ila*, MS MS *idā*, ApŚ. \* *ira*, in the same passage with \**idā*) *ehi* VS TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. (both) MS



*aṛnhasva vīdayasva* (MS *vīr*<sup>o</sup>) *su* TS MS *adhiskanda vīrayasva* AV ,  
*abhi kranda vīlayasva* ŚG See §260  
*vīruc chapathayopanī* AV . *vīdu chapathajambhanī* ApŚ The latter  
 is a clear corruption of the AV. reading, which Caland adopts  
*varenyakratūr* (AV *°tur*, ApŚ *idenya*<sup>o</sup>) *aham* RVKh AV. ApŚ · *vīren-*  
*yah kratur indrah suśastih* RV. See §§383, 554

### *d* and *r*

§272a. On this subject see Hanns Oertel's helpful review of VV I, in GGA 1931 236ff, especially 239f, and his article in *Ehrengabe für Wilhelm Geiger* 136f. He refers to Patañjali (Introd to Mahābhāṣya, on Vārtt 9, p 11, 11, Kielhorn), who mentions the mispronunciations *yavānas*, *lavānas*, for *yadvānas*, *ladvānas*; and to Wackernagel I p 212. Oertel would see in such variations as *nātārīd* (TB *°rīr*) *asya samyām iadhānām* (TB *ba*<sup>o</sup>) RV TB, where a difficult 2d person sing is substituted for a 3d person (cf VV I p 237), traces of this phonetic tendency. (Cf. ChU. 4. 1 2 *pradhākṣīr* for *°ṣīd*, Oertel, *ll cc*) It seems indeed possible that this has something to do with such variations, altho it should be remembered that there are many other equally curious variations in person of verbs which cannot be thus explained (VV I passim, especially p. 195f.). Other cases mentioned by Oertel (see also his note in ZII 8 289f.) are:

*mayī rāyo mayī rakṣah* MS. 4 9 13 134 5, for which the Conc suggests *dakṣah* for *rakṣah*. *mayī dakṣakratū* TS †2 5 2 4, ApŚ AG HG .  
*mayī dalṣo mayī kratuh* VS MS ŚB TB. TA ŚŚ

*na me tad upadambhiṣar dhṛṣur brahmā yad dadau* MS (originally *°dambhiṣad ṛṣur*<sup>o</sup>, Caland, ZDMG 72 10 *infra*) *na ma idam upadambhiṣag* (once erroneously *udambhiṣag*) ṛṣur brahmā *yad dade* ApŚ (bis) Here the ApŚ form seems to stand for *upadambhiṣad*, with final *g* for *d* (= *k* for *t*), see our §142

*yadā rāghaṣī varadah* Vait.: *yadā rākhātya* *vadatah* ApŚ *yad adyārā-dhyam vadantah* MS See §70

To these materials collected by Oertel may be added the following:  
*ahar* (MS *īahad*) *duābhir* (MS *divyābhir*) *ūtībhih* VS MS. ŚB TA ŚŚ  
 LŚ One ms and p p of MS *vahad* (*vahat*), see §360, and the preceding §272 The MS is secondary, and may be considered hyper-Sanskritic

*dadhir* (SV. *dadhad*) *yo dhāyi sa te* (SV. *sute*) *vayānsi* RV SV.

*balim ichanto vitudasya* (AG *vi tu tasya*, v 1 *vidurasya*) *preṣyāh* (Ma-hānU AG *preṣhāh*) TAA MahānU: AG See §65

*dvīṣas taradhyā* (ApŚ. °yay) *ṛnayā na īyase* (SV *īrase*) RV. SV. KS  
 AB ApŚ *dvīṣas tad adhy arnaveneyase* AV

*l and d and n*

§273. By way of appendix may be mentioned a few stray cases in which *l* varies with lingual *n* and with dental *d*; these evidently show tendencies related to the preceding (A couple of variations between *l* and dental *n* might perhaps also be recorded here, but because of the ease of graphic confusion between these letters we have quoted them in §878, q.v.) In two contiguous passages *hariknikā*, fem of the color-adjective *harita*, is changed in ŚŚ to *harikkikā*, perhaps by partial assimilation to the preceding *r*, but the characters are graphically much alike.

*tāsām ekā hariknikā* (ŚŚ °*likā*) AV ŚŚ

*hariknuke* (ŚŚ °*kluke*) *kim ichasi* AV ŚŚ

There remain a couple of partly phonetic variants between *d* and *l*:  
*urūnasāv* (TA. *uru*°) *asutṛpā* (AV TA °*pāv*) *udumbalau* (TA *ulum*°)

RV AV. TA AŚ See Lanman apud Whitney AV. The TA. comm., fatuously, *prabhūtabalayuktau* (as if *uru-bala*!). See *adhorāma* etc., §265.

*nī nīvarīana varīayendra nardabuda* (KS *nandabala*) TS KS ApMB.

Both ἄπ. λεγ; obscure epithets of Indra KS looks suspiciously like a case of popular etymology (as if 'rejoicing strength'), and is therefore probably secondary.

## CHAPTER VIII THE SIBILANTS

§274. The general confusion of the sibilants, doubtless due to popular quasi-Prakritic influences (since they all become fused in the Prakrit dialects), goes back to a very early date. From the Veda down to modern times instability in this regard is habitual rather than exceptional in certain roots and words. The sibilants of such words as *koṣa koṣa* (cf §289, end), *śrambh śrambh*, are really never determined, and even so clear a root as *sru* 'flow' threatens surprisingly to become *śru*, as we shall see (§275). See Bloomfield and Spieker, *JAOS* 13 cxvii ff, Bloomfield, *Kauśika Sūtra*, p lx, Winternitz, *Introduction to ApMB*, xvi, and Wackernagel I §197e. The following variants are in large measure purely phonetic, due to this traditional instability. But real lexical changes also occur often. Our treatment tries to consider both elements.

### ś and s

§275. We begin with purely phonetic interchanges, and first those in which ś takes the place of regular or etymological s. In a number of cases the root *sru*, 'flow', of known etymology, appears as *śru*, the *Pet Lex* goes so far as to postulate a collateral root *śru* in that sense *śam yor abhi sravantu* (MŚ *śra*°) *nah RV AV SV VS KS TB TA*.

ApŚ MŚ HG. So Conc from Knauer's report of mss, but V<sub>21</sub>

Gelder's ed reads *sra*° for MŚ without v l.

*vi srutayo* (AŚ *visru*°, ŚŚ *viśru*°) *yathā pathah SV. AŚ ŚŚ*. One ms of ŚŚ *visru*°.

*dadhi mantham pariśrutam* (ŚŚ *manthām pariśrutam*, one ms °*śrutam*) AV ŚŚ.

*ā tvā pariśrutah* (MG °*śṛtah*, mss °*śṛtam*, AG °*śrutah*) *kumbhah* (ApMB † °*āh*) AG PG ApMB MĜ *emām* (ŚG *enam*) *pariśrutah kumbhah* (ŚG *kumbhyā*) AV ŚG —AVPpp *ā tvā pariśṛtah*, for which Barret *JAOS* 32 366 °*śrutah*. The readings of AG MG, tho certainly secondary, make sense.

*pratyañ* (VS TS ŚB \* TB °*yañk*, MS †\* and KS v l °*yak*) *soma atidrutah* (AV text *ati hrutah*, VS †\* MS *atīsrutah*, KS v l °*śrutah*) AV VS (bis) VSK TS MS KS ŚB (bis) TB ApŚ. The true reading of AV is °*drutah*; see Whitney's note.

§276. The small words *śam* 'weal', and *sam* 'together', interchange reciprocally, see §§278 and 280 for cases in which *śam* is original or both are justified.

*śam ūdho romaśam hatah* ApMB: *sam ūdho romaśam hatah* RV.

Comm on ApMB takes *śam* as 'Vedic' for *sam*; see Winternitz, p

xx

§277. The rest are sporadic.

*indrāya tvā sṛmo* 'dadāt' (ŚG *śramo dadāt*) MS ŚG MS SMB Sṛma is a name of an Asura; in the adjoining Brāhmaṇa of MS it is explained by a myth which says that the earth, full of cattle, belonged to Sṛma, and that Indra got the cattle from him. There is no reason to question this myth; cf Sṛpa, Sṛmara, and Sṛmala, names of Asuras (Harivaṇśa, see Pet. Lex) ŚG. has a secondary or corrupt reading ('dem Indra gebe dich die Ermüdung', Oldenberg). The theme of the passage is branding cattle

*āstām jālma* (KS *jālma*) *udaram śraṇśayitvā* (KS *sraṇś*) AV KS. Both edd of AV. read thus, some mss *śraṇś* and some *sraṇś*, none the 'correct' *sraṇś*

*śam te hiranyam śam u santv* (ApMB *sam u śantv*) āpah AV. Kauś ApMB Metathesis of *ś* and *s* in ApMB, see Winternitz, p xvi *somaś caturhaśaraśyāsrīr* (MS *śrīr*) *naḥśatrān* MS. KS A rare word, which however seems always to be written *asrīr* except here in MS

*peśo na śukram* (KS TB *śuklam*) *asitam* (MS all saṁhitā mss *aśitam*, ed. em *asitam* with p p) *vasāte* VS. MS. KS TB.

*ā śrīṇah śamopyāt* AV., comm. and Ppp *samopyāt*, which is probably right and is assumed by Whitney. Cf however Bloomfield, SBE 42 255 (*keśam opyāt*?)

*śvāvṛt tat* HG Kirste suggests *sv-āvṛt*; the context gives no help in interpretation

*madhu vanīśīya* AV Read *vanīś* cf JAOS 13 cxviii, and Whitney on AV. 9 1 14.

§278. In the following *s* takes the place of regular or etymological *ś*.

*śam te hiranyam śam u santv* (ApMB. *sam u śantv*) āpah AV. Kauś ApMB See §277, and for other *sam*: *śam*, §§276, 280

[*agnim ca vīśvaśambhuvam* RV † AV † KS TB †. ApŚ. †. No variant; correct Conc]

*śimāh* (VS *simāh*) *kṛnavantu* (VS \* *śamyantu*) *śimyantah* (VS. *śamyantih*) VS TS KSA † The word can only be a form from *śim* = *śam*,

- occurring in the same pāda, is the *s* of VS due to dissimilation?  
 Mahidhara = *śimāh*, glossed *rekhāh* or *maryādāh*  
*parnaśado* (ŚŚ °*sado*) *jaritah* (AV Vait. °*dah*, om *jar*°) AV AŚ ŚŚ  
 Vait Original certainly *śad-*, 'the fall of a leaf' ŚŚ possibly  
 understands 'settling down of a leaf' (root *sad*)  
*viśve devā nātvidhyanti sarve* (KS *śūrāh*, ApŚ *śūrāh*) AV KS ApŚ  
 The latter can only intend *śūrāh* Other cases of these two words,  
 capable of lexical explanation, §284  
*yam eva vidyāh śucim* (VāDh *sucim*) *apramattam* ViDh VāDh N  
*śukeṣu me* (AV *sukeṣu te*) *harimānam* RV AV TB ApŚ 3 of SPP's  
 mss, comm, and Ppp (Barret, JAOS 26 228) read *śukeṣu*  
*mṛgasya śṛtam* (HG. *śṛtam*) *akṣnayā* ApMB HG (vv II *śrutam* and  
*śrutam* in ApMB) Kirste says 'probably *śṛtam*'. More likely  
*śrutam* is intended in both texts It is a question of ill-omened  
 sounds (*śakunai ruditam ca yat* is the preceding pāda of HG)  
 'Whatever (cry) of an animal is heard (that is) amiss' For *śru*  
*sru* cf §§275, 283  
*pred u harivah śrutasya* (SV *sutasya*) RV SV TS The word refers to  
 Indra, SV is perhaps thinking of Soma Benfey abandons it  
 and translates the RV  
*namah śaṣpiṇjarāya* (TS *sasp*°) *tvīṣimate* VS TS MS †KS See next  
*ye vaneṣu śaṣpiṇjarāh* KS *ye vṛkṣeṣu śaṣpiṇjarāh* (TS *sasp*°) VS TS  
 MS MG See prec Except in TS the word is always written  
*śaṣp*°, and it is doubtless connected with *śaṣpa* (with haplology,  
 Wackernagel I p 279). Perhaps TS gets its *s* by confusion with  
*sasya* 'grain', which is itself sometimes written *śasya*, cf Wacker-  
 nagel I c, Keith on TS  
*yā na ūrū uśatī vīśrayāte* (AV °*ti*, ApMB HG *visrayātai*) RV AV  
 ApMB HG Comm on ApMB, *śakārasya sakārah*, cf Winter-  
 nitz p xvi  
*krīdī* (VSK °*ti*) *ca śākī corjyeṣī* (ApŚ *sākī* †*corjyeṣī*, v I °*jīṣī*, *ca*) VS  
 VSK. ApŚ Name or epithet of one of the Maruts Doubtless  
 'mighty', root *śak*, so Mahidhara, and *sākī* seems incapable of other  
 interpretation  
*jīmūlān hrdayaupasābhyām* (VS °*sena*, VSK v I °*sena*) VS VSK TS  
 MS KSA  
*na jyotiṣi cakāsatī* Suparn *jyotiṣam na prakāśate* RVKh  
*trīṣṭam pṛīṣṭam asyate* AV 5 19 5b Whitney accepts Zimmer's emenda-  
 tion *āsyaṭe*  
*yad asravan paśava udyamānam* AV 7 66 1 Read or understand  
*asravan* with SPP, comm, and Whitney

*sarau parnam wādadhat* AV 5 25 1 Read or understand *śarau* with Whitney.

§279. In a couple of phonetic variants the words are so obscure that it is impossible to say which is original

*rkṣo jatūh suṣīlīkā* (MS *śuśulūkā*) *ta utarajanānām* VS MS The p p of MS reads *suṣīlīkeli suṣī-līkā*, suggesting that VS has the true reading But *śuśulūkā* occurs once in RV Both meaning and original form are obscure, folk-etymology may have been at work; Sāyana thinks of *śīśu* and *ulūka*, in RV. it is associated with *ulūka*.

*grāmyamañlītrādāśakau* ApŚ *grāmyam mañgīradāsakau* MŚ *vyāghram mañgīradāsa gauh* Vait Obscure proper names, see §49

§280. In some of the preceding there are perhaps possibilities of lexical variation, tho they seem to us too faint to be important While the line is not hard and fast between the two groups, it seems to us that the following cases are lexically defensible in both forms Thus the words *sam* and *śam* each make sense in these passages, cf §§276, 278: *śam abdhyaḥ* TS MS ApŚ MŚ *sam adbhyaḥ* (supplying *śundhasva* from the preceding) KS

*mandūkyā su sam ṭgamah* (TA *gamaya*) RV TA . *mandūky apsu śam bhuvah* AV The latter reconstructs the passage secondarily.

*yat ta āsthitum śam u tat te astu* TB *yat te virṣam sam u tat ta etat* Vait 'That shall be all right for thee'. 'that which was torn shall be (put) together for thee'

§281. When other changes accompany the alteration of the sibilant, the lexical element becomes clearer Thus in three cases of the roots *sam-vas* and *sam-viś*, which are practically synonyms, we are evidently dealing with a primarily lexical substitution, affected by phonetic moments.

*teṣv aham sumanāh sam viśāmi* (AŚ *viśāti*, for °*ni*; MG *vasāma*) AŚ.

ApŚ HG ApMB MG See Knauer's note on MG

*amāvāsyē samvasanto* (MŚ °*viśanto*) *mahitvā* AV TS MŚ

*tasyām devā adhīsamvasantah* TS TB *tasyām devaḥ samvasanto mahitvā* AV *tayor devā adhīsamvasantah* ApŚ *yasyām* (v 1 *asyām*) *devā abhi samviśantah* MŚ

§282. The root *ās* 'sit' varies thrice with augmented forms of *aś* 'attain'; they are practically synonyms in these passages The *ās* forms all occur in RV., the *aś* forms in SV, which is contaminated from such expressions as *barhīr āśāte* RV 8 31 6 and 1 144 6:

*sahasrasthūna āśāte* (SV *aś*°) RV SV.

*samīcīnāsa āsale* (SV. *āśata*) RV. SV

*yatrāmṛtāsa āsale* (SV. *āśata*) RV. SV.

§283. The particle *su* varies with the reduplicating syllable *śu*; in the first variant also the roots *sru* and *śru*, cf. §§275, 278.

*ṛṇcal-ṣāh soma uta suśrug* (comm. and Poona ed text *śuśrug*) *astu* TB · *sucak-ṣāh soma uta sasrud astu* MŚ See §145 *sasrud* is an em for mss *sasrad*, *saśrud*, *suśud*; Conc suggests *suśrud*, but *sasrut* occurs in RV., and 'flowing' fits Soma as well as 'hearing'. Perhaps *susrut* should be read in MŚ

*ḍṛṣe ca* (MS *ḍṛśā ca*, RV. *abhikhyā*) *bhāsā bṛhatā suśukvanīh* (RV. *śuś*°, KS. *suśuktabhīh*, MS *suśikmanā*) RV VS. TS MS KS ŚB See §240.

§284. The words *sūra* and *śūra* interchange twice; cf. *viśve devā* etc, §278:

*śūro* (TB *sūro*) *na mitrāvarunā gaviṣṭiṣu* RV. TB The Maruts yoke their chariots in battle 'like a warrior' or 'as the sun (yokes his chariot)'.  
*vīhi śūra* (TB *sūra*) *purodāśam* (AV. *lāśam*) RV AV KS TB. N. The original is addressed to Indra, the 'hero', TB transfers it to an address to the sun

§285. The word *sarva* varies a number of times with various words in ś, some of them rather remote in form:

*sarvataḥ śarvaśarvebhyaḥ* (TA *śarva sar*°; some mss add *sarvaśarvebhyaḥ*, MahānU *sarva sarvebhyaḥ*) MS TA MahānU Sc *namaḥ*· 'homage to every Śarva', or 'homage, O Śarva (or, O All [comm on MahānU *sarvālmakā*]), to all (the Rudras)'. MS has v l *śarvataḥ* for *sa vataḥ* Interesting for the thoro-going confusion of the two sounds; despite lexical possibilities, the case is fundamentally phonetic.

*sarvān agnīn* (AV. *śivān agnīn*) *apsuśado huve vah* (MS *huve*, AV. *havāmahe*) AV. TS. MS AP.  
*lalpanīām te* (TA. \**me*) *dīśaḥ sarvāh* (TA \**śagmāh*) VS ŚB TA (both) *viśve devā nātividhyantu sarve* (KS. *śūrāh*, ApŚ *sūrāh*) AV KS ApŚ See §278

§286. The root *sūd* varies with *śudh* and *śubh*, cf. §174. and note AV *radantam śuddham uddharet* AV. 20 136 16d, where *śuddham* is based on mss readings *sudam* and *sunam* (Index Verborum)

*asūśudānta* (MS KS *aśūśubhānta*) *yajñīyā rtena* TS MS KS TB *āpo asmān* (MS *mā*) *mātarah śundhayanu* (TS ApŚ *śundhantu*, AV MS KS *sūdayantu*) RV. AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ApŚ

§287. The rest are sporadic, and rather remoter in the formal resemblance between the words in question:

*yena śrīyam* (PG *śrīyam*) *akṛṇudam* (PG *\*lām*, ŚŚ *śrīyāv akurutam*)  
 ŚŚ SMB PG GG *śrī* is certainly original  
*śumbhānas* (KS *slam*<sup>o</sup>) *tanvam* (TB *tanuvam*, SV *†tanvām*) *svām* RV.  
 SV MS KS TB

*svām tanvam* (TS TB *tanuvam*) *varuno 'suṣot* (TS TB *aśīśret*) TS MS  
 KS TB 'Enhvened' 'entered into'

*śunam ma iṣṭam* ... *svam ma (ma idam) iṣṭam*, see §353

*tās tvā viśantu manasā śvena* (TB *mahasā svena*) AV TB

*yad anena haviṣāśāste tad aśyāt* (AŚ *asyām*) MS. ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ  
 'May he obtain that': 'that (is) in this (offering, sc *hotrāyām*)',  
 or, 'that here in this (offering) shall prosper' (the following words  
 are *tad ṛdhyāt*). Earlier in the same section occurs *asyām ṛdhed*  
*dhotrāyām*

*śakma yat te goh* KS MS · *sagme te goh* VS ŚB KŚ. *samyat te goh* TS  
 See §47

*tasthau nākasya sōnavi* (SV *śarmanī*) RV. SV

*apāvṛnod duro aśmavrajānām* (MS *asmadrathānām*) RV MS TA

*śvātrāh pītā* (ViDh *snātāh pītā*) *bhavalā yūyam āpah* VS ŚB KŚ  
 ViDh

*sadā* (MS *śacyā*) *paśyanī sūrayah* RV AV SV VS. TS MS KS ŚB  
 NrpU GopāU VasuU SkandaU

*tad asya priyam abhi pātho aśyām* (TB *asthām*) RV MS. AB. TB AŚ  
 Poona ed text and comm *aśyām* for TB, see VV I p 86.

*aryo naśanta* (SV *nah santu*) *sanīśanta* (SV *†\*tu*) *no dhīyah* RV SV  
 See Oldenberg, *Proleg* 72

*āśum jayantam anu* (KS *yā samjayantam adhi*) *yāsu vardhase* RV. VS  
 TS. MS KS ŚB Even the original version is obscure

*ā sutrāṇe sumatim āvṛnānah* AV Perhaps originally *āsutrāṇe*, see  
 §355

### ś and ṣ

§288. Here the total number of variants is much smaller. Moreover many involve lexical changes, while most of the rest concern rare and doubtful words, the true original form of which is uncertain. The genuine phonetic variants are few, and none too certain in some instances. In the following ś seems to replace proper ṣ phonetically  
*nāmad devā āpnuvan pūrvam arṣat* (VS *arṣat*) VS VSK IśāU The  
 word clearly means 'going' (root *ṛṣ*), VS comm *ṛsa gatau* Cf  
 however *anarṣarātm* (*alarṣarātm*).. §292



*abhyāṣikṣi rājābhūm* (MS v 1 °bhūt, ApŚ °bhūvam) MS ApŚ *abhi-  
ṣikṣa rājābhūvam* (v 1 °bhūvam) MŚ (quoted from unedited mss ,  
probably only a textual error)

§289. We find ṣ for proper ś, aside from a few corruptions, only in the name of an Asura, Śanda or Śanda. The weight of evidence seems to favor the spelling with ś.

*sandāya* (VSK ṣa°) tvā VS VSK TS MS ŚB ApŚ

*nirastah śandah* (VSK MS † \*4 6 3 ṣa°) VS VSK MS (bis) ŚB TB  
KŚ ApŚ MŚ

*apanuttau* (KS °tā) *sandāmarkau* (MS \* ṣa°) TS MS (bis) KS TB  
ApŚ MŚ See von Schroeder's note on MS 4 6 3 82 16, which indicates that he then believed MS to intend śanda thruout. But need it have been consistent? The mss are unanimous for ṣ in some places, nearly unanimous for ś in others. Those of MŚ vary.

#### Corruptions

*yenāpāmṛsatam* (SMB v 1 °ṣalam) *surām* ŚŚ SMB *yenāvamṛsatām*  
*surām* PG

*varuneti śapāmahe* (MS † °haṣ, LŚ † ṣayāmahe) VS TS MS KS ŚB  
TB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ. The LŚ has probably a mere misprint.

[*kavaṣyo loṣadhāvanīh* (MS text *koṣa*°, all mss *loṣa*°, TB † 'koṣa°)  
MS KS TB. Read 'loṣa° in all. There would be no variant but for the em in MS, which is unjustified, altho the word meant is that more commonly written *koṣa*.]

§290. The following variants seem also to be purely phonetic, in so far as not mere corruptions, the obscurity of the words makes it impossible to decide which is original.

*indrānyai kīrsā* (KSA °ṣā) TS KSA

*ṛkṣo jatūh suṣulūkā* (MS *śuṣulūkā*) VS MS. See §279.

*kūśmāñ* (VSK † v 1, MS *kūṣ*°) *chakapindaiḥ* (MS *śa*°) VS VSK MS  
*kūśmāñ chakabhīh* TS KSA

*kūśmāndāh*, *ku*°, and *kūṣ*°, *kuṣ*°, also °māndyah and °māndāni, various Dharma texts, see Conc. Names of certain expiatory verses.

*ālarṣye larṣyo yathā* ApŚ *gīh koṣvoṣyaur yadā girah* Vait. *madhu ity ālarṣaiḥ kuṣair yathā* KŚ. The meaning of the whole passage is obscure.

§291. Coming to lexical variations, we find three cases of *viśva* varying with *viṣu* (*viṣvak*), the meanings are fairly close.

*viśvam satyam kṛnuhī viṣtam astu* RV *viṣvak satyam kṛnuhī cūtam eṣām* AV. See Bloomfield, *The Atharvaveda* 50, Whitney on AV 3 1 4, Oldenberg, *Noten* on 3 30 6. [But no emendation of AV.]

is necessary. Render: 'Make accomplished on all sides the purpose of these (our party)' Ppp (Barret, *JAOS* 32. 351f) has *viśvam viśam kṛnuhi satyam eśam*, closer to RV. Same general sense in all F. E.]

*adhi kṣamā viśurūpān* (ArS *kṣamā viśva*°) *yad asti* (ArS *asya*, MS † *āsta*) RV AV ArS MS TB (Add to VV I §229 for the verbs) *purudasmō viśurūpa* (KS °*dasmavad viśvarūpam*, TS. ApŚ. *urudrapso viśvarūpa*) *induh* VS TS KS ŚB ApŚ

§292. The rest are isolated and unclassifiable:

*marśarātīm* (SV *alarśirātīm*) *vasudām upa stuhi* RV. AV. SV. N The RV. form is derivable from root *ṛs* 'injure'; cf. Neisser, *ZWbch. d RV*, s. v. The SV form seems on the face of it to contain the root *ṛ*, it may be corrupt Benfey, 'rasche Spende habend'.

*nābhīmṛṣe* (MS KS *nābhīdhṛṣe*) *tanvā* (TS *tanuvā*) *jarbhurānah* (TS MS KS. *jarhṛṣānah*) RV. VS TS MS KS ŚB 'Not to be touched (attacked)'

*asya hotuh pradiśy* (AV. *praśiśy*) *ṛtasya vāci* RV. AV. VS MS KS TB N Synonyms: 'at the command'.

*prānān samkrośaiḥ* MS. *samkrośān prānān* (VS. °*krośaiḥ prānān*) VS TS *samghośān* (ms °*gośān*) *prānān* KSA Synonymous roots *kruś* and *ghuś*

*yayor vām devau deveṣv anīṣitam* (TS *anīś*°) *ojah* TS MS KS. 'Undestroyed', from *a-* and pple of *ni-śyati*, 'incessant', *a-nīṣita* *sam tvā śīśanti* (Vait *śiṣ*°) Vait LŚ KŚ Garbe takes *śīśanti* from *śiṣ* 'leave'; it is more likely from *śās* (*śiṣ*) 'ordain'. Caland apparently rejects it as corrupt, for he translates *śīśanti* ('sharpen')

*vanaspatīnr oṣadhī rāya eṣe* (\**rāye aśyāh*) RV (both) Roots *iṣ* and *aś*, practically synonyms The two versions in adjacent hymns, see *RVRep* 258 Add to VV I §121, 324

*aspārśam enam śataśārādāya* RV AV In AV most mss, SPP, and even Ppp (Barret, *JAOS* 26. 257), read *aspārśam*, in spite of Whitney, who keeps the RV form in his Translation (root *spr*, aor.), we think that the AV tradition intended *aspārśam*, as a form of *sprś*. 'I have touched him with (life of) a hundred years' Of course the form is highly anomalous

*dirghām anu prasūm* (KS *samṛtīm*) *āyufe dhām* (KS *tvā*) VS TS MS ŚB TB *dirghām anu prasūm samsprśethām* MS Cf §78

*tre iṣah* (KS *viśve*, MS *tva eṣah*) *samdadhur bhūrvarpasah* (TS † *bhūrretasah*) RV. SV VS TS MS KS ŚB

*pratnāso agna ṛtam āśuśānāh* (AV *āśaśānāh*) RV AV. VS TS 'Blowing upon': 'sharpening' (both practically 'furthering, tending')

*abhīṣṭir* (HG °līr, ApMB *abhīṣṭī*) *yā ca no grhe* (RVKh *ca me dhruvā*)  
RVKh ApMB HG

*ā darśate śavasā sapta dānūn* RV AV N *ā darśati śavasā bhūryojāh* AV

The whole thought is made over in AV

*atrā te bhadrā raśanā apaśyam* (KS *bhadrā vrṣanā agrbhnām*) RV VS TS  
KS

*aśūsubhanta* (TS TB *aśūśudanta*) *yajñīyā rtena* TS MS KS TB

See §286

### ṣ and s

§293. Here there are only a very few variants, and their phonetic interest is slight. Usually the change is due to a change in the preceding vowel from an *a* to an 'alterant' *i*, *u*, or to different word-division which brought *s* into another word where it follows an alterant vowel. The list is not complete.

*dāvīyā mīmānā manasā* (VS *manuṣah*) *purutrā* VS MS KS TB

*made suśipram* (SV *madeṣu śipram*) *andhasah* RV SV Cf PAOS  
13, p cxviii

*āprno 'si samprnah* (ApŚ *āprnoṣi samprna*) ŚŚ ApŚ The latter is corrupt

*vasiṣṭhahanuh* VS *oṣiṣṭhahanam* TS TA

*sugantuh karma karanah kaṁṣyan* JB *sugam tvah karmah karanah*  
*karah karasyuh* LŚ

*tenemām upa sīñcatam* RV AV TA N *tena mām abhiśīñcatam* ŚŚ

*asūrte* (MS KS °lā) *sūrte rajasī nṣatte* (MS °lā, KS *na sattā*) RV VS  
MS KS N See §828

*kratvā variṣṭham vara āmurim uta* RV AV *kratve vare sthemany ām-*  
*urīm uta* SV

*rṣinām ca stutir* (SV *sustutir*) *upa* RV SV VS TS MS KS

§294. The rest are scattering

*ye vṛkṣeṣu* (KS *vaneṣu*) *śaṣpiñjarāh* (TS *saspi*°) VS TS MS KS MG

See §§32, 278, and next

*namah saṣpiñjarāya* (TS *saspi*°) *tvīṣimate* VS TS MS † KS

*sarvam tam* (AV *sarvān n*, MS KS TA *sarvāns tām*) *maṣmaṣā* (TS

ŚB, *masmasā*, MS † *mṛsmṛsā*, one ms *mṛsmṛsā*, VS *bhasmasā*)

*kuru* (AV *-karam*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA The word is

sound-imitative (cf Eng *mash*, similar but independent) VS

rationalizes with thought of 'ashes' (§242)

*ā sutrāvne sumatim āvrñānah* AV *oṣiṣṭhadāvne sumatim grñānāh* TS

Whitney suggests, attractively, *āśutrāvne* (to match *oṣiṣṭha-* in

TS); but *su-trāman*, *su-trāta*, and *su-trātra* seem to support the tradition of AV (*āśu* seems not used with the root *trā*).

### *lh*, *lʃ* and sibilants

§295. In view of the common later confusion of *ʃ* and *lh*, it is surprising to find practically no variants between these sounds, cf. the m-s. reading *śudasi* at AV. 20.135.4, for *lhudasī* of ŚŚ:

*kaṣoṭkāya svāhā* TA TAA. *khakholkāya svāhā* MahānU Neither word is interpretable

§296. There are, however, a couple of cases of variation between *lh* and *ś*, which point in a like direction, cf. the reading *khunā* for *śunā* (thru *śunā*) 'by a dog', Pārśvanātha Caritra 2.268.

*āśum tvāṇau* (ApŚ *ālhum tvā ye*) *dadhirc devayantah* KS ApŚ MŚ The original is *āśum*, which refers to Agni. To make a 'mole' out of Agni seems sufficiently absurd, but the reason is plain. The viniyoga of the sūtra, in both ApŚ and MŚ, reads *ity ālhulariṣam* (MŚ *\*kirim*) *nivapati*, 'he throws down a mole-hill'. Hence the word *ākhū* has crept into the sūtra in ApŚ (where Caland translates *āśum*)

*ud vanśam va yemure* RV SV TS. KB. N. *ūrdhvam kham va menure* Mabābh 12.284.78

§297. And one case of *lʃ* and *ś* (lexical):

*mayum te śug rchahu* (KS *te lʃut*) VS MS KS ŚB The same with other animal names in the same passage

### *s(ʃ)* and *h*

§298. There is but faint evidence for this interchange. The few instances are all lexical or morphological, or else very much under suspicion of corruption. In so far as phonetics may be concerned as a contributory factor, we may call the change quasi-Prakritic, see Wackernagel I §221, Pischel §264. In the following it is to be presumed that an original *s* is replaced by *h*.

*dhryā na* (SV *no*) *vājān upa māsi* (SV *māhi*) *śaśvatah* RV SV Verb endings, see VV I p. 101. The reverse is found in the first variant in §299

*dhruvāsah* (TB ApŚ *dhruvā ha*) *parvatā ime* RV AV. KS TB ApŚ SMB MG The obsolescent ending *āsah* is replaced by the regular *ā(s)* plus the particle *ha*

*jātavedo nayā hy enam suhṛtām yatra lokah* JB. *jātavedo vahemam* (ŚŚ *vahasvarnam*) *suhṛtām yatra lokah* (TA *lokāh*) TA ŚŚ. The Conc. suggests possibly *nayāsy* for *nayā hy* in JB

*āsannaṣūn hr̥tsvaso mayobhūn* RV AV TS MS KSA N *āsann eṣām*  
*apsuvāho mayobhūn* SV See §820

[*pratyañ* (etc) *soṃ aṇdrutah* (°*srutah* etc, AV text °*hrutah*), see §275  
 The true text of AV. is °*drutah* ]

§299. In the rest it appears that an older *h* is replaced by *s*  
*stuto yāsi* (RV *yāhi*) *vaśān anu* RV VS TS KS ŚB LŚ See VV I p  
 105 The converse of the first variant in §298

*turīyāditya* (VSK. *turyā*°) *savanam* (RV *hav*°) *ta indriyam* RV VS  
 VSK TS MS KS ŚB Synonymous roots *su* and *ku*

*ghṛtapruṣo haritas tvāvahantu* KS . *ghṛtapruṣas tvā sarito vahanti* (AŚ  
*harito vahantu*) TB AŚ ApŚ

*guhā hūtām nīhūtām* (KS † omits *nīhūtām*, by haplology) *gahvareṣu* KS  
 MŚ . *guhā satīm gahane gahvareṣu* TB ApŚ

*pratno hi* (TA *pratnoṣi*) *kam īdya adhwareṣu* RV AV TA MahānU  
 The TA reading is corrupt, comm *pratanoṣi*!

[*suhaveha* (AV. misprinted *susaveha*) *havāmahe* RV AV VS MS KS  
 See Whitney on AV. 3 20 6 ]

## CHAPTER IX PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF NASALS, SEMI-VOWELS, LIQUIDS, SIBILANTS, H, AND VISARGA

### 1 Presence or absence of nasals and anusvāra

§300. This phenomenon occurs mainly but not exclusively before consonants. When it occurs before vowels, it is really a matter of sandhi, namely, of the use of a nasal as a sort of 'Hiatus-tilger', to bridge the gap between two vowels; the semi-vowels are used in the same way. Before consonants, it is to some extent rhythmic, and therefore of genuinely phonetic bearing, even tho rarely if ever purely phonetic, since morphological or lexical considerations play a part. This rhythmic shift is Prakritic in character: see Geiger, *Pali* §§5, 6; Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 32. It appears most clearly when a short vowel followed by a nasal or anusvāra varies with a long vowel without nasal. Thus in variant forms of the same word, or at least from the same root:

*ya eṣa svapnānanāśanah* (AV °*nāśanah*) RV. AV N.

*pūṣṇe 'ñghṛṇaye svāhā* TA · *pūṣṇa āghṛṇaye* (em, mss *āpṛṇaye*) *svāhā*  
MŚ *āghṛṇi* is a regular epithet of Pūṣan. For *āñghṛṇi*, comm.  
*añjanena dīpyamānah*, but it can only be a phonetic variant or semi-corruption for *āgh*°

§301. From different and equally regular forms of the verb:

*agnim naras triśadhashe sam idhṛe* (SV TS *indhate*) RV. SV. TS KS.  
*agnim idhe* (SV *indhē*) *ivasrabhih* RV SV

*atra pīlaro yathābhāgam mandadhvam* TS TB ApŚ · *atra pīlaro māda-*  
*yadhvam* VS VSK MS KS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ MŚ Kauś. SMB.

GG KhG. VdDh. Add to VV I §240

*krūrām ānanśa* (KS † ApŚ *ānāśa*) *martyah* (KS † *martah*) AV. KS.  
ApŚ See VV I p 187

*na papatwāya rāsīya* (SV *rasiṣam*) RV AV SV See VV I p 109.

§302. In words not etymologically related, but more or less similar in sound:

*atho* (LŚ ApŚ *nir mā*) *yamasya padbīśāt* (VS °*vīśāt*, LŚ † *śadṛmīśāt*)  
RV AV VS LŚ ApŚ See §217

*agnim idhā* (SV *indhīta*) *martyah* RV SV. Cf next; both verbs are common in Agni-worship

*yam sīm id anyā idate* RV *yam sam id anyā indhate* SV. Cf prec

*yācad* (SV. TS. KS. *yañśad*) *vīśraṁ ny atriṇam* RV. SV. VS TS. MS. KS.

Roots *yā* and *yam* quasi-synonyms

*ato no 'nyat pīlato mā yorja* (HG. *yūdhram*) ApŚ MS. HG.: *mā vo* (AŚ *no*) 'to 'nyat pīlato *yoyurata* (AŚ. *yūṅgdhram*) AŚ. Kauś. If we may trust *yūṅgdhram*, the other verbs are from *yu* 'unite', therefore synonymic. Cf. VV I pp. 42, 150

*āpo asmān* (MS. *mā*) *mālarah śundhayanu* (TS. ApŚ. *śundhantu*, AV. MS. KS. *śundayantu*) RV. AV. VS TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ.

§303. Rather more numerous are cases in which the absence of the nasal does not involve a long preceding vowel, but is due to sundry morphological circumstances which admit of closely related forms with or without nasal. Accidents of nominal and verbal inflexion occasionally involve presence or absence of a nasal. These variations are of course primarily morphological; at most they may be said to have a certain phonetic aspect, so that they are not wholly unrelated to the phonetic shift here considered. It would hardly be profitable to list them all here. So far as they concern verb forms they will be found in VV I: see §192 there (interchange of nasal and non-nasal presents), §§210 and 217 (nasal presents or imperfects varying with non-nasal aorists, as *vida*: *rinda*, *vṛjyāh*: *vṛjyāt*, etc.); §279 (*maśīya*·*mañśīya*); §280 (*adadṛhanta*: *adadrñhanta*); and many variations between 3d persons singular and plural in *ti*, *nti*, *te*, *nte*, etc., on pp. 255 ff.

§303a. Twice subjunctives in *-(ā)si* are reported with an anomalous *n* before the *s*. We might be tempted to emend the sole ms. of KS. in the second; in the first no v. l. is reported for ŚG. and Oldenberg keeps °*yāñei*, tho he translates °*yāsi* (see his note, p. 36):

*jālānām janayās ca yān* (ŚG. *janayāñsi ca*; AV Ppp. *janayāsi* [not °*mi*, as Whitney says] *ca*) AV. ŚG. Barret, JAOS 32. 360, needlessly emends Ppp. to the Ś reading. Add to VV I §253.

*rahāsi mē* (KS † *vahāñsi eā*) *sukṛtām yatra lokāh* (KS. † *lokah*) KS TB.

§304. Similarly, such cases as *vṛjā punāna āyusu* (SV. *āyūñsi*) RV. SV., or *svar devā* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *svar devān*) *aganma* (MS. MS. *agāma*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MS., belong to noun declension; and *ajastam tvām* (ApŚ. *tvā*) *śabhāpālāh* TB. ApŚ. to pronominal declension. In the appropriate volumes of this series such matters will be fully treated; here we content ourselves with examples.

§305. Again, in other cases we find stem-forms with and without nasals, involving no real grammatical change. These concern stem or word formation:

*urū gabbhīrā* (TS *gambhīrā*) *sumatiḥ te astu* RV. TS. MS. KS. In this

and the next TS replaces an antiquated form with one which is regular in the later language.

*gabhīram* (TS. *gambh°*) *imam adhvaram kṛdhī* VS TS MS ŚB Cf.

prec

*samudra vṛṣi gahmanā* (TB *ganh°*, but Poona ed *gah°*) TB ApŚ  
*satyaujaśā dṛnhanā* (KS † *dṛhanā*, MS *durhṛnā*) *yam nudethe* TS MS

KS. *sacclasau druḥvano yau nudethe* AV Both TS. and KS.  
understand a form of *dṛh dṛnh* (cf *adadṛhanta adadṛnh°*, VV I  
p 187); AV and MS struggle in common with another idea

*antah śubhravātā* (SV. *Sundhyāvatā*) *pathā* RV. SV Cf §173

*samudrāya śiśumārah* VS MS : *sindhoh śinsumārah* (KSA † *śiśu°*)

TS KSA The form *śinśu°* occurs in RV ; cf. Pali *sunsumāra*  
Later *śiśu°* is regular, but it may well be only a secondary adaptation  
by popular etymology to *śiśu* 'boy' The long *ū* of KSA. may  
be a mere corruption in the single ms

§306. The prefix *sa-* varies with its own reduced grade, *sa-*, and with a  
syllable *sa-* of other sorts (some of the cases textually dubious):

*samvṛd asī* TS *savṛd asī* VS KS. PB : *savṛtā savṛte savṛj jivva* MS.  
*samstup chandah* VS MS KS. ŚB : *saṣṭup chandah* TS.

*namo vṛddhāya ca savṛdhe* (TS *samvṛdhīane*, KS *savṛdhvane*, MS  
*svvṛdhvane*) *ca* VS TS. MS KS

*satatam tu śrābhīs tu* MahānU. *samtatam śrābhīs* (Poona ed *śilā°*  
v l. *śrā°*) *tu* TA

*nakṣatrānām sakāśān mā yauṣam* MS : *nakṣatrānām mā samkāśā ca*  
*pratikhāśā cāvalām* Vait Kauś

*agne sasṛjmahe* (MS *samsṛ°*) *gīrah* RV SV. MS KS Here *sa-* is the  
reduplicating syllable

*sa* (MS *sa*) *dundubhe saṣṭūr indrena devaiḥ* RV AV VS TS MS. KSA  
N The MS hardly makes sense; it is probably due to assimilation  
in meaning to *saṣṭūr*

*sa* (MS *sa*) *dāśuṣe kīratu bhūri vāmam* TS MS AŚ. ŚŚ Again MS is  
hardly interpretable, its change is the reverse of the prec.

*sa* *yajñapatir* (VSK *yajamāna*) *āśiṣā* VS VSK. TS. MS KS. ŚB  
ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ : *sa yajñapatir āśiṣā* Vait (probably to be cor-  
rected to *sa*, see Caland on Vait 4 21)

§307. Other cases of final anusvāra before consonants (cf also §401):  
*rajobhūmis tvam mām* (MahānU. *tvam ām*, so TA. Poona ed with v. l  
*tvam mām*) *rodayasva pravadanti dhīrāḥ* TA Mahān U.

*tato* (PB *te*) *ha jajñe* (MŚ 'ham yajñe') *bhuvanasya gopāḥ* (MŚ *goptā*)  
TB PB ApŚ MŚ See §192, MŚ clearly secondary



*ya im vahanta āśubhāh* RV *yadī vahanty āśavah* SV  
*svahpatir yadī vṛdhe* SV *svarpatim yad im vṛdhe* RV AV  
*yo rayvo* (SV *rayim vo*) *rayintamah* RV SV KB ŚŚ ŚG The SV  
 doubtless corrupt  
*tasyām no devah* (MS *tasyām devah*) *savitā dharmam* (VS † VSK †  
 TS † ŚB † *dharmā*) *sāviṣat* (VSK ° *ṣak*) VS VSK TS MS KS  
 ŚB. Stems *dharmā dharman*  
*mā mā yūnarvā hāṣit* (JB *yono vām hārasih*) PB JB` LŚ Incom-  
 prehensible in either form  
*sa im* (TS *ī*) *mandrā* .. (see §374) VS TS MS The particle *im*  
 becomes *ī* in TS, before *m*, this might be put with §401  
*sam im* (SV *u*) *rebhāso asvaran* RV AV SV

### Nasal as 'Hiatusstilger'

§308. The R̥gveda itself has a number of instances of nasalization of a final vowel before an initial vowel, in lieu of regular sandhi. Here the nasal (in the recognized RV cases always *anusvāra*) acts as 'Hiatusstilger'. See most recently Oldenberg, *Noten* on 1 33 4. The variants present one of these instances in which secondary texts leave the hiatus unrelied, and in another case ApMB MG read *tanūn* for RV *tanū*, all intending a loc sing

*svāyām tanūn* (RV *tanū*) *ṛṇīye* (RV † °*ṇīye*) RV ApMB MG  
 See Winternitz, *Introd to ApMB*, XIX Knauer mistakenly considers the form an abbreviation of *tanvām*

*ā te suparnā amnantan* (MS TS °*ta*) *evah* RV. TS MS KS AB

§309. Somewhat similar are cases in which other nasals, *n* or *m* seem to act in the same way as 'Hiatusstilger' between vowels, or, conversely, we find in some texts omission of final *m* before an initial vowel, either with secondary sandhi of the two vowels thus brought into proximity, or leaving hiatus

*yadīn* (AV *yady*) *ṛnam samgaro devatāsu* AV TA Comm on TA  
*yadīn ṛnam, yad eva prasiddham ṛnam* We must apparently understand *in* for *im* (aliter *ī*), the particle of emphasis, the TA form is unprecedented and suggests an attempt to avoid hiatus. A heavy syllable is favored as the second syllable of the pāda, cf §438

*abhīm ṛtasya* (SV *abhy ṛtasya*) *sudughā ghṛtaścutah* RV SV The SV, tho secondary, suggests light pronunciation of the final nasal, felt as if mere Hiatusstilger

*abhī* (SV *abhīm*) *ṛtasya dohanā anūṣata* RV SV

*yenāksā* (SMB °kṣān, PG °kṣyāv, ŚŚ *yenā kṣām*) *abhyāṣicyanta* (ŚŚ SMB *abhyāṣiñcatam*, PG. °lām) AV. ŚŚ SMB PG Nom.: acc. forms

*ā pūṣā etv ā vasu* TS : *ā puṣṭam etv ā vasu* AV. If TS has the original form, AV. may be regarded as a lect fac, with avoidance of hiatus. *agner jīhvām abhi* (MS *jīhvābhi*, p p *jīhvām, abhi*; AV. KS. *jīhīayābhi*) *†grñīlam* (AV *grñata*) AV. VS TS. MS. KS. 'Sing to (with) the tongue of Agni.' MS might intend an instrumental, but note the p p

§310. Miscellaneous non-final nasals, before consonants:

*agnir ukthēna vāhasā* VS TS MS KS AŚ. ŚŚ : *agnir uktheṣi anhasu* AV. *apām rasam udvayasam* (KS' *udayansam*, TA. *udayansan*) VS. TS. MS. KS ŚB TB TA

*agnim adya hotāram aṣṇīlāyam yajamānah pacan paktīh* (VSK. *pañktīh*) *pacan* . . VS VSK. MS. KS. TB. (See also Conc. under *sīsena agnim adya* etc, TB, but Poona ed. of TB. lacks the word *sīsena*, which is also shown to be an intrusion by the lack of sandhi.) *pañktīh* 'heaps' is secondary or corrupt The same blunder in Kauś 22 10; see Bloomfield, GGA 1902 492.

§311. Miscellaneous non-final nasals before vowels (once before *y*); to these should be added a few cases of presence or absence of initial nasal consonants which we have placed below in §421, where they seem more properly to belong:

*tam āhutam naṣimahi* (AV °tam aś°) RV. AV. AB. Parallel roots *aś* and *naś*

*tasya rathagṛtsaś* (MS °kṛtsnaś, KS °kṛtsaś) ca . . . VS. TS MS. KS. ŚB See §46

*namah kṛtsnāyatāya* (VS. °yatayā, KS *kṛtsamvīlāya*, TS. MS *kṛtsnavīlāya*) *dhāvate* VS. VSK. TS. MS KS. A sort of metathesis of nasal in KS.

*na kir devā minīmasi* RV.: *na kī devā inīmasi* SV. Svidh. The strange *inīmasi* is questioningly classed by Whitney (Roots) as an isolated 9th class present from *i(-noti)* Benfey equates it with *min*° with unexplained loss of *m* Reverse of Hiatusstilger?

*sam tvā tatakṣuh* (LŚ °kṣnuh) Vail. KŚ. LŚ. See VV I p. 146. The monstrous form of LŚ may be influenced by its viniyoga: *it takṣnuyuh* (itself somewhat anomalous).

*agnaye dhūñkṣnā* (KSA. °kṣā) TS KSA.: *dhūñkṣāgneṣi* (VSK. vv. II °kṣyā and °kṣvā) VS VSK. MS. Possibly the second nasal of TS. is due to the influence of the first.

*annam me* (ApŚ \**no*) *budhya* (ApŚ °*dhnya*) *pāhi*, and °*yājugupah*  
MS ApŚ One ms of MS writes *buddhya* each time, perhaps  
*budhnya* is intended

Cf *jīvām rlebhyah* (read *mṛ°* with SPP, comm, and many mss)  
*parinīyamānām* AV

§312. Note finally the following curious variant

*kāyamāno* (MŚ *kāmayamāno*) *vanā tvam* RV SV MŚ N Sāyana  
glosses by *kāmayamāno*, the later regular form, which is secondarily  
introduced in MŚ

## 2 Presence or absence of *y*

§313. A large proportion of the variants under this head concern the presence or absence of suffixal *ya*. A form containing this suffix varies with a corresponding form without it, usually either a primary noun or adjective in *a*, or a secondary derivative in suffixal *a*. These cases belong to Noun Formation and are to be dealt with there more fully. To some indeterminate degree they also concern phonetics, notably where *y* appears after a double consonant in such pairs as *bhakṣa bhakṣya*, etc. Metrical considerations enter to some extent, the form with *y* may be read as a syllable longer than the other form, and this occasionally has import for our judgment of the variation, as will be pointed out in individual cases.

### (a) Words equivalent in meaning, *y* follows two consonants

§314. We begin with cases where the *y* follows two consonants (and is often written, and regularly pronounced, *īya*, see §784), and in which the form in *y* is equivalent in meaning to that without *y*. The latter in a few instances is formally proved to contain the secondary suffix *a* by showing vriddhi of the first syllable, while the *y* form lacks vriddhi.  
*aghoreṇa cakṣusā mītrīyena* (ApMB *mitrena*, KS ApŚ *cakṣuṣāham śvena*) AV KS ApŚ ApMB. But *mitrena* may be a noun, 'friendship', *mītrīyena* must be an adjective.

*māham pautram* (KBU *putryam*) *agham rudam* (AG *nyām*, see §724, SMB *nigām*, and *riṣam*) AG SMB ApMB HG KBU

*ya āntarikṣāh* (sc *sarpās* etc.) HG *ye sarpāh pārthivā ye antarikṣyā*  
AG

*vāyur na īdita īditavyair devair antarikṣyaiḥ* (ApŚ *āntarikṣaiḥ*) *pātu*  
KS ApŚ : *vāyuṣ tvāntarikṣāt pātu sūyo divah* MŚ. The latter contains the primary noun and belongs with §321.

*prabhūyā agnyedham* (TB *āgnendham*) VS TB. On the troublesome TB form see §491.

§315. In the rest, the great majority, secondary *vriddhi* appears in neither form or in both:

*sumnāya sumnānī sumne mā dhattam* TS TB ApŚ : *sumnāyawah* (KS °*yavas*) *sumnyāya sumnam* (KS *sumnyam*) *dhatta* MS KS . *sumne sthah sumne mā dhattam* VS ŚB Both *sumna* and *sumnya* are used as both adjectives, 'gracious', and nouns, 'grace'

*agnir devebhyah suvidatryebhyah* (TA. °*trebhyah*) RV AV TA N.

*svaigāsi* KS . *svargyāsi* ApŚ

*ūrdhvam manah svargyam* (TA *suvargam*) MS TA

*na yajñasya manvate martāsah* (TB ApŚ *marlāsah*) RV. KB TB ApŚ The reading *marlāsah* is poor metrically

*krūram ānanśa* (KS † ApŚ *ānāśa*) *martyah* (KS † *martah*) AV KS. ApŚ Again *martah* is unmetrical

*marīṣu* (VS MS KS *marīṣu*) *agnir amṛto n dhāyī* RV VS TS MS KS ApMB

*sumitrā* (VS ŚB MahānU ŚŚ KS *sumitryā*, AŚ LŚ *sumitryā*) *na* (KS *na*) *āpa osadhayah santu* (KS † °*yo bhavantu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB TA MahānU AŚ ŚŚ LŚ BDh Followed by.

*durmitrās* (VS ŚB MahānU KS °*triyās*, AŚ ŚŚ LŚ °*tryās*) *tasmatī santu* (KS \* TS † TB TA MahānU BDh *bhūyāsu*) *yo* .., same texts

*śārgah sṛjayah* (TS KSA *ākhuḥ sṛjayā*) *śayāndakas* (KSA °*kās*, em v Schr °*kas*, TS *śayandakas*) *te martrāḥ* (KSA °*tryāḥ*, em unnecessarily to °*trāḥ* in ed ) VS TS. MS KSA

*abha dyumnam* (RV VS *sumnam*) *devabhaktam yaviṣṭha* (MS KS *devahitam yav.ṣṭhya*, MS p p °*ṣṭha*) RV VS TS MS KS ApMB *yaviṣṭha* and °*ṭhya* are perfect equivalents, the former seems to be preferred at the end of a triṣṭubh pāda, the latter of eight and twelve syllable pādas

*tvām agne samidhānam yaviṣṭha* (RV °*ṭhya*) RV. TB. ApŚ The stanza is pure jagatī in RV , half of it is made triṣṭubh in the others

*śalam pūrbbir yaviṣṭhya* RV . *yaviṣṭha pāhy anhasah* RV TA See RVRep 539

*gambhīrebhūḥ* (AV TS HG °*raih*) *pathibhūḥ pūrvnebhūḥ* (MS *pūrvēbhūḥ*, AV *pūryānaih*, TS HG *pūrvyāih*) AV TS MS KS SMB AŚ HG

*brhat sāma kṣotrabhṛd vṛddhavṛṣṇyam* (MS °*nam*, so ed with p p , other mss °*num*, read probably °*nyam*, TS °*vṛṣṇyam*) TS MS KS AŚ

*tāsām viśiśnānām* (KS °*nyānām*) MS KS

- amo nīveṣyāya* (p. p. *nī*) *ca hr̥dyāya ca* MS : *namo hr̥dayyāya ca nīveṣyāya ca* VS. : *namo hr̥dayyāya* (KS *hr̥dayyāya*) *ca nīveṣyāya* (KS. *ṣyāya*) *ca* TS KS From the noun *rīveṣyā* 'whirlpool', is derived *nīveṣyā* 'of the whirlpool'. The stem *nīveṣyā* (or *nī*, note accent) is equivalent to this latter and is probably merely a phonetic simplification of it; practically a question of mere orthography. One KS. ms *nīveṣyāya*
- namaḥ śighryāya* (TS *śighryāya*) *ca śibhyāya ca* VS TS : *namaḥ śibhāya ca śighrāya ca* MS KS
- tau te bhakṣam* (LŚ *ṣyam*) *ca kratur agra etam* VS JB TB ApŚ LŚ ŚŚ *tayor anu bhakṣam bhakṣayāmi* TB. ApŚ : *tayor aham anu bhakṣam* (LŚ *ṣyam*) *bhakṣayāmi* VS. LŚ : *tayor aham bhakṣam anubhakṣayāmi* JB ŚŚ
- jaitrāyā* (ApMB *ṭryāyā*) *viśatād u* (HG. *ṭām*, ApMB *ṭān*) *mām* RVKh VS. ApMB. HG.
- devānsō yasmai tveḍe . . . bhañgena* (ApŚ *bhañgyena*) VS ŚB ApŚ *yamam bhañgyaśravo* (KS MŚ *bhañga*) *gāya* KS TA. ApŚ MŚ *yamam gāya bhañgyaśravah* (KS MŚ *bhañga*) KS TA ApŚ MŚ *maṇḍūkāñ jambhyyebhiḥ* (KSA. *jambhah*) TS KSA TB. ApŚ *jambhābhyāñ taskarañ* (p. p. *ṛān*) *uta* MS : *jambhyyais* (KS. *ṇebhis*) *taskarañ* (KS ṭ *ṛān*) *uta* VS TS KS.
- astasya vāje* (KS *krande*, TB. *krandye*) *puruṣasya māyau* AV KS TB *yo 'sya* (MŚ *asya*, but Van Gelder *'sya*) *lauṣṭhya* (KS *kausṭha*) *jagatah* KS TS ApŚ. MŚ.
- śvetāya vaidarvāya* (PG *vyāya*, AG. ŚG. *dārvāya*, MG *vaitahavyāya*) . . AG PG. ŚG ApMB. HG MG
- pāpat svapnyād abhūtyāh* AV. *pāpah svapnād abhūtyai* KŚ It would be pedantry to see in *svapnya* any really different meaning from *svapna* [*īnalamam aptyam* (AV. *āptam*) *āplyānām* RV AV. N The AV. must doubtless be emended to *āptyam* with Whitney ]

(b) Words equivalent in meaning; y follows one consonant

- §316. Next, forms in which the *y* follows a single consonant, both forms still equivalent in meaning. A small group shows the *vriddhi* of secondary derivation in the form without *y*, not in that with *y*
- meghyā* (VS *maighār*) *vidyuto vācah* VS TS MS KSA
- brhanto dāitāh* (VS *divyāh*) VS MS ApŚ *divya* from *div*, *dava* from *deta*, but meaning the same.
- achinno divyas* (KS ApŚ *davyas*) *tantur mā mānuṣas* (KS ApŚ *manuṣyas*) *chedi* MS KS ApŚ See next

*bṛhaspatir devānām* (ŚŚ. *dawo*, this belongs to §324) *brahmāham manuṣyānām* (ŚŚ *mānuṣaḥ*) VSK. TB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ : *bṛhaspatir brahmāham mānuṣaḥ* LŚ *mānuṣa* and *manuṣya* are precisely equivalent in all uses, tho here the former happens to be an adjective, the latter a noun Cf. prec

*kalpayatam mānuṣīḥ* TB ApŚ *dr̥ṇhantām dauvīr viśaḥ kalpantām ṭmanuṣyāḥ* KS

*dhiṣanāsi pṛvatī* (VS ŚB *par°*, TS TB ApŚ *parvatīyā*) VS TS MS. KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ Adjectives *pṛvata* and *parvatya* (and, if VS ŚB are right, *parvata*. Mahīdhara, *parvatātmikā*); all 'of the rock' The VS ŚB. reading is supported by the ms readings (two occurrences) of KS, *pṛvatī* both times, von S. Schroeder has emended, with doubtful justice

*aranyāya* (MS *āranāya*, but p p *aranyāya*) *śmarah* VS. TS MS KSA.

§317. The rest show vridhhi either in both forms or in neither. Among them stands out a considerable group of cases of the perfectly equivalent stems *dauva* and *dauvya*:

*dauvo* (HG °*vyo*) *yo mānuṣo gandhaḥ* ApMB. HG

*dauvā hotārāḥ sanīṣan nṛ etat* AV.: *dauvyā hotāro* (TS. °*rā*) *vanuṣanta* (TS *vanī°*, KS *ṭvanīṣan na*) *pūrve* (KS *etat*) RV. TS KS.

*dauvyā* (AV °*vā*) *hotārā* (TS °*rāv*, AV. °*ra*) *ūrdhvam* (MS adds *imam*, KS *hotārordhvam imam*) *adhvaram nah* AV. VS Tś. MS. KS 18 17a (†)

*dauvyam* (MS °*vam*) *mānuṣā yugā* (MS *yujā*) RV SV VS TS. MS. ŚB

*pauruṣeyād dauvyāt* KS : *pauruṣeyān na dauvā* AV. 4 26 7c

*mānuṣād dauvyam* (MŚ °*vam*) *upaimi* TB ApŚ. MŚ

*sam dauvena* (VS ŚB both also °*vyena*, TA *devena*) *savitṛā* VS ŚB TA Mahīdhara glosses both forms by *devena*

§318. Another compact group is formed by variants of *sūra* and *sūrya*, again perfect equivalents.

*brhat sūro* (KS. *sūryo*) *arocata* RV KS

*sūryāso* (SV *sūrāso*) *na darśatāsaḥ* RV. SV

*saṇh sūra* (MS *sūrā*, TS *sūrya*) *etaṣena* VS TS MS KS ŚB

*sa sūra ā* (ŚŚ *sūrye*) *janayaṇ jyotir indram* (ŚŚ *indrah*) TB ŚŚ

*spardhante dhīyah* (TS KSA *divaḥ*) *sūrye na* (SV *sūre na*, TS. KSA ṭ *sūryena*) *viśaḥ* RV SV. TS KSA

§319. The rest are sporadic:

*āpura stā mā prajāyā paśubhīḥ pūrayata* ŚŚ · *āpūryā sthā mā pūrayata prajāyā ca dhanena ca* TS AŚ

*agneh puriṣavāhanah* (MS *puriṣya*°, VS † ŠB † °vāhanah) VS TS MS  
KS ŠB *puriṣa* and °*ṣya* are equivalent, Pān 3 2 65

*kāmāyāi svāhā* MG · *kāmāyāi svāhā* MS MŚ. Probably MG.  
corrupt

*śakalyam* (AG *śakalam*, sc *tarpayāmi*) ŚG. AG Both patronymics  
from *śakala* Since Oldenberg's translation of ŚG reads *śāk*°, we  
assume that *śakalyam* is the true reading, *śa*° probably misprint  
*yakṣmam śronibhyām* (ApMB. *śronī*°) *bhāsādāt* RV AV. ApMB .  
*yakṣmam bhasadyam śronibhyām bhāsadam* AV In RV *bhāsada*  
is a noun, in the second AV version it and *bhasadya* are both  
adjectives, and one (probably *bhasadyam*, but Whitney suggests  
*bhāsadam*) must be omitted as an ancient gloss

*rāyas roṣam audbhīdam* (ApMB. °*dyam*) RVKh VS HG ApMB  
*pā·amānāh*, °*nyāh*, and °*nyah*, various Dharma texts All adjectives  
from *pavamāna*.

*māyobhavyāya* (ŚG *āyo*°) *catuspadī* AG ŚG . *catvāri māyobhavyā* TB  
ApŚ ApMB SMB PG HG MG Equivalent nouns  
*adveṣe* (MS °*ṣye*) *dyāvāpṛthivī huvema* (MS *huve*) RV. VS MS 'Having  
no hostility' = 'not hostile'.

[*mitrāvarunābhyām ānuṣṭubhābhyām* . VS TS MS KSA † Conc  
wrongly quotes KSA as *ānuṣṭubhyā*°]

*anyam te asman* (NṛpU. 'sman, AV. *asmat te*) *nī vapantu senāh* (AV  
*senyam*) RV. AV TS NṛpU *Senyam* must = *senā*

(c) *Words not equivalent in meaning, y follows two consonants*

§320. In the rest, the two variant stems are not precisely equivalent to  
each other. In many cases the derivative adjective in *ya* is paralleled  
by a case-form of the primary noun or its equivalent, or by the primary  
noun used appositionally, or by a compound of it In other cases the  
difference is yet greater, and sometimes the phonetic resemblance  
becomes rather remote, so that the extent of real phonetic influence is  
especially tenuous

§321. As before, we list first cases in which the *y* follows two con-  
sonants, being then sometimes written *vy*  
*mandrābhūhūh* (MŚ *mandrā vibhūh*) *ketur yajñānām* (MŚ *yajñīyā*)  
*vāg* . TS MŚ

*viśve devā mama śrnavantu yajñīyāh* (ArŚ *yajñam*) RV ArŚ ŚŚ  
*yajñam-yajñam* (KS *yajñīyā-yajñam*) *prati devayadbhyaḥ* (KS † ŚŚ †  
°*yadbhya*) VSK KS. TS ŚŚ KŚ MŚ

*mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu* (mss *nuk*) MŚ . *mā rudrīyāso abhi*  
*gulbadhānah* (TA *gur vṛdhānah*) MS TA

*vyam pitryā* (AB *vai pitre*, AŚ. ŚŚ *pitre*) *rāṣṭry ety* (AV GB *clv*) *agre*  
AV AB GB AŚ ŚŚ

*putrah pitre* (KŚ *pitrye*) *lokakṛj jātavedah* TB KŚ. ApŚ 'As a son to his father': 'as a son at the (rite) of the fathers'

*yā* (AV omits) *antarikṣa* (KS AG °*ḷṣyā*) *ula pārthwīr yāh* (KS. *pārthivāsah*, AV *vā prthivyām*) AV KS TB ApŚ. AG. (AVPpp. . *pārthivā yāh*)

*namah kātyāya ca gahvareṣṭhāya* (MS °*ṣṭhyāya*, p p °*ṣṭhāya*) *ca* VS TS. MS KS

*indro jyēṣṭhānām* (MS KS *jyaisṭhyānām*, VS ŚB *jyaisṭhyāya*) VS TS MS KS ŚB 'Of the noblest': 'of the highest nobilities': 'for highest nobility'.

*adhva-ām adhupate śreṣṭhah* 'svastyasyādhanah' (ApMB *śreṣṭhasyādhanah*, MG *śraṣṭhyasya svastasyādhanah*) *pāram aṣṭya* AŚ ApMB MG Read *svastyasyā*° in MG with most mss

*arghah* HG *arghyam* ŚŚ HG. *arghyam bhoh* Kauś : *arhanīyā āpah* ApG. *arghyam* '(water) of the argha'

*adhyakṣyānukṣattāram* TB · *ṭadhyakṣyāyānukṣattāram* VS.

§322. A considerable group concerns *uktha* and *ukthya*, the latter meaning 'a ceremony accompanied by *ukthas*', or 'one to be revered with *ukthas*'.

*uktham vācīndrāya* TS AB GB AŚ Vait ApŚ MS : *uktham avācīndrāya* ŚŚ . *ukthyam vācīndrāya śṛnvate tvā* AŚ

*mantram vadaty ukthyam* (NrpU *uktham*) RV VS MS KS AA ApŚ NrpU

*aṅgāni ta ukthyah pātu* MS ApŚ *ukthas* ('read *ukthyas*?) *te* †' *ṅgāni pātu asau* AŚ

*ukthebhyas tvokthāvyam grhnāmi* KS · *uktheyebhya ukthyāyuvam* ApŚ. *uktham* (AŚ *ukthyam*) *indrāya śansyam* RV SV AŚ

(d) Words not equivalent in meaning, y follows one consonant

§323. Coming to the cases in which a single consonant precedes the y, we find first a number of interchanges between *vīra* 'hero' and *vīrya* 'heroism'

*yau vīryair vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* AV : *vīrebhir vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* MS : *vīryebhir vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB °*ac*°) VS ŚB TB. ŚB AŚ ŚŚ *eṣa te yaḥṇo yaḥṇapate sahasūklavākah suvīrah* (AV *suvīryāh*, VS *sarva-vīras* ) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

*anāmi kṣatram ajaram suvīryam* (MS KS *suvīram*) RV TS MS KS *sa* (also *sā*) *no dohatām suvīryam* (MŚ *suvīram*) TB ApŚ MŚ (In all texts with both *sa* and *sā*)



*purukṣu tvaṣṭā* (MS °ṭah) *suṽryam* (VSK TS *suṽram*) VS VSK TS MS

*nirdevam nirvīram* (KSA °ryam) *kṛtvā* . . TS. KSA.

*prajāṃ suṽrām* (PG. *suṽryām*) *kṛtvā* TS PG

§324. Next a group containing forms of stems *div* and *divya*, or once *deva* and *divya*; cf. several similar cases at the beginning of §316 *divaś chadmāsi* AG.: *divyam chadmāsi* . . LŚ

*divo dhārām bhindhī* KS.: *bhindhīdam* (MS *bhindhy ado*) *divyam nabhah* AV TS MS KS

*madhye divo* (MS \* *divyo*) *nīlītaḥ prśnir aśmā* VS TS MS (both) KS ŚB

*ahar divābhīr* (MS. *vahad divyābhīr*) *ūtībhīh* VS MS ŚB. TA ŚŚ LS *divābhīr* is for *divā + ābhīr*, but is understood by comm. on TA as one word, = *dyotamānābhīr*. This misunderstanding is responsible, also, for the variant of MS, which furnishes the only possible form if the word is to be taken as a single adjective.

*vācū tvā hotrā prānenodgātrā* . . *pañcabhīr dāvyair* (MŚ *devair*) *ṛtvāgbhīr uddharāmi* ApŚ MŚ

§325. The rest require no subdivision.

*ālīr* (IS KSA *ālī*) *vāhaso darvidā te vāyave* (TS KSA. *vāyavyāh*) VS TS MS KSA.

*pāra* (p p of TS *pāre*) *ikṣavo 'vāryebhyah* (KSA ṛ 'vāryebhyah) *pakṣma-bhyah svāhā* TS KSA.: *aiāra* (p p of TS °re) *ikṣavah pāryebhyah* (KSA *pārye*°) *pakṣmabhyah svāhā* TS KSA. *pāryāni palṣmāny avāryā ilṣavah*, and: *avāryāni pakṣmāni pāryā ilṣavah* VS MS

*pāryāya kaivartam* TB. *pārāya mārgāram* VS *avāryāya mārgāram* TB : *aiārāya levaritam* VS

*eṣa u sya vṛṣā rathah* RV SV.: *eṣa sya rāthyo vṛṣā* VS ŚB

*sugamī ca me supatham* (VE KapŚ. °lhyam) *ca me* VS TS MS KS KapŚ

*mā tvat ksetrāny aranāni* (MS °nyāni, p p °nāni) *ganma* RV TS MS KS TB

*bṛhatā tvā rathamlarena triṣṭubhyā* (KS *triṣṭubhā*) *varṭanyā* MS KS *bṛhadrathamtarayaso tvā stomena triṣṭubho varṭanyā* . . TS

*sūpasthā asī vānaspatyah* MŚ : *sūpasthā devo vānaspatih* TS ApŚ *agne tīam purīṣyah* VS KS. ŚB : *agneḥ purīṣam asī* VS VSK TS MS.

KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ And others, see Conc

*namah sobhyāya ca pratisaryāya* (MS °sarāya) *ca* VS TS MS KS *namo lopyāya colapyāya* (MS °pāya) *ca* VS TS MS KS

*namah parnāya* (TS. KS † *parnyāya*) *ca parnaśādāya* (VS. °*śadāya*, TS. °*śadyāya*) *ca* VS TS MS KS.

*śukras te grahah* (VS ŚB. *grahyah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB, MŚ 'Draught': '(juice) for the draught'.

*atho varunād ula* RV. AV VS : *nir mā varunād ula* (ApŚ *adhi*) LŚ ApŚ Inferior meter in the latter

*sa budhnyād* (TS. KS AŚ. °*nūd*) *āṣṭa januṣo 'bhy* (TS KS AŚ *januṣābhy*) *agram* AV TS. KS AŚ (AVPpp agrees with the others, Barrot, JAOS 37.260)

*tayā gr̥nantah sadhamādeṣu* AV.: *tayā madantah sadhamādyeṣu* (RVKh. VS °*mādeṣu*) RVKh VS MS KS TB : *tasthur gr̥nantah sadhamādyāsah* RV. AV. (Scheftelowitz prints °*mādhyeṣu* for RVKh, but his ms °*mādyeṣu*) In MS KS TB *sadhamādya* means the same as °*māda* 'feast', but in RV. AV 'participant in a *sadhamāda*' *nir mā muñcāmī śapathāt* LŚ ApŚ.: *muñcantu mā śapathyāt* RV. AV VS

*agne devānām ava heda iyakṣva* (KS *īkṣva*) KS ApŚ : *ava devānām yaja hedo agne* (KS *yaje hīdyāni*, MŚ *yaje hedyāni*) AV. KS. MŚ : *ava devān yaje hedyān* TB ApŚ.

*namo dundubhyāya cāhananyāya* (MS *dundubhaye cāhananīyāya*) *ca* VS. TS MS KS

*anhasaspalaye tvā* VS ŚB KŚ : *anhaspatyāya tvā* TS MS. TB. ApŚ §326. We conclude the cases concerning the noun-suffix *ya* with a few variants which are in one way or another anomalous or at least peculiar:

*ūrjasvatī rājasvaś* (TS *rājasūyāya*, MS KS °*sūyāś*) *cītānāh* VS TS MS KS ŚB *rājasūya*, adjective in MS KS, is equivalent to *rājasū*, the suffix *ya* is here added after a vowel In TS it appears as a noun Phonetically, the interchange in this and the next is between -ūy- and -v-

*svāhā rājasūyāh* (VS ŚB °*svah*, TS °*sūyāya cītānāh*) VS TS MS. ŚB MŚ Cf prec.

*mahādevam antahpārśvena* (VS † °*parśavyena*) VS TS TA Formally, the VS form is based on *parśu* 'rib'. Mahidhara: *antar pārśvāsthīsambandhinā mānsena* The form *antahpārśvya* occurs in the next formula

*āganma mitrāvarunā varenyā* (KS °*yam*, MS. *varena*) TS. MS KS Here the adjective *varenya-* is corrupted in MS to *varena*, instr sing of *vara-*.

Other cases of *y* in formative and inflexional elements

§327. There remain a few other cases which concern the presence or absence of a *y* which, when present, is still a formative or inflexional element, tho not the familiar secondary noun suffix which has been dealt with above. Thus, first, a couple of cases concerning the gerund or gerundive endings *ya*

*upastutyam mahi jātām* (MS °*tyam janīma tat*; TS.\* *upastutam janīma tat*) *te jarvan* RV. VS TS (both) MS KS Vait Gerundive varies with past pple

*uta prahām atidīvyā jayāh* (AV. °*dīā jayati*) RV AV The RV has a gerund form; the AV. a nom sg of stem -*dīran*

In another case an infinitive *martave* varies with *mṛtyave*, dative of *mṛtyu* (equivalent in meaning):

*jīvātave na mṛtyave* (PB *martave*) RV PB

§328. A few variants concern noun inflexion Thus change of gender accounts for the following (fem forms in *y-ah* varying with masc or neut forms without *y*):

*āpo me hotrāśansinah* (AG °*śnyah*) ŚB ApŚ AG 'The waters are my Hotrāśansins'; the priest-name is once made fem to agree with *āpah*

*varṣās cālṣuṣyah* VS. ŚB : *varṣāni cālṣuṣāni* TS MS KS Here the noun itself changes gender.

Or different case-forms vary:

*in śloka etu* (AV. *etu*; TS ŚvetU. *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*) *sūreh* (AV MS † *sūrih*, KS † *sūrah*, TS ŚvetU *sūrāh*) RV AV VS. TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU Alternative forms *pathā* and *pathyā* The latter may be nom in RV. (so Oldenberg, *Noten* on 10 13 1); in most texts it is certainly instrumental

*imām narāh* (MŚ ApŚ.\* *narah*) *kṛnuta vedim etya* (MŚ *etat*, but read *eta* with all mss but one; ApŚ † 2 2 6a *eta*) TB ApŚ MŚ Caland recognizes *eta* as secondary to *etya* The reading *etat* (actually *etad*, before *d-*) has no standing; were it anything but a blunder it would belong to §401.

*ān ma āsan* (MŚ PG *āsyē*) AV TS GB TAA Yait ApŚ MŚ Kauś PG BDh Both these forms are regular, from the related and equivalent stems *āsan* and *āsyā* Interest attaches to the form *āsyān*, which is read by Gaastra in GB with all his mss, and which is also the reading of most mss of AV and Kauś, so that it seems to be the true Atharvan reading and should be adopted in all three texts (Curiously, however, Garbe reports no such reading from

the mss of Vait , possibly this is an editorial oversight ) The form *āsyaṇ* is evidently a blend of the other two forms

§329. In the inflexion of the verb, likewise, variant forms with and without *y* occur. Thus, first, an inserted *y* is all that distinguishes a verb-form of the fourth present class from one of the sixth (and sometimes of the first), the same root now and then forms both, cf. VV I p 125, where other instances are quoted, less close to each other in sound than the following:

*tapate svāhā* TS KSA TA . *tapyate svāhā* VS

*tapatyai* (TA Poona ed *tapyatvai*, v. l. *tapatyai*) *svāhā* KSA TA : *tapyatvai* (v. l. *tyai*) *svāhā* TS The form *tapyatvai*, if correct, would be from the Rigvedic adjective *tapyatu*, which is based on the present stem *tapyā-* as much as *tapatyai* (pres pple ) is based on stem *tapa-*

§330. So the *y* of the passive, in forms which vary with active or middle forms; see VV I pp 49 ff , where other cases, most of them more remote from each other in sound.

*yenākṣā* (ŚŚ *yenā kṣām*, SMB *yenākṣān*, PG *yenākṣyāv*) *abhyāścicyanta* (ŚŚ. SMB *śīñcatam*, PG *śīñcatām*) AV ŚŚ SMB PG

§331. Other verbal variants will be mentioned in the sections immediately following, where phonetic tendencies are more clearly at work. We will add here a single stray instance of verb forms

*ubhau lokau sanem* (MŚ *sanomy*) *aham* TB TAA ApŚ. MŚ See VV I p 78

Presence or absence of *y* after palatal sounds and *kṣ*, *s*, etc

§332. Deserving of special treatment and emphasis are a considerable number of variants in which this evanescent *y* follows palatal consonants, or sibilants, especially *lṣ* Here it is not to be doubted that the appearance and disappearance of the sound *y* is phonetic in character, connected, that is, with the difficulty of distinguishing pronunciation or non-pronunciation of *y* after such consonants The *y* may sometimes be interpreted as an inflectional element, as in the following verb forms (most of them collected in VV I pp 28-9):

*vācaspate vāco vīryena sambhṛtatamenāyakṣase* (TA *yakṣyase*, ŚŚ. *yachase*) MS TA ŚŚ Aorist in MS, future in TA ; in ŚŚ a further phonetic variation (see §184), bringing the form into the sphere of *āyam*

(*net tvā.* ) *dadhr̥g* (TA *dadhad*) *vidhakṣyan paryañkayāle* (TA *īta*, AV. *vidhakṣan parīñkayātai*) RV AV. TA Many mss of AV *vidhakṣyan*, which is certainly intended

*śardhāṁsy aṇe aṇarāṁ* (SV. *aṇarasya*) *dhal;alah* (ApS *dhal;yaṇe*) RV SV. MS ApS See VV I p 29.

*bhalṣo bhal;ṣyamānah* (KS. *bhalṣa*°) VS KS So the single ms of KS, ed emends to *bhal;ya*°. If the ms. reading were kept we should have to assume a pple middle in form but passive in meaning *mel;ṣāmy ūrdhva tṣṭham* AV., so emended by RWh, all mss *mel;ṣāmy. ycnāl;ṣā* (°*l;ṣyār*, etc) (see §330) In PG. *al;ṣyār* is taken to be from *al;ṣi* 'eye', but is really a phonetic corruption

§333. In one verb form the *y* appears after *t*, it may be regarded as belonging with the *l;ṣ* cases in view of §§182 ff :

*tenārātsyam* (GG ŚŚ MŚ °*ṣam*, so also p. p. of MS; most mss of MŚ °*syam* with MS text) MS ŚŚ MŚ. GG The proper form is *arātsam*, aorist; the conditional does not fit See VV I p 29.

§334. Other verb forms which belong in this category:

*ratho na vājam sanīṣyann* (SV. °*ṣann*) *ayācit* RV SV. Clearly a phonetic slip in SV., making a sort of aorist pple.; Benfey, tho he interprets the form as aor, translates a future

*ā tṣṣcyaṇtām* (AV *tṣṣcāntām*) *adīyate durecāh* RV AV The AV. form is evidently a phonetic blunder, cf VV I pp 29, 51 f

§335. Besides the verb forms quoted in §332, and a few containing the noun suffix *ya*, §§314 ff., we find the following cases of *y* present or absent after *l;ṣ*

*dhuñl;ṣāṇcyī* (VSK °*ṣyāṇcyī* or °*ṣrāṇ*°) VS VSK MS · *agnaye dhūñl;ṣā* (TS °*ṣnā*) TS KSA See §255

*taral;ṣuh* (KSA † °*l;ṣah*) *kṣṇah śrā catural;ṣo* (KSA °*l;ṣyā*) *gardabhas tātarajanānām* TS KSA. The ed emends to *catural;ṣo*, which seems necessary

*al;ṣyos* (mss *al;ṣos*) *tanro rapah* AV.

Cf further such mss readings as *vibhuñl;ṣamāna* for *vibhuñl;ṣya*° at Kauś 23 9, 38 26

§336. The other cases concern *y* present or absent after palatal consonants Prominent among them are several cases concerning the root *ścut* (Wackernagel I p 268). The forms written with *ścyut* may be partly contaminated with *cyu*, indeed the mss also show forms which might be derived from that root, and sometimes their confusion is such that their intentions are doubtful:

*prasthitā vo madhuścutah* (VSK MS °*ścyutah*) VS VSK MS TB So the editions But Poona ed of TB records a v. l °*ścyutah*; and per contra, all samhitā mss of MS read °*cyutah* or °*ścutah*.

*sruvā devam ghr̥tāścutā* (KS and v l of MS °*ścyutā*) RV. TS. MS KS

*ghṛtaścūto madhuścutah* TS MS KS ŚB · *ghṛtaścyuto madhuścyutah* VS MS So v l. and p. p of MS in the other passage. Moreover KS has v l *ghṛtacyuto*, and for *madhu*<sup>o</sup> its two mss. read °*ścyutah* and °*cyutah*

*dyaur yataś cyutad agnāv eva tat* ApŚ: *prthivyām avacuścotatad* TB ApŚ : *yata ścutad dhutam agnāu tad astu* KŚ.: *yatra cuścutad agnāv evatad* MŚ. (but the latter is a dubious emendation, better, *yatra ścutad*): *yata ścutad* (so read) *agnāv eva tat* AŚ See on this variant VV I p 139

§337. Other, miscellaneous cases after palatals:

*viṣṇoh śnaptre* (TS *śnyaptre*, MS *śipre*) *stihah* VS TS MS KS. ŚB KŚ ApŚ. The pronunciation of *n* after *ś* must have been approximately *ñ*, this is indicated by the TS variant (v l. and p p, however, *śnaptre*), so the Vyāsaśikṣā 248 prescribes (cf. Keith, *HOS* 18 xxxvii).

*apāśnuṣṇṇ apā rakṣah* (and, *apā ragham*) TA · *apāśnyuṣṇm* etc. TA. So, correctly, Poona ed *Aśn(y)uṣṇi* is an otherwise unknown epithet of Agni The comm explains only the form with *u*, monstrosously: *aśnānām bhoktṛnām uṣṇir dāhako yo 'gmih* Cf *prec mano jyotir* (VS ŚB LŚ *jūtir*) *juṣalām ājyasya* (TS TB Vait *ājyam*, AŚ *ājyam me*) VS VSK. TS. MS KS TB ŚB. AŚ Vait LŚ. KŚ. *dvo jyote* (KS \* °*ir*) *vivasva* (MS *devajūte vivasvann*) . . . MS KS : *vivasvān aditir devajūtis* TS

*mṛśase* (SV *mṛjyase*) *pavase matī* RV SV.

*śyāmā sarūpamkaranī* AV 1 24. 4a Here the Berlin ed reads *śāmā* with nearly all mss, but against comm, Ppp, and the evident sense, which demands *śyāmā*, see Whitney's note

#### Presence or absence of *y* before initial vowel

§338. To a considerable extent *y* is evanescent when unconnected with any consonant . That is, first, at the beginning of a word, and most commonly (tho not always) when the preceding word ends in a vowel Secondly, or better as a special case under the preceding, there are cases in which the *y*, when it occurs, is not initial, but joins into one word two words which are unconnected in the form without *y*. In either case the forms without *y* often show a hiatus between two vowels, so that *y* presents the aspect of a kind of 'Hiatusstilger', reminding us of the similar use of this sound in Prakrit (Pischel §353) and Pāli (Geiger §73); cf. Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 31 The phenomena are, to be sure, accompanied by all sorts of etymological and grammatical changes; rarely do they show such purely phonetic character as in this:

*agne akṣīni* (IG *agneyakṣīni*) *nir daha svāhā* ApMB IG As Kirste observes, IG must intend *agne ak*°, so that *y* is a simon-pure 'Hintustilger' and nothing else See also *anāmayaiddhi* etc, §344 §339. The cases of initial *y* are

*punar brahmāno* (AV *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV °*nītir*, KS °*dhītam* and † °*nītha*, MS °*dhīta*) *yajñaiḥ* (AV MS KS \* *agne*) AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB *agne* is probably original; it is preceded by *r* or *m* in AV KS, by *e* in MS, the latter would be specially apt to lead to the development of initial *y*-

*añjanti suprayasam* (AVPpp *yuñjanti suprayasam*) *pañca janāḥ* RV AVPpp MS See §192

*pteवादhi sūnava ā* (MS *sūnave yah*) *susevah* VS TS MS KS TB ApŚ *devebhur aklam* (VS TS *yuklam*) *aditih sajoṣāḥ* VS TS MS KSA

*kāṣṭhā aymeṣv* (SV *yajñeṣv*) *atnala* RV SV A lect fac in SV

*viśvakarmā vīmanā ād vihāyāḥ* (KS °*nā yo vījomā*, MS *vīmame yo vihāyāḥ*, TS *manasā yad vihāyāḥ*) RV. VS TS MS KS AŚ N *ameṣam asī svāhā* VS ŚB *yameṣam asī* (with or without *svāhā*) TS MS KS TB 'Sacrificed at home (to Yama)' Preceded by *asī* in all The preceding vowel *i* makes insertion or omission of *y* particularly easy

*āśum jayantam any yāsu vardhase* RV VS TS MS ŚB : *yā samjayantam adhi yāsu vardhase* KS The latter is doubtless secondary Preceded by *gūrā* KapS *āśram*, doubtless intending *āśum*

§340. In some instances case-forms of the relative stem *ya* exchange with similar forms of the demonstrative stem *a* This may be assumed to be partly due to the instability of initial *y*

*trīṇśad yasyā* (TB *asyā*) *jaḡhanam yojanāni* MS KS TB

*asya* (SV *yasya*) *te sahhye vāyam* RV SV

*ghorā rṣayo namo astv ebhyah* (MŚ *astv adya yebhyah*) AV TS MŚ *caḡṣur yad eṣām manasaś ca satyam* AV *caḡṣur yeṣām* (v l *hy eṣām*) *tapa uccabhitam* MŚ *caḡṣuṣa eṣām manasaś ca samdhau* TS *yasyām* (v l *asyām*) *devā abhi samviśantah* MŚ Others with *tasyām*, see §281

§341. And the same with adverbial forms derived from the same stems

*mitro no atra varuno yuyamānah* AV *mitro yatra varuno ayyamānah* RV

Double case, the *y* of *yatra* seems as it were to jump the next word and attach itself to the participle in AV

*yaded* (KS *ād id*) *antā udadṛhanta* (TS *adadṛnh*°) *pūrve* RV VS TS MS KS This *pāda* precedes or (in KS) follows the next, the

words *yad* (*yadā*) and *ād* are transposed in KS. owing to the transposition of the two *pādas*

*ād* (KS *yad*) *id dyāvāpythivī aprathelām*, same texts See prec  
*athā* (TB.\* *yathā*; AV MS TB.\* *yatra*) *devaḥ sadhamādani madema*  
(AV *madanti*, comm *madema*) AV MS KS, TB. (all three) ApŚ

Preceded by a vowel all three times in TB

*yathā* (RV. *atho*, VS ŚB *athā*) *na* (RV. *ta*) *indrah kevalih* (VS TS ŚB.  
*indra id viśah*) RV. AV. VS TS. KS ŚB.

*yathainam jarase nayāl* AV.: *athainam jarimā nayet* HG.

Cf. also: *yasya* (*vy asya*) *yonim prati reto* etc., §363, and *yasyām idam*  
*viśvam* (*viśvam hy asyām*) etc., §386

§342. Less common is the second class of cases, in which *y* in one reading connects two words which are unconnected in the form without *y*. In some cases it is scarcely to be doubted that the appearance of the form with *y* is related to avoidance of hiatus, as in the variant quoted at the end of §338. While no other case is as clear as that, lexical reinterpretation and other sound-changes being always involved, it is significant that the form containing the *y* is more often secondary, namely in the following group:

*varśvānaram ṛta ā* (TS *ṛtāya*) *jātam agnīm* RV. SV. VS. TS MS. KS  
PB. ŚB 'Born for the *ṛta*' is obviously secondary.

*sudevam indre asvīnā* (MS *indrāyāśv*) VS MS TB. As in the last,  
a dative is substituted for a locative, both depend on *dadhuh*  
in the context.

*sahasrākṣo* (VSK TS. KS *\*kṣa*) *medhāya* (TS. KS *medha ā*) *cīyamānah*  
VS VSK TS MS KS. ŚB 'For (at) the sacrifice'; the latter  
probably original. Keith on TS. 4. 2. 10. 1 translates 'for'; his  
text seems to require 'at'.

*graha viśvajānīna nyanantar viprāyāma te* (MS *p p viprāya*, *mate*; KS.  
*nyanantar vipra ā* [sati]) MS KS. As in prec, a loc with *ā* varies  
with a dat

*yo gopā apī* (TB *gopāyati*) *tam huve* RV. AV TB ApŚ.

*ta ā vahanti* (MS. *tayāvahante*, KS *tad āharanti*) *kavayah purastāt* TS  
MS KS TB. See Keith on TS. 1. 1. 2. 1. The original reading  
probably in TS; Keith thinks that MS may intend the same, with  
*tay* for *te*, altho its Brāhmana explains *tayā* as referring to the  
*dhiṣṇā*

*datto asmabhyam* (KS. *dattvāyāsma*°, AŚ. *dattāyāsma*°, corrupt for  
*dattvā*°, SMB. *dattāsma*°) *dravineha bhādrām* AV. KS AŚ SMB.:  
*dadhatha no dravnam yac ca bhādrām* MS. See §367.



*māhyam vālah pavatām* (KS °te) *kāme asman* (AV *kāmāyāsmāi*) RV AV TS KS

§343. In some cases, however, an original single word is broken up by omitting *y*, and leaving hiatus secondarily.

*vāvakayā yaś* (TS *pāvaka ā*) *citayantyā krpā* RV VS MS KS ŚB

Cf Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 453

*vāhi gāyāndhaso* (SV. *gā andh°*) *made* RV SV The RV has a regular 2d sing impv pres from *gan*, the SV an aor inj, *gās* Add to VV I §158

*pīteva putram jarase nayemam* (MS *ma emam*) MS KS ApMB HG The MS *p p* reads *jarasena*, *ā*, *imam*, corruptly pointing to the reading of the other texts

§344. Consider also the following peculiar case.

*amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na* (AŚ† *ma*) *indra* AŚ ŚG. *apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra* SMB : *anāmayaedhi mā riṣāma indo* Kauś The mss of Kauś read *anāmayaedhi*, the emended °*yaidhi* is supposed to contain double sandhi, for °*ya(h) edhi* 'be free from disease' But the Kauś reading may really intend *amā ma(y) edhi*, like AŚ ŚG, with 'Hiatusstilger' *y* as in §338 See Bloomfield's Introduction, p. lviii, and cf §78

§345. We have now considered the cases of plus or minus *y* which seem most clearly phonetic in character, in addition to those in which suffixal *y* is concerned. There is little else to record, except a group of variations between the pronominal stems *ta* and *tya* The more archaic *tya* is generally the original, but twice it replaces *ta* in secondary texts *yad dha syā* (AV *sā*) *te pañiyasī* RV. AV SV TS MS KS

*mayi tyad* (MS *tad*) *indriyam brhat* (KS TB TA *mahat*, MS. *vīryam*) VS MS. KS TB ŚB. TA AŚ ŚŚ Pratīka in MŚ *mayi tyad* (so Knauer, but mss mostly *tād*)

*yathā ha tyad* (TS ApŚ HG *tad*) *vasavo gauryam c.i* TS MS KS ŚŚ ApŚ HG TA AŚ ŚŚ

*ā nu tac* (SV *tyac*) *chardho divyam vṛnūmahe* RV SV.

*prati te* (AV *tye*) *te aṣarāśas tapīṣṭhāh* RV AV

*ud ut te vasuntīlāmāh* ApŚ *ud u tye* (MS MŚ *ud-ut te*) *madhumattamāh* RV AV SV MS GB PB AŚ ŚŚ Vait MŚ

§346. Other lexical variants, except those considered above where phonetic conditions are favorable, are very few

*peśasvatī tantunā samvayanī* (KS TB °*vyayanī*) MS KS TB Roots *vā* and *vyā*

*endram vagnunā vahata* PB. *vagnunendram hwayata* TB ApŚ (with metathesis of *h*)

§347. We conclude with a few textual errors and false readings which should probably all be eliminated:

*susatyam id gavām asyasi pra khudasi* ŚŚ : *suśadam id gavām asti pra khuda* AV. Berlin ed., violently emending the mss which agree precisely with ŚŚ but for the slight corruptions *gavom* and *sudasi* *vidad gavyam saramā dṛdham ūrvam* (TB. *ūrvyam*) RV TB But Poona ed. of TB has the correct *ūrvam*, text and comm, without *v* *ī* *satāsati* (comm. *satyasati*) *prajāpatih* TB But Poona ed comm. *satāsati*.

*hiranyavad annavad dhehi* (ApŚ *annam adhyehi*, read *annamad dhehi*) *mahyam* KS ApŚ The corruption may be graphic in nature *prayapsyann iva sakthyau* (TB. text *sakthau*) TB ApŚ But Poona ed text and comm. *sakthyau*, the only possible reading.

*oṣṣṭhahanam śīṅgīni kośyābhyām* (TA *kośābhyām*) TS TA : *vasiṣṭhahanuh śīṅgīni kośyābhyām* VS Poona ed of TA *kośyā* *ayoddheva* (TB *dhyeva*) *durmada ā hi juhve* RV. TB. Tho Poona ed. has the same reading, it is surely corrupt; perhaps graphic. The comm has the same, but explains it as tho *ayoddhā-iva*

### 3 Presence or absence of *r*

§348. Owing to the rarity of *r* in formative syllables, this interchange appears mainly in radical syllables, producing lexical variations which are naturally along the line of least resistance; that is, the variant words are more or less synonyms. It may be assumed that the relatively faint pronunciation of the liquid was a contributory cause The materials are very heterogeneous, however, and of less phonetic significance than was the case with *y*.

§349. We begin with groups of variants concerning nearly synonymous words and roots; and first, *śravas* and *śavas* and related words. *śūro nṛṣālā śavasā* (SV MS *śra*°) *cakānah* (SV. *ca* †*kāme*) RV. SV. TS MS.

*grnānāh śravase* (SV. *śa*°) *mahe* RV. SV.

*satrā dadhānam apratiṣkutam śavānsi* (SV. *śravānsi bhūri*) RV. AV. SV. TB

*ā yo viśvāni śavasā* (SV *śra*°) *tatāna* RV. AV. SV

*śraviṣṭhāh stha* MS KS *śaviṣṭhā stha rāṣṭradāh* VS ŚB

§350. The roots *dhā* and *dhr* and the like, in virtual synonyms.

*sado vaneṣu dadhiṣe* (SV. *dadhriṣe*) RV SV

*vṛṣā dharmāni dadhiṣe* (SV *dadhriṣe*) RV SV TS. MS KS ApŚ

*yo nah pitā-janitā yo vidhātā* (MS. *vidhartā*) RV VS TS MS KS AŚ.

*dhātā vidhātā* (MS *dhartā vidhartā*) *paramota samdṛk* (KS *paramo na samdṛk*) RV VS TS MS KS

*dāvvyāya dhartre joṣṭre* (MS *dhātre deṣṭre*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

*devayor dharme* (MS °mā, AV *dhāmann*) *asthīran* AV TS MS KS

*kṣayasyāsi vidhatah* (SV *vidhartā*) RV SV Here *vidhatah* from root *vidh*

§351. Roots *pū* and *pr*

*atirūtram vavarṣvān pūrta rāvat* (KS *vavṛṣvān pūrta rāvat*, TS *varṣan pūrtir āvṛt*) *svāhā* TS MS KS

*apālām indra* (MG *indras*) *triṣ* (ApMB MG *trih*) *pūtṛi* (AV *pūtṛvā*, MG *pūrtiy a°*, ApMB *pūrtivy a°*) RV AV JB ApMB MG

§352. Roots *prī* and *pā*

*śvātrāh pūtā* (ViDh *snātāh prītā*) *bhavata yūyam āpah* VS ŚB KŚ ViDh.

*pra vām adhvaryuś carata prayasvān* (AV °tu *payasvān*) AV AŚ ŚŚ

Comm on AV *prayasvān*

§353. Miscellaneous synonyms or near-synonyms, with some corruptions involving no further changes, or very slight ones, in the words; in the first case *r* possibly plays the rôle of 'Hiatusstilger'

*ahim budhnyam* (TS °nyam) *anu rīyamānāh* (TS *samcarantīh*, MS KS *anv īyamānāh*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Practically synonyms, note that *r* is initial, after a vowel, and probably secondary, a sort of 'Hiatusstilger'? *r* is used in this way in Pāli

*antarikṣe pāṭhibhir īyamānah* (GB *hrīyamānah*, so Gaastra without the *v* l *hīyamānah* recorded in Bibl Ind ed.) RV GB The AVPpp 1. 107. 4 (Barret, JAOS 26 290) has the RV reading, GB perhaps corrupt, certainly secondary Note the final *r* of the preceding word

*vanasade* (MS *vanarṣade*, KS *vanṛṣade*) *vet* (TS MS *val*) VS TS MS KS ŚB See §650

*mā twam hārṣīh śrutam mayi* PG. *śrutam me mā pra hārṣīh* RVKh 'Take away'. 'abandon'

*purā jatrubhya* (TA ApMB *jatrībhyā*, MS *cakṛībhyā*, p p *vaktībhyah*) *ātṛdah* (MS °da) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB Comm on TA tries to derive its corrupt form from root *jar* (*jṛ*)

*vikṛīda* (KS °da, VS. °dra, MS *vyakṛda*) *vilohita* VS TS MS KS See §168

*ya rte* (TA ApŚ ApMB *yad rte*, PB † *yakṣate*) *cud abhiśṛīṣah* RV AV SV PB TA KŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś GG ApMB *jari cetid abhiśṛīṣah* MS (corrupt, see §193)

*jāgrītyas* (mss, v l *yā gr°*) *tripañcāsīh* AV *yā(h) hr̥ccrās tri°* AVPpp See §§185, 192

*śunam ma iṣam śunam śāntam* (p p. *śrāntam*) . . MS : *svam ma* (AB *ma idam*) *iṣam* . . *svam śrāntam* (TB text *śrātam*, Poona ed. *śrāntam*) . . . AB. TB. ApŚ. : *svam ma iṣam astu śunam śāntam* . . KS

*hoḷa yakṣat sarasvatīm* (KS *bṛhaspatim*) . . *śronitah* (KS *śonitāś*; Conc. suggests reading *śro*°) . . VS KS

*prthivi bhūvarī* (KS *vibhū*°) *sinīvāly urandhra* (KS *uramdha*) *ūcitle* . .

KS ApŚ An obscure epithet of earth; perhaps belongs in §350. *agne 'dabdhāyo 'śritatano pāhi vidyot* KS : *agne 'dabdhāyo 'śitatano pāhi mādyā dvah* . TS TB ApŚ : *agne 'dabdhāyo 'śītama pāhi mā didyoh* VS ŚB. In KS, apparently the original, 'having uninjured body'; TS, 'having not cold body', an over-sophisticated lect fac VS has a further change, by haplology, and is really uninterpretable; comm either 'most eating' or 'most obtaining', of which the former is adopted by BR. and fits Agni well enough, but is formally unsatisfactory

*vi jihīṣva lokam kṛnu* AV. : *vi jihīṣva lokān kṛdhi* TA The AV. is original: 'go apart (root *hā*), make room' TA. comm. takes it as desiderative from *hr* (*vihartum icha*), which would require *jihīṣasva anādhrīṣam sahasyam* (TS KS. *sahasryam*) *sahasvat* TS MS KS AŚ 'Thousandfold mighty', probably original: 'powerful and mighty', lect fac

*yo agnīḥ kravyavāhanah* (VS KS *kavya*°) RV. VS. KS AŚ . *yad agne kavyavāhana* TS. Euphemistic change of *kravya*° to *kavya*°.

*yata āttas* (AŚ *ārttas*) *tad agan punah* TS. AŚ 'Whence it was taken, to it it has returned' AŚ mere blunder or misprint

*prati vāstor aha* (AV.\* *ahar*) *dyubhiḥ* RV. AV. (both) SV. ArS VS KS. ŚB. *praty asya vaha dyubhiḥ* TS The comm on AV. has *aha*; *ahar* is a blunder suggested by *dyubhiḥ*

*apām tvā sadhiṣi* (MS † *sadhriṣu*) *sādayāmi* VS MS KS. ŚB *sadhiṣ-i*, 'in the seat'; *sadhriṣu* ('mere blunder', Keith on TS 4 3. 1. 1) perhaps with thought of RV. *sadhri*

*anābho mṛda dhūrta* (MS °te, v. 1 °ta) MS MŚ : *anārbhava mṛda* KS ApŚ See §749

*śam no bhava hṛda ā pīta indo* RV GB AŚ Vait MŚ According to Gaastra, all his mss read *indro* for *indo*, a stupid blunder which he disregards, printing *indo* in his text

*ā na indra* (and, *indo*) *mahīm iṣam* RV (both)

*vyrdhyā apagalbham* (TB *apra*°, but Poona ed text and comm *apa*°) VS TB Probably mere misprint.

*potrāgnīdhro* (read with Gaastra *potā°*) *nihitam pādām ekam* GB

§354. The following involve different word-divisions:

*yasya* (ApMB *vy asya*) *yonim pakireto grbhāya* (ApMB HG *prati ret*  
*grhāna*) ŚG HG ApMB

*āyuhpati rathamtaram* (MŚ *āyuh pratirath°*) *tad aśiya* etc ApŚ MŚ  
The latter corrupt.

*yenā bhūyaś* (PG *bhūriś*) *carāty* (MS *caraty*) *ayam* (AG *ca rātryām*,  
corrupt; PG *carā dīvam*) AG PG ApMB MG See §61

*tan mā jinva* (KS *mārjivā*) TS MS KS 'Quicken me' 'cleansing it'  
*sa vah sarvāh sam carah prajānan* AV.: *sarvah sarvā* (p p. *sah*, *sarvāh*)  
*vi caratu prajānan* MS The latter carelessly assimilates to the  
following *sarvāh*

*mā mā yūnarvā hāsī* (JB *yono vām hārasīh*) PB JB LŚ Both forms  
obscure

*agnir hotrenedam* (ŚŚ *hotrena*) *havr ajuṣata* MS ŚŚ *agnihotrenedam*  
*havr* . TB AŚ But *agnir ho°* must certainly be read in all  
texts, with Poona ed of TB

*ud vanṣam wa yemire* RV. SV TS KB N : *ūrdhvam kham wa menire*  
Mbh

§355. In the next group accompanying changes in adjoining vowels or  
consonants make the two variant words less close phonetically.

*ūrdhvacitah* (MS KS *°śritah*) *śrayadhvam* VS. TS MS KS ŚB TA  
See §195

*svām tanvam* (*tanuvam*) *varuno 'suṣot* (TS TB *asīśret*) TS MS KS TB.  
See §287.

*pred u harivah śrutasya* (SV *sutasya*) RV. SV TS See §278

*trīṣug* (AŚ *trīśrud*) *gharmo vibhātu me* (KS *gharmas sadam in me vibhātu*)  
KS TB TA AŚ See §145

*śivā rutasya* (TS. and v 1 of MS *rudrasya*, VSK *śiva rtasya*) *bheṣajī*  
(MS. *°jā*) VS. VSK TS MS KS See §684

*apṛītapā ādhūyamānah* TS *viṣnur āprītapā āpyāyyamānah* VS 'Drinker  
of unpurified (soma)'. 'protecting when propitiated (?)'

*rudrānām urvyāyām* (ApŚ *ūrmyāyām*, ŚŚ *omyāyām*) ŚB ApŚ ŚŚ  
See §228

*amoci* (AV *amukthā*) *yakṣmād durtād avarītya* (AV *avadyāt*) AV PB  
ApMB See §60

*anu dāha sahamūrān kravyādah* (SV *layādah*) RV SV : *sahamūrān*  
*anu dāha kravyādah* AV Benfey explains the SV form as from  
*kaya* = *kāya* + *ad*, 'body-eating' This would imply metric  
shortening of *ā* to *a* There may be involved euphemistic avoidance  
of the word *kravyād*, as in *kravyavāhana kavya°*, §353

*ā sutrāṇe* (MS KS *bhūyīṣṭhadāṇe*) *sumatim āvṛnānah* AV MS. KS *oṣīṣṭhadāṇe sumatim gr̥nānāh* TS It is likely that the original form was *āsutrāṇe*, cf. Whitney on AV. 19. 42. 3 The TS. form, tho impeccable, is secondary

§356. Among the rarer cases of presence or absence of *r* in formative elements, we begin with a miscellaneous group concerning verb inflexion: *ghṛtam duhata* (RV \* *duhrata*) *āśīram* RV. (both) SV See *RVRep* 137, 562, and VV I p 169.

*te dakṣinām duhate* (AV *te duhrate dakṣinām*) *saptamātaram* RV. AV. See VV I, 1 c

*utainam* (NīlarU *uta tvā*) *gopā adṛśan* (TS NīlarU *adṛśan*) VS TS MS KS NīlarU See VV I p 170 Followed by·

*adṛśann* (TS † *adṛśann*) *udahāryah* VS. TS See *ibid*

*apa snehitṛ* (SV *sn̥hitum*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāh*, KS † *nṛmanā adadrām*) RV AV SV KS : *upa stuh* (Poona ed *snuh*) *tam nṛmnām athadrām* TA See §110, and VV I p 170

*sarasvatyā* (AV \**yām*) *adhī manāv* (KS *mānā*, v l *manā*, SMB *vanāva*, but Jorgensen *manāv*, AV. *manāv*) *acarkṣuh* (KS and SMB Jorg *acark*°, SMB Conc *carkṛdh*) AV KS TB ApŚ MŚ SMB. PG The KS also has v l *acark*°, which perhaps should be read thruout Jorgensen assumes dissimilation, see VV I p 149.

Compare further variants between the verbal endings *-re* and *-rīre*, VV I p 170, and *ghṛtam mīmīkṣe* (TA \**kṣire*) *ghṛtam aya yonih* RV VS TA, *ibid* p 214

§357. Finally, another not much larger group concerns suffixal or inflexional syllables of nouns These cases belong to noun formation or inflexion It may be noted, however, that in a number of cases—those listed first—the *r*, when present, follows a consonant group In these, especially, some phonetic element in the shift may be suspected, cf. the similar cases with *y*, §§314–5, 321–2, and our chapter on Consonant Groups below

*bhūrī śastam* (SV *śastram*) *pṛthuh svaruh* RV. SV VS Synonyms, but here the form without *r* is older

*atvīddhā vithurenā cid astrā* (MS *astāh*) RV MS KS The MS is secondary and may be a phonetic simplification or corruption *na kīr devā mīmīmasi* RV *na kī devā mīmīmasi* SV Anomalous reduction of *na-kīr* to *na-kī*

*sūro rathasya naptiyah* (ArS *naptryah*, TB *naptriyah*) RV AV ArS KS TB Feminine stems *naptī* and *naptṛī*, the latter influenced by *naptar*

*tvaṣṭimāṭi* (TA Conc *tvaṣṭrī*°, which is a v. l. in Poona ed, its text *tvaṣṭī*°) *te sapeya* TS ApŚ TA : *tvaṣṭmantas* (MS MŚ *tvaṣṭrī*°, ApŚ *tvaṣṭu*°) *tā sapema* VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ The MS MŚ ApŚ forms are Prakritic in vocalism In the Tait school form, which concerns us here, the stem *tvaṣṭr* is, as it were, feminized Add to VV I §345

*praty elā vāmā . . . pratiṣṭhotopavaktar* (ŚŚ °*vakta*, v. l °*vaktar*) *ula* KB ŚŚ *praty elā sunvan . . . pratiṣṭhotopavaktar ula* . AŚ The form can only be construed as nom , °*vakta*, if it is intended, must stand for °*vaktā* with partial sandhi (*ā* shortened, §991) But it looks as if all texts intended °*vaktar* Hillebrandt, on ŚŚ , p 252 note, suggests that *ru* is a bad writing for *u*, but it is pretty widespread to be a mere graphic error Is *r* a kind of sandhi consonant or Hiatusilger, as in Pāli? Cf. the first variant in §353. Or is °*vaktar* used as nom ? Cf the nom neut (?) forms in *-tarī*, Wackernagel III p 205 supra

*viśvā amīvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣibhiḥ* (KS °*ṣebhyaḥ*) AV. KS : *viśvā āsāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhīyaḥ* VS TS See §783

*raptā* (ApMB *vaptrā*, HG MG *vaptar*) *rapasī* (PG °*tī*) *keśaśmaśru* (AG PG. *leśān*) AV. AG PG ApMB HG MG *vaptrā* is an assimilation to preceding instrumentals

*ā mā stutasya stutam gamyāt* (Vait *gamet*) TS Vait . *ā mā stotrasya stotram gamyāt* PB Synonyms

*matyai śrūtāya (mahe śrōtrāya) cakṣase* AV. (both)

*gharmanī pāta śasavo yajata* (TA °*tā*, MS. °*trā*) *vāḥ* (MS *veḥ*, TA. *vaḥ*) VS MS TA. ŚB *yajata* (°*tā*) is a verb, 'sacrifice ye'.

*gaur dhenubhavyā* (HG *dhenur bhavyā*) ApMB HG See §818

*agner agneyāny* (KS. *agniyāny*) *asī* (one ms and p p of MS *agner agner yāny asī*) MS KS.: *devānām agneyāny asī* TS : *agner yāny asī* TS. MS KS ApŚ MŚ *agneyānī*, certainly the true reading of TS and probably of MS , is a curious tatpuruṣa compound in which the stem vowel of the first member is assimilated to the vowel of the genitive ending 'Path of Agni' is meant in every case KS has the regular form, and for that reason may be suspected of being secondary.

*lṛhaspatīśulasya* (TS MS add *ta*, VS VSK. ŚB add *deva soma ta*) *inda* (TS *indo*, VS ŚB *indor*) *indriyūṭataḥ . . .* VS VSK. TS. MS KS ŚB Gen . *ioc*

*sa rśīdūr* (KS. °*cī*) *abhi caṣṭe ghr̥tūcīḥ* (KS °*cī*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB The KS changes an accus plur , with which a noun has to be

supplied (the commentators and translators are at sea as to what noun), into a dual form agreeing with *rodasī* in the preceding *pāda*. *devī dvārau* (Vait. *devīr dvāro*) *mā mā samlāptam* TS. ĀŚ.Vait. Cf. prec., and §732.

*asmadrātā madhumatīr* (KS °tī) . . . MS KS ŚŚ. and others, §800. *gaurīr* (°rī) *mimāya* . . . , see §545.

#### 4 Presence or absence of *v*

§358. Doublets with or without *v* seem to have existed to some slight extent in IE times, and still exist historically in the Veda and even in Sanskrit (cf. Wackernagel I §232c). Among the variants they are fairly numerous. Undoubtedly most interesting is the large class in which *v* is initial before a vowel. Frequently, tho not always, the preceding word ends in a vowel, so that we seem to be dealing with a tendency to bridge over hiatus by the sound *v*, as in the case of *y* (§§338-44), and to a much slighter extent *r* (§353). As with those sounds, however, the form with *v* is not by any means always secondary in text history

##### *v* initial before a vowel

§359. Here the place of honor belongs to the rime-words *ṛṣabha* and *vrṣabha*, perfect synonyms, which exchange on a large scale. In some cases we seem to detect quite clearly the above-mentioned tendency to avoid hiatus by using the form with *v* when the last word ends in a vowel. But this is by no means universal

*vrṣabhena* (TS ṛṣ°) *twasṭā* TS KS. This is an instructive case; it is preceded by a word ending in a vowel in KS, in a consonant in TS. We can hardly believe that it is entirely accidental that KS begins with *v*-.

*valso virājo vrṣabho matinām* AV. *pitā virājām ṛṣabho rayīnām* TB. Observe that *ṛṣ*- is preceded by a final *-m*, *vrṣ*- by a final vowel. It is as if *v* shifted to *m* (§236).

*vrṣabhena* (TS ṛṣ°) *gāh* (KS *gāvah*) TS KS. KSA. The single ms of KSA has corruptly *aśvā-vṛṣa*°, which Von Schroeder emends to *aśvān vr*°, but he adds a note that perhaps the TS reading (*aśvān ṛṣ*°) should be adopted.

*vrṣabham* (VS \* ṛṣ°) *naryāpasam* RV. AV. SV. VS (both) MS TB. Here preceded by a consonant.

*ṛṣabhāya* (MS *vrṣ*°) *gavayī* (TS. KSA *rājñe gavayah*) VS TS. MS KSA. A consonant precedes.

*ṛṣabho* (KS *vr*°) *gaur vayo dadhuh* VS MS. KS TB. A consonant precedes.



*vr̥ṣabho 'sī svargah* AV *r̥ṣabho 'sī svargo lokah* TB Initial in verse  
*kakubham* (VSK TS ApŚ °ham) *rūpam vr̥ṣabhasya* (KS *rūpam r̥ṣ°*)  
*rocate bṛhat* (VSK *bṛhan*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ  
*astabhnād dyām, vr̥ṣabho* (TS MS *dyām r̥ṣ°*) *antarīkṣam* RV VS TS  
 MS ŚB TB KŚ  
*bṛhad r̥ṣabham* (TB *vr̥°*, but Poona ed text and comm *r°*) *gām vayo*  
*dadhat* VS TB  
*śākvarā* (LŚ *ye śāk°*) *r̥ṣabhā* (AV *vr̥ṣ°*) *ye svarājah* AV LŚ Note the  
 vowel preceding  
*rathe akṣeṣu r̥ṣabhasya* (KS TB °ṣu *vr̥°*, so AV comm, and so Ppp  
 intends, Barret, JAOS 30 204) *vāje* AV KS TB *ratheṣu akṣeṣu*  
*vr̥ṣabharājāh* ViDh

§360. There are no other forms with and without *v* that are precisely identical in meaning. But we find a considerable number of other cases of presence or absence of initial *v* before a vowel, in many of which the preceding word ends in a vowel, so that we may suspect influence of the tendency to avoid hiatus, even tho lexical considerations always play their part, and even tho the form with hiatus is sometimes secondary, reversing the direction of the process.

*te arṣantu te varṣantu*. LŚ *te varṣantu te varṣayanti* AV Roots  
*arṣ* 'rush' and *varṣ* 'rain'. One is inclined to suspect assimilation to the following *varṣ-* in AV

*vr̥ṣe* (KS *vr̥ṣ°*) *pari vr̥ṣdhi nah* RV VS TS MS KSA ApŚ Initial  
 in the verse. Von Schroeder says on KSA, 'wohl fehlerhaft für  
*vr̥ṣe*'. Perhaps assimilated to the following *vr̥ṣdhi*

*śalmalir vr̥ddhyā* (KSA *r̥ddhyā*) VS TS KSA ŚB Synonyms

*agne vājagād vājam tvā* VS ŚB TB Vait ApŚ *ājim tvāgne* MŚ

Synonyms since earliest times. Note preceding vowel before *vāja°*  
*varenyakratūr* (AV °tur, ApŚ *idenya°*) *āham* RVKh AV ApŚ *vire-*  
*nyah kratur indrah suśastih* RV

*hṛtsu kratum varuno* (MS °nam) *vikṣu* (RV *apsu*, MS *duṣu*) *agnim*  
 RV VS † TS † MS KS ŚB † For the RV original is substituted  
*vikṣu* after preceding vowel, with quasi-'Hiatusliger' *v* and other  
 phonetic changes (cf especially §153a). On MS see §869 (a  
 further, graphic change)

*tad āyuh* (ApŚ *vāyuh*) MS KS ApŚ 'That is life (wind, breath)'  
*asum* (AV TS *vasum*) *gharman divam* (VS *sva*) *ā tīṣṭhātānu* (AV  
*rohatānu*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB *asu* 'life' *vasu* 'weal' (with  
 ungrammatical *m*), preceded by vowel, *asu* is original, as shown by  
 RV 10 14 12, 15 1 (cf 10 15 9, 10)

*devā gātumīdo gātum viltvā* (VSK. *gātum itvā*) *gātum ita* AV VS VSK. TS. MS. KS ŚB TB Cf. *gātum viltvā gātum ihi* MS ApŚ; *devā gātumīdo* (MŚ adds *gātum viltvā*) *gātum yajñāya vndata* . TB ApŚ MŚ 'Finding' and 'going upon' the way are much the same thing, but the former is obviously original; VSK. assimilates to the following *ita*

*ive iṣah* (KS *viśve*, MS *iva eṣah*) *samdadhur bhūrvarpasah* (TS † *bhūri-retasah*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB On MS see §694. KS clearly secondary, with quasi-epenthetic *v* between vowels

*dhiṣane vidū* (VS VSK *vidvī*, KS. *vīle*, MS MŚ *īdhte*) *satī* (MS. KS. MŚ *omī*) *vidayethām* (MS MŚ *īdethām*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB. ApŚ MŚ See §169

*tigmam anīkam viditam sahasvat* AV *tigmam āyudham viditam* (KS 'dham *īditam*) *sahasvat* TS MS KS. 'Implored' of KS. is secondary to 'strong'; AV is still farther afield, see §169

*yo antaro mitramāho vanuṣyāt* (KS *anu*°) RV KS. ApŚ. 'Who . . fights against us' KS seems to feel a form from *anu* + *as*, as in English slang, 'who is after us' Reverse of 'Hiatusstilger'. KapŚ *vanuṣyā*.

*namo vidhryāya* (MS *vidhryāya*, p p *vidhryāya*, TS *nama idhryāya*) *cātapyāya ca* VS TS MS KS Both forms are obscure; TS probably secondary See Keith's note

*iśāna imā bhuvanāni vīyase* (SV *īyase*) RV SV. Note absence of sandhi (complete hiatus) in SV, reverse of 'Hiatusstilger' with a vengeance!

*mahiṇa dyaur adha* (AV *vadha*) *īmanā* RV AV *vadhatmānā* (sic) not divided in p p, and regarded by Whitney as a mere corruption, he translates the RV. Still, the AV may be rendered: 'slay (our assailant, O Soma) by thyself'

*ahar* (MS *vahad*) *divābhir* (MS *divyābhir*) *ūtābhih* VS MS. ŚB. TA ŚŚ LŚ *ahar*, adverb. 'by day' One ms of MS. with p p *vahad* (*d* or *d* for *r*, §§272, 272a); preceded by a vowel, so that it is a case of 'Hiatusstilger'.

*viśām vavarjūṣinām* (AV. *viśām avar*°) RV AV. The original means, 'of the folk who have prepared (the *barhus*)', Bloomfield, JAOS 35 275 The AV. uses it in a patchwork hymn dealing with a wholly different situation; the initial *a-* must be taken as privative, 'who have not defended themselves' (*vṛj* = *pari-vṛj* as in Classical Skt.). Cf Whitney ad loc. The retention of the perfect pple. form shows the badness of the AV.

*mahī no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau* AV · *mīham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma*  
RV Reverse of 'Hiatusstilger'

*abhūr āpīnām* (HG °nām; AV mss *v āpī°*) *abhisastipāvā* (AV °pā u)  
AV HG. ApMB Others, §46

*ramayata* (KS °iā) *marutah śyenam āyinaṃ* (MŚ *marutah pretam*  
*vāyinaṃ*) TS KS ApŚ MŚ

*mā tvā ke cin nī* (AV *cid īvi*) *yemur vim* (SV *cin nī yemur in*, TA *cin*  
*nyemur in*) *na pāśinah* RV SV AV VS TA *vim*, acc of *vi*,  
secondarily reduced to the particle *in* (id)

*vidvīr yāmann avarhayan* VS *vidvīr yāman vavardhayan* TB (Conc)  
But Poona ed of TB has correctly *yāmann avar°*

§361. In two cases of this kind the secondary form with initial *v*  
(after a vowel, 'Hiatusstilger') is felt as containing the preposition *ava*  
*pro ārata* (TB. 'vārata) *maruto durmadā iva* RV. TB 'Rush along,  
Maruts, like madmen' Comm on TB *avārata dhāvata*

*uruṣya rāya eṣo* (VSK *rāyo 'veṣo*, i.e. *ava, iṣo*, TS MS KS *rāyah sam*  
*iṣo*) *yajasva* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB *ava-yaj* 'remove by sacrifice'  
with object *iṣo*, is peculiarly inept

§362. A couple of other peculiar cases seem also to belong in this  
category, altho the *v*, when found, is not initial in its word·

*agninendrena somena upa te huve savāham* (KSA *huve 'sā aham*)  
TS KSA 'I summon for thee, O offering' 'I, so and so (*asau*  
'N N'), summon for thee' If, as we are inclined to assume, KSA  
is original, the TS reading uses *v* as a sort of 'Hiatusstilger', yielding  
a different lexical result The same with *brāhmanān ṛtvijo devān*  
·, *iṣṭena pakvam* ·, *devān sendrān*

*añkāñkam* (MS *añkāṇ-añkam*, so divided in p p, KS *añkāñkam*)  
*chandaḥ* VS TS MS KS ŚB Nothing is known of the original  
form or meaning of this word (said by comms to mean 'water'),  
note the curious KS variant, with short *a* It may be that MS  
has a kind of 'Hiatusstilger' with its *v*

#### *v* initial before a consonant

§363. So far initial *v* before a vowel In a few cases the same *v*  
appears or disappears before an initial consonant

*reśīnām* (VS ŚB *vre°*) *tvā patmann ādhūnomi* VS MS KS ŚB MŚ.  
*reśīṣu* (sc *te śukra śukram ādhūnomi*) TS An epithet of water, of  
unknown etymology and meaning, *v-* presumably unoriginal

*agne yajasva* (AV *vyajasva*) *rodasī urūcī* RV AV MS See §57.

*apāvṛnod duro āsmavrajānām* (MS *asmad-rathānām*, p p *asmān, ra°*)  
RV MS TA · The MS is hardly interpretable.

*yasya* (ApMB *vy asya*) *yonim prātī reto grhāna* (ŚG *patireto grbhāya*)  
 ŚG. ApMB. HG. Cf §354. *vy asya* 'open' must be intended;  
*yasya* makes no sense.

*v* not initial

§364. Coming to non-initial *v*, present or absent, we shall find that strictly phonetic influences are more indeterminate, tho even here we believe that they are not absent. We shall, however, begin with several groups of cases which concern lexical interchanges between familiar forms both well established in the language. In them probably the phonetic moment is evanescent. Thus, first, the prefixes *sva-* and *sa-* vary. Comment is hardly necessary, except that both vary equally easily with *su-*, see §§612 and 741:

*satavasemam* (KS *sva*°) *yajñam divi dveṣu dhātām* MS. KS TB.

*sūro na svayugvabhīh* (SV *sayu*°) RV. SV.

*viśvā dveṣānsi taratī svayugvabhīh* (SV. *sayu*°) RV. SV. Better meter in RV. (anapest after cesura)

*indra svayugbhīr matsveha* (ApŚ *sayugbhīr didyun na matsvā madāya*)  
*mahe ranāya* AV ApŚ

*yajño bhūtvā yajñam āsīda* . *saḥsaya* (MŚ. *svaḥsaya*) *ehi* TB ApŚ MŚ.

§365. There is, of course, a much clearer change of meaning in the rather numerous cases of shift between various forms of the pronouns in *tv-* and forms of the demonstrative stem *ta-*. At the end of the list we add, because of the phonetic similarity, a single case each of shift between a *tv-* form and the enclitic *te* (2d person), and between *kva* and *lā* (both from the interrogative stem):

*tam id arbhe haviṣy ā samānam it* RV.: *tvām arbhasya haviṣaḥ samānam*  
*it* SV. KS TB ApŚ Followed by:

*tam in mahe vṛnate nānyam tvat* RV.: *tvām maho vṛnate* (TB. ApŚ.  
*vṛnate naro*) *nānyam tvat*, same texts

*tam* (TA. *tvam*) *u nir vāpayā punah* RV. TA

*tvām* (MS *tām*) *śaśvaṇta* (MS °*tā*) *upa yanti vājāh* RV. SV. VS. TS MS  
 KS.

*paramāṇi tam* (TB ApŚ *tvā*) *parāvatam* AV TB ApŚ

*etat tvātra pratimanvāno* (AŚ °*vanvāno*) *asmī* (AŚ *†asmin*) VS. AŚ ŚŚ  
 Vait: *etat tān pratimanvāno asmin* LŚ.

*yā tām rātrīm upāśmahe* PG: *yām tvā rātry upāśmahe* (TS *upāsate*,  
 SMB *rātra yajāmahe*) AV. TS SMB.: *ye tvā rātry* (MG *rātrīm*)  
*upāsate* KS MG

*tvam gopāya* MG: *tam gopāya* etc, see Conc

*prajāyay mṛtyave tvat* (TA *lat*) RV TA Here the stem *tva-* is not the 2d personal pronoun

*tayānantam* (MŚ *tvayāgne*) *kāmam* (ŚŚ *lokam*) *aham jayāmi* (MŚ °*mī*) AŚ † ŚŚ. ApŚ MŚ ApMB

*tayā* (ApMB *tvayā*) *prattam svadhayā madantu* (ApMB °*ti*, v 1 °*tu*) ApMB HG

*tayāham* (MS *tvayā*°) *śāntiā śāntim karomi* MS TA . *tābhīh śāntibhīh śamayāmy aham* AV

*tvayā* (TAA 10 1 9 *tayā*) *halena pāpena* TA TAA † MahānU

*yajuryuktam sāmabhar āktakham tvā* (MS *ṛktakham tā*) MS TA The words are bad enough in either case MS p p *ṛkta-khām, tā*, making *tā* an independent enclitic, *ṛktakham* is not in any lexicon But *āktakham* is little better TA comm *āktāny āpyāyātāni khānīndriyāny avayavā yasya pravargyasya* so 'yam āktakhas tādṛśam, sāmāgānena hi pravargya āpyāyato bhavati (!)—Boehlingk, p w 2 293, 'dessen Buchse geschmiert ist'

*purāṣ tvā* (ŚŚ *purastāt*) *sarve kurmahe* AB ŚŚ Here *-tāt* is an adverbial ending, not a pronoun The sense requires object *tvā* Simplification of three consonants to two (§§419 ff) in the secondary ŚŚ *yat tvemahe* (SMB *te mahe*) *prati tan no* (Kauś *prati nas taḥ*) *juṣasva* RV TS MS. Kauś SMB PG ApMB All mss and comm. of SMB agree, but it can only be a (phonetic?) blunder for the other reading Comm, unbelievably *te tvām* (!) *yat phalam mahe* (!) *tan no* 'smabhyam juṣasva prayachety arthah.

*kva* (SV *kā*) *pratnā va āhutaḥ* RV SV

§366 Further, *v* is occasionally found in formative elements, varying with other forms without *v* Thus in nasal present stems of verbs, cf VV I p 121

*deva tvaṣṭar vasu rama* (TS *ranva*, KS *rana*, MS *ranē*) VS TS MS KS ŚB (In MS *rane* is a noun)

*āpas tvā sam arinan* (MS *arinvan*) VS MS ŚB . *āpah sam arinan* TS KS

*manas* (MS *manve*) *nu babhrūnām aham* RV VS MS KS ŚB N See VV I pp 76, 121

With these may be grouped the following, tho here the two verbs are lexically unrelated.

*jananta* (SV *jinvanta*) *uśaso bhagam* RV SV

§367. Larger is the list of variations between gerund forms in suffixal *tvā* (*tvī*) and other forms lacking *v*, but they are mostly under suspicion of corruption

*asya pīlā* (SV *pīlvā*) *svarīdah* RV SV. Lect. fac in SV for *pīlā*, loc sing of *pīh*, 'in the drinking of it'

*yenendro haviṣā kṛtvī* (ApMB *kṛtī*) RV. ApMB The ApMB form (v l *kṛtvī*) may be interpreted as nom sg of *kṛtin*, but is doubtless corrupt It is a case of simplification of three consonants to two (§§419 ff), the next word begins with *a-*, and the actual reading is *kṛ(v)y-a-*.

*datto asmaḥyam* (KS *dattvāyāsmā*°, AŚ *dattāyāsmā*°, corrupt for *dattvā*°, SMB. *dattāsmā*°) *dravineha bhādam* AV KS AŚ SMB : *dadhatha no dravinam yac ca bhādam* MS 'Give ye (giving) to us riches, prosperity'

*hotā viṣṭimena* (ŚŚ *viṣṭvī me*) *jarītar* AV 20. 135 5, AŚ † 8 3 24, ŚŚ Vait This pāda is omitted in the Berlin ed of AV and therefore in Conc Most ŚŚ mss *viṣṭī*, per contra, v l of AV *viṣṭvī*. It is very obscure in any case

*daśasyantāmṛtāya* (ApMB *\*tvāmṛtāya*) *lam* RV. ApMB The ApMB. form is doubtless felt as a gerund, in sense equal to RV's pple, but may fairly be called corrupt, cf Winternitz, p xx

*yuktā* (TB. Conc *yuktā*, Poona ed text and comm correctly *yuktā*) *harī vṛṣanā yāhy arvān* (MS KS *arvāh*) RV MS KS TB

*apālām indra* (MG. *\*ras*) *triṣ* (*trih*) *pūtvī* (AV. *\*vā*, ApMB *pūrtvī*, MG. *pūrtvī a-*) RV AV. JB ApMB MG The last seems clearly corrupt [*indrah pāṣena ṛṣtvā vah* ApMB. *indrah pāṣena vah ṛṣtvā* (so intended, see Index of Words) HG. *indrapāṣena sūtvā* PG The true reading is *sūtvā*]

§368. A few stray cases concerning noun inflexion or different noun suffixes.

*madhvo* (SV *madho*) *rasam sadhamāde* RV SV These alternative forms of gen sing of *madhu* occur frequently in the pairs *madhvah-madhoh*, see Conc p. 681a

*ed u madhvo* (SV PB *madhor*) *madāntaram* RV AV SV PB AŚ ŚŚ *vaso vasvoh purusprah* RV. *vasor vaso purusprah* SV

*asamṛṣṭo jāyase mātroh* (TB *mātrvoh*) *śucih* RV TB With *mātrvoh*, guaranteed by all mss and Vaidikas, cf perhaps *pūrvya*, and note that *mātroh* in RV. is trisyllabic

*mahāntam gahvareṣṭhām* SV. *tanūr varṣiṣṭhā gahaneṣṭhā* MS Root *gah*, with different suffixes

*gambhīraḥ patibhīh pūrvyāh* (AV. *pūryānāh*) AV. TS HG The AV is clearly secondary, and contains a phonetic simplification Cf next

*prehi-prehi pathibhih pūrvyebhih* (AV *pūryānāh*) RV AV MS. AŚ.  
AG Cf prec

*aprajastām pautramṛtyum* ApMB HG. *aprajāstvam mātṛavatsam* AV.  
Others, §650 Suffixes *tā* and *tva*

§369. Of the lexical variations which remain, special phonetic interest attaches to this, on which cf Wackernagel I §232c:

*saumyās trayah śvītumgāh* (KSA *śi°*) TS KSA

With *śvit-* and *śit-*, synonyms, is to be compared also the synonymous *cit-*, see §195

*citra* (VS *śvitra*) *ādityānām* VS MS.

*citro* (AV *śvitro*) *rakṣitā* AV MS.

§370. After two consonants—as in a few stray cases already mentioned under other heads, especially in §367—we find cases which belong with §§419 ff. below.

*śīṣte śṛṅge rakṣase* (AV *raṣṣobhyo*) *in nīkṣe* (KS *naḥṣe*, AV mss *nīḥṣe*), RV. AV. TS MS KS The Berlin ed and Whitney's translation adopt the RV. reading for AV, despite the absurd statement of the comm that the superfluous *v* is *chāndasa* See Whitney's note, which points out that *vinīkṣva* occurs in the next verse

*dhūnīkṣāgneyā* (VSK. °*śvā°* or °*śyā°*) VS VSK MS And others, see §255.

*svaṣām* (TB *suvar°*) *apsām* (TB Poona ed, twice, †*apṣvām*, in text and comm) *vṛjanasya gopām* RV VS MS TB. *apṣvām* is uninterpretable

*mā tvāgnir dhvanayīd* (MS *dhana°*, TS °*yīd*, KSA °*yed*) *dhūmagandhīh* RV VS TS MS KSA The text of MS is based on p p, the saṁh mss are all corrupt but have *v* in place of *dh* (*tvāgnir vunarddhamagandhir*). It seems that *vu* in these mss is a graphic corruption for *dhva*, which should probably be read in MS as in the other texts

§371. After or before single consonants; a miscellaneous group

*āpo devīh svadantu* (VSK *sad°*) *svāttam cit sad devahavih* VS VSK ŚB : *svāttam sad dhavir āpo devīh svadantu* MS : *svāttam cit sadevam havyam āpo devīh svadataṁnam* TS ApŚ The reading of VSK is poor (cf *svāttam*). Cf. next

*em enad adya vasavo rudrā ādityāh sadantu* (MS *svad°*) MS KS TB Here *svad°* does not belong, the reverse of the prec

*aparikhvṛtāh* (MS °*hṛtāh*) *sanuyāma vājam* RV. MS KS Intended for synonyms; MS. slovenly, and suggesting phonetic corruption

*tuvidyumnām vibhvasāham* (SV. *vibhā°*) RV SV *vibhā* 'glory' and *vibhva*

- (for °van) 'excellent'. Grassmann calls SV's reading false, which is rather harsh since it makes good sense, 'winning glory'.
- apām rasam udvayasam* (KS *udayansam*, TA *udayansan*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB TA. The original has an adjective 'strength-arousing', KS. and TA a verb form, which in TA. is 3 plur aor. of *ud-yam* KS may intend the same with *udayansam* followed by *s*; but in VV I p 214 we have allowed it to pass as 1st person sing.
- viśvam tu tvāhutayah sarvā yatra brahmā viśvāmṛto* 'sī PrānāgU : *viśvantu tvām āhutayah ca sarvāḥ prajāḥ tatra yatra viśvāmṛto* 'sī MU The Conc says, 'read *viśantu*' for both In the Poona ed (*Upaniṣadām Samuccayah*, An Śkt Ser, 1895), the MU. passage (p 406) reads *viśantu* in text and comm, but the PrānāgU (p 307), *viśvam tu* in both Certainly *viśantu* must be read
- anvitr asī dive* TS KS JB PB. Vait · *anvitr asī* GB The Conc calls the latter a 'blunder', yet, curiously, Gaastra also has *anvitr*.
- mitrāvaruṇā śaradāhnām* (MS °hnā) *cikittū* (MS *cikittam*, KS *jigatnū*, AŚ *cikittvam*) TS MS. KS AŚ See §45 The AŚ form is difficult and suspicious
- satyaujasā dṛghanā* (MS. *durhṛnā*, KS † *dṛghanā*) *yam nudethe* 'TS. MS. KS. · *sacetasau druḥvano yau nudethe* AV See §305
- vande dārum vandamāno vivakmi* RV : *vandadvārā vandamānā vivaṣṭu* SV. See VV I p. 218.
- anu daha sahamūrān kravayādah* (SV *kayādah*) RV SV : *sahamūrān anu daha kravayādah* AV. See §355
- anukāśena bāhyam* MS : *anukāśena bāhvyam* VS : *antarenānūkāśam* TS KSA The VS reading is apparently a blunder, comm. reads *bāhyam*, which must be right, as the contrasting *antaram* in the preceding formula shows.
- §371a. One anomalous case involving false word-division:  
*uror ā no deva riṣas pāhu* TS. MS KS TB · *pururāvno deva* etc VS ŚB. LŚ. The former (original) means 'Protect us, O god, from wide hostility'. The Vāj reading is only an ancient phonetic corruption: Eggeking, 'fiercely howling (demon)', which probably comes close to what was felt as the meaning, but Mahidhara derives *rāvan* from *rā* 'give'.

## 5. Presence or absence of s

- §372. Beginning with IE times, and continuing into the life of the individual languages of the family, combinations of *s* + stop (also *s* + nasal) vary with the consonant alone minus the *s* Hindu speech



not only reproduces some of these doublets, but out of its own impulses (analogy and phonetic combinations) extends the process (roots *spaś paś*, *ḥr skṛ*, etc.) See Wackernagel I §230 in lieu of the almost endless bibliography of the subject. The variant combinations are always initial, and the evanescence of the *s* is perhaps connected with old conditions of sentence euphony (external sandhi).

§373. Thus easy opportunity is offered for various readings in this respect. Moreover genuinely different roots exist which are sufficiently synonymous for purposes of exchange. However, the entire phenomenon operates among the variants to a very limited extent. There are also a few cases, all lexical so far as not suspicious, in which initial *s* before a vowel varies with a form without *s*, a sort of psilosis comparable to presence or absence of *h*, below. In addition a very few miscellaneous cases medially.

§374. Beginning with the cases of initial *s* before consonants (those which occur are *k*, *t*, and *p*), we present first the few strictly phonetic cases, in which we are certainly or probably dealing with alternative forms of the same word.

*sa prathamā samkṛtṛ viśvakarmā* TS TB ApŚ . *sā* (MS MŚ *yā*)  
*prathamā samskṛtṛ viśvavārā* (MS *yajñe asmin*) VS MS ŚB  
 (Pratīka, MŚ) The root *ḥr* regularly appears as *skṛ* with *sam*, so that the Tait form is irregular.

*ut te stabhnāmī* (TA *tabhnomī*) *prthvivīm tval pari* RV AV TA Cf Whitney §233c. In TA this law operates in spite of tmesis, this is not without parallel.

*tegān* (TS TB ApŚ *stegān*) *danṣṭrābhyām* VS TS MS KSA TB ApŚ. No doubt the same word is meant in all, but its etymology and meaning are uncertain. RV has *stega*. Perhaps the root *tij* (originally *stij*) is concerned. It may be significant that in VS MS KSA the word is preceded by one ending in *s*, while in TS it is initial in its section. As suggested in §372, this is probably the way in which this whole class of variants originated.

*tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu* AV . *stanī mandras suprayakṣuh* KS : *sa im* (TS *i*) *mandrā suprayasah* (TS *mandrāsu prayasah*, MS *mandiā suprayasā starīman*) VS TS MS. Probably all the forms may be corrupt, at least they are all difficult. But note *starīman* in MS (*tarī* AV).

§375. The rest are lexical, that is different words are concerned, and they are also accompanied by other changes in sounds.  
*divah samsprśas* (MS *samprcas*) *pāh* VS MS ŚB. And

*prthivyāḥ sampṛcas* (TS TB ApŚ. °cah, VS ŚB *samspr̥śas*) *pāhi* VS. TS MS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ *saṃ-prc* and *saṃ-spr̥ś*, practically synonyms. See §195

*divam agrenāspr̥kṣah* †VSK., wrongly quoted in Conc as °*āpr̥kṣah* *divam agrenāspr̥kṣat* (TB °*āpāt*) VS TB And others

*viśvā spr̥dhō* (AV *mṛdhō*) *abhimātir jayema* RV. AV. TA

*āñjanena sarpiṣā saṃ viśantu* (AV. *spr̥śantām*, Ppp [Roth] *iśanta*, TA *mṛśantām*) RV AV TA

*yatrāspr̥kṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasah* (ApMB *tanuvam yatra vāsah*) AV. ApMB · *yatrā vṛkṣas tanuvai yatra vāsah* HG

*sa bhūmim viśvato* (ArS *sarvato*, VS *sarvata*) *vṛtā* (VS *spr̥tā*) RV. ArS AV. VS. TA. See §200.

*tulho 'sī janadhāyāḥ* (PB °*yah*) MS KS PB MŚ LŚ : *stuto 'sī janadhāḥ* TB ApŚ See §93

*samsrāvabhāgā* (VS ŚB *samsrava*°; MS °*gāh*, KS. Kauś. °*gās*) *stheṣā* (Kauś *taṇṣā*) *brhantah* VS TS MS KS. ŚB Kauś See §§96, 747.

§376. Initially before vowels, we find a pair of cases of interchange between *sa* conjunctive and *a* privative (antonyms), the rest is sporadic: *ajōṣā* (SV *saḥ*) *vṛṣabham patim* RV. AV. SV *ajōṣa* 'unersättlich, gierig'. *sacelasāu* (VSK °*sā*) *arepasau* VS VSK ŚB.: *sacelasau sarelasau* TB And others, see §180

*ā* (VaradapU. *sā*) *nah śr̥nvann ūtibhūh sīda sādānam* (VaradapU *śasvat*) RV TS. KS VaradapU The comm. is hard put to it to explain *sā*, he takes it for *sa* with Vedic lengthening. It is in fact inexplicable

*yāvā ayāvā ūmā abdah* (KS *yāvā āyāvā ūmā † evā abdas*) *sagarah sumekah* MS KS MŚ : *yāvā ayāvā evā ūmāḥ sabdah sagarah sumekah* TS. The form *sabda* of TS, for regular *abda*, is wholly obscure, doubtless due to some analogy

*anāgasō yathā sadam it saṃ kṣiyema* Var̥t *anāgasō adham it saṃkṣayema* TB See §110

§377 The very few cases of evanescent medial *s* are entirely sporadic, except a few cases of precativ and other optative forms (as *bhūyāma*· *bhūyāśma*), which are found in VV I §175 and are not repeated here: *agnir no vanate* (VSK *vanute*, SV TS KS *vansate*) *rayim* RV SV VSK TS MS KS Present and *s*-aorist

*tasya te bhaktivānsah syāma* (MS KS °*vāno bhūyāśma*) AV MS. KS · *tasyās te bhakṣvānah syāma* (MS KS ApŚ 4. 13 7† *bhaktivāno bhūyāśma*) MS. KS TB ApŚ. (both) Suffixes *vans* and *van*

## 6 Presence or absence of visarga

§378. This change, of course, can occur only at the ends of words or parts of a compound word (or before pāda endings), and in fact it is most commonly found at the ends of pādas. Included are some cases where the actual reading of the text does not show visarga, owing to conditions of sandhi. Altho the modern Indian pronunciation makes this sound regularly an aspiration followed by a vowel, which takes the coloring of the preceding vowel (Wackernagel I §225b), there seems reason to believe that its pronunciation in ancient times was much fainter, and certainly it was never followed by a vowel. The variants support this theory by showing not a few cases in which visarga is evanescent. In the majority of cases both forms are morphologically explicable, involving different forms of noun or verb inflexion or the like, some must be considered mere corruptions.

§379. In VV I §25 we have already presented a group of cases in which verb forms with final *h* vary with corresponding forms without *h*, a fairly frequent phenomenon.

*pra-pra yaṣṣāpātīm tira* (TA *tirah*, Poona ed *tira*) AV VS TS MS  
KS TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ

*sūryasya tapas tapa* (MS MŚ *tapah*) MS TA ApŚ MŚ

*ni dūraśravase vaha* (ŚŚ *vahah*, em, mss *mahah*) AV ŚŚ

*nyūḍbhūr* (AV. *vyūḍbhūr*) *vāyav* (AV VSK MS *vāya*) *iha lā vi muñca*  
(ŚŚ *†muñcah*) AV VS VSK MS ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ Add to  
VV I §25

*viśvasmāt* (TA *divo vi*) *śīm aghāyata uruṣya* (TA *°yah*) RV TA

*lāv imā upa sarpatāh* SV. JB *emām anu sarpatā* MS

*agne vittād dhaviṣo yad yajāma* (TB *°mah*) RV TB

*aśvinā bhiṣajāvatah* (MS *°tam*, TB *†°ta*, both edd) VS MS TB

*anyavratasya* (TA *anyad vra*) *saścima* (TA *°mah*, RV *saścire*) RV VS  
MS ŚB TA (corrupt)

*prah bhāgam na dīdhīma* (SV *°maḥ*) RV AV SV VS N

*vratāh smah* (ŚG *sma bhoh*) ŚG PG.

*abhuratāh smah* (YDh *sma ha*) ViDh YDh BṛhPDh Here, in late texts, we find what may be a trace of the modern pronunciation (*smah* 'sma-ha)

*tasmin vayam upahūtās tava smah* (MŚ *sma*) TB MŚ

*tau saha* (VS ŚB *tā ubhau*) *caturah* *prasārayāvahai* (ŚB *°yāva*, MS *°yāvah*) VS TS MS KSA ŚB ApŚ

*viśvāh pṛvathah* (TB *°tha*) *svasarasya dhenāh* RV MS TB (comm *°thah* in Bibl Ind ed, but Poona ed *°tha*) This is probably only a case of sandhi before *s* + consonant, cf §978 ff

*ata ū šu madhu madhunābhi yodhi* TS : *adah su madhu madhunābhi yodhih* RV. SV AV AA. MŚ See VV I p 101.

*agne* (MS *agnir*) *deveṣu pra vocah* (MS *voca*) RV. SV MS. TA. Add to VV I §§25, 156

*sam agnis tapasāgata* VS. MS ŚB. (preceded by *svāhā*, probably felt as part of the formula tho in MS edition separated by a mark of punctuation) *svāhā sam agnis tapasā gata* (\**gatah*, Poona ed *gata*) TA \* As pple *gatah* is defensible See VV I p 161

*varebhir varān abhi šu prasidatah* (ApMB *pra sīdata*) RV. ApMB A participle (gen sing, Grassmann, acc pl, Oldenberg) is made into a 2d plur in ApMB

*iha iama* (HG *īramah*) MS AB AŚ. ApŚ HG Here *ramah* is a noun form

§380. In noun inflection the variation occurs between nominative and vocative case-forms

*punar āqāh punarnava* (AV \**nava* and \**navah*) RV AV (bis)

*nicerur asi nicumpunah* (TS TB *nicañkuna*, MS KS *nicuñkunah*) VS.

TS MS KS ŚB TB LŚ. Vocative in TS TB by assimilation to an adjoining formula, see §150

*ṛtena* (MG. *ṛte 'va*) *sthūnām* (MG \**nā*, ApMB HG \**nāv*) *adhī roha vanśa* (MG *vanśah*) AV. AG ApMB HG MG Kauś Here the nom is secondary

*agne ghṛtenāhuta* (KS \**tah*) AV VS TS MS KS ApŚ

*yajñah praty u śhāt* (KS *pratyasṭhāt*, v 1 *praty u°*, MŚ adds *sumatau matīnām*) KS MŚ · *yajña prathīṣṭha sumatau suśevāh* TB ApŚ

*indrah* (*indra*) *somasya pīlaye* (also \**ye vṛṣāyate*) RV (all three)

*indra* (MS *indrah*) *stomena pañcadaśena madhyam* (KS \**daśenauyah*) TS MS. KS AŚ

*paramajyā ṛcīśamah* (SV.† \**ma*) RV. SV AV

*devebhyo* (ApŚ *deveṣu*) *havyavāhanah* (RV \*°*na*) RV. (both) ApŚ.

*sahasrākṣo amartyah* AV.. *sahasrākṣāyāmartya* AV.

*pavamānah* (SV \*°*na*) *samtanīm eṣi kṛṇvan* RV SV

*tvaṣṭā devaīh sahamāna indrah* MG *tvaṣṭar devebhīḥ sahasāma indra* ApMB

*yo agnih havyavāhanah* (VS KS *havya°*) RV. VS. KS AŚ *yad agne havyavāhana* TS See §353.

*hiranyapakṣah śakunīh* HG · *hiranyaparna śakune* PG *hiranyavarnah śakunah* MU

*subīrana sṛja-sṛja śunaka* ApMB . *suśūmah sīja-sṛja* HG The latter is doubtless corrupt, a voc is required.

*indra kralvā* (MS *indran kṛivā*) *maruto yad vaśāma* RV MS KS See §664

*ayā somah* (SV *soma*) *sukṛtyayā* RV SV See VV I §328

*ā tiṣṭha mitravardhana* (KS TB † ApŚ † °nah) AV KS TB ApŚ  
*āprno 'si samprnah* (ApŚ *āprnoṣi samprna*) . ŚŚ ApŚ The latter is secondary and poor

*indra karmasu no 'vata* VS KS *indrāh karmasu no 'vatu* TB (but read *indra . . 'vata*, see VV I p 260)

*indra* (MS *indrāh*) *śrutasya mahato mahānī* RV. MS The nom is hardly construable

— *indrāh* (SV. PB *indra*) *suteṣu someṣu* RV SV. PB AŚ ŚŚ

*indra* (MS *indrāh*) *svadhām anu hi no babhūtha* RV MS KS

*kāmena kṛtaḥ* (RV. and p p of MS *kṛta*) *śrava icchamānah* RV MS TB  
*aṣṭhā ratham* (TB. *rathe*) *adhī tam* (VS ŚB *yam*, TB *yad*) *vajrahasta* (TB. °*taḥ*) RV. VS ŚB TB

*dhānāsomān manthina indra* (MŚ *indrāh*) *śukrāt* TS KS MŚ The nom is not construable, see Knauer's note.

*nutra satyānām pate* (ŚŚ *satyānām adhipate*) TB ŚŚ : *nutrah satyānām* (VS ŚB *satyah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB PG.

*vśvā* (KS PG *vśvās ca*) †*deva* (PG *devah*) *pṛtanā abhiṣya* (KS °*ṣyāh*, PG † °*ṣyak*) KS TB. ApŚ. PG HG.

*vṛhīnām medha* (MŚ *medhah*) *sumanasyamānah* TB ApŚ MŚ

*śuddho mamaddhī somyah* (SV *somya*) RV SV.

*saṃjōṣā indra* (TB *indrāh*) *sagano marudbhīh* RV. VS TS MS TA. MahānU. AŚ

§381. In miscellaneous other forms of nouns and adjectives, commonly with change of construction which can be more or less justified, sometimes involving different but related stems:

*pṛbāl somam amadann* (AV *somam mamadaḥ*) *enam iṣṭayah* (AV *iṣṭe*)

AV AŚ ŚŚ See VV I p 88, loc sing of *iṣṭa* nom pl of *iṣṭi*  
*ghṛtaviṭ savitar* (MS KS °*tur*) *ādhipatyē* (TS °*yath*) TS MS KS AŚ

Loc sing. instr pl Cf §706

*avyo* (SV *avyā*) *vāre* (SV \* *vārāh*) *pari priyah* (and *priyam*) RV SV As prec

*candrena jyotiḥ amṛtam dadhānāḥ* (KS GB comm and Poona ed °*nā*)

VS. KS TB *śukram na jyotiḥ amṛtam dadhānā* MS (but p p. °*nāḥ*)

The plural agrees with *akṣvīnā* and *sarasvatī* together as subject, the fem sing with the nearest subject, *sarasvatī* alone

*dhanamjayam dharunam dhārayiṣnu* RVKh *bhūmidṛnham acyutam pārayiṣnu* AV *bhūmidṛnho 'cyulās cyāvayīṣnuh* AV Change of

- gender, neuter to masculine; the latter certainly secondary, see §268
- sa *viśvācīr* (KS °cī) *abhi caṣṭe ghr̥tācīh* (KS °cī) RV. VS TS MS KS. SB Change of acc pl to dual, explained in §357 'But the actual reading is *ghr̥tācīr* (before initial vowel following)
- tarī *mandrāsu prayakṣu* AV (taken by Whitney as loc plur): *stanī mandras suprayakṣuh* KS (apparently felt as nom sing) And others, all forms dubious and likely to be corrupt; see §374
- samhīlāsi *viśvarūpā* (VS SB ŚŚ °pī, TS. ApŚ \*°pīh) VS TS. MS KS. SB ŚŚ ApŚ (bis) In TS the old nom fem of the *vr̥kṣ* type
- lhaṇāpo 'jopakāśinīh ApMB. *bajābojopakāśinī* HG. Both words unintelligible, §69 Perhaps *h* in ApMB ending of *vr̥kṣ* type.
- anāhanasyam *vasanam carīṣnu* (ApMB HG ja°, PG *jarīṣnuh*) ŚG PG ApMB HG See §57. The nom masc transfers the epithet, whose meaning is not very clear, from the garment to the person who is the subject.
- yenā *saṁatsu sāsahah* (SV. °hīh, MŚ °hī) RV. SV. VS. ApŚ MŚ See §584
- aghadviṣṭā *devajūtā* AV. Kauś: *atharvyuṣṭā devajūtāh* ApŚ In AV. nom sing fem In ApŚ, which is otherwise corrupt, the actual text has °jūtā followed by a sonant, and Caland understands a sing, but the verb is plural, and the Conc gives what seems intended as the reading of the text (nom plur.).
- sīrāh (TS MS KS *sarāh*, AV. *sarā*) *patatrinī* (TS MS KS °nīh) *sthana* (KS *stha*, AV *bhātva*) RV. AV VS TS MS KS. Sing in AV, plur in the others
- ya ābabhūva (PB āva°) *bhuvanāni viśvā* (PB *viśvāh*!, comm. *viśvāni*) VS JB PB ŚŚ Vait *viśvāh* is certainly wrong
- vīruc *chapathayopanī* AV. *vidu chapathajambhanīh* ApŚ (corrupt, Caland adopts the AV. reading) See §272
- uta *tām uśaso budhi* RV GB Conc *budhih* for GB, and so all mss. apparently read, but Gastra emends to *budhi* (loc sing 'at the awakening of dawn').
- arāddhyā *edidhiṣupatim* VS. *ārādhyai* (read with Poona ed. *ar°*) *īdīdhiṣupatim* TB The VS form is anomalous, as a fem word the stem can only end in *u*, and the nom form in composition is absurd
- avasyuvātā *br̥hatī* (TS °tīr) *na* (TS *nu*, AŚ *tu*) *śahvarī* (TS °rīh) TS. MS KS AŚ Sing: plural.
- imam *yajñam avantu no ghr̥tācīh* (MS KS AŚ *avatu yā* [AŚ *no*] *ghr̥tācī*) TS MS KS AŚ Sing: plural.

*paraśur* (TS. *parśur*) *vedih paraśur naḥ svasti* (TS. °*tih*) AV. TS *svasti* is familiar as both fem. and neut.

*viṣṭitāḥ* (AV. °*tā*) *prthivīm anu* RV. AV. VS. AB TB. SMB. Fem. pl : neut pl (in different contexts).

*śam rātrī* (VS *rātrih*, VSK. TA *rātrih*) *pratī dhīyatām* AV. VS VSK. TA MS All noms sg

*śalamulā śatāṅkurā* TA. MahānU.: *śalamulāḥ śatāṅkurāḥ* MahānU. Fem sing : plur.

*śrnuvantī āpo dhiśanās ca devīḥ* (MS.\* *dhiśanā ca devī*) VS. TS MS\* KS. ŚB Sing.: plur.

*viśo* (SV. *diśo*) *vīśvā anu prabhuh* (TB. *prabhu*) RV. SV. MS. TB. Agni is meant, and a nom. or voc masc is required; *prabhu*, repeated in the comm., is apparently understood as an adverb, but is probably only a phonetic error.

*samśītaṁ kṣatram* (MS. KS. TA add *me*) *jīṣnu* (AV. *kṣatram ajaram astu jīṣnuḥ*) AV. VS. TS MS. KS ŚB TA. The AV. form would be masc, which cannot be construed; Whitney accordingly adopts *jīṣnu*

*valso jarāyu* (KS. *garbho jarāyuh*) *pratidhuk pīyūṣaḥ* AV. TS. MS. KS. The regularly neuter word is here masc in KS., perhaps attracted to the gender of the preceding masc

*sa nah prthu* (TB *prthuh*) *śracāyāṁ* RV. SV. ŚB. TB Transference of the epithet with change of gender from neut to masc.

*śīsam ca me trapu* (TS °*puś*) *ca me . . .* VS. VSK TS MS. KS. The rare stem *trapus*, for the regular *trapu*

*sapatnīr jabhībhūvarī* (ApMB. °*rīḥ*) RV. ApMB. Only a nom sing fem can be construed See Winternitz, Introd, xxii

*sarasvatī* (AV. TB. 1 °*tīḥ*) *svapasah sadantu* (AV. *sadanlām*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS TB N. Whitney calls the °*tīḥ* form a blunder and emends This is perhaps going too far; but of course it is a nom sing. like the other.

*sarasvatyā* (TV °*tyāḥ*) *supippalāḥ* VS. MS. TB Instr.: gen.

*sahasraśīrṣā* (ArS °*śāḥ*) *puruṣaḥ* RV. ArS VS ŚB. TA. ApŚ Both nom. sing; °*śīrṣāḥ* as if from an s-stem (contamination from *śīras*?)

*atividdhā vīthurenā cid astrā* (MS *astāḥ*) RV. MS KS The MS is doubtless corrupt

*varṣman kakubhi* (TB. Conc °*bhiḥ*, MS *kakubbhiḥ*) *śīśriyānaḥ* (TB *śrayasra*) TS MS TB See §400

*upahūtāḥ sapta hotrāḥ* TS TB ŚŚ.: *upahūtā saptahotrā* ŚB Sing. plur.

*agne tvam puriṣyah* VS. KS ŚB : *agneḥ puriṣyam asi* VS. VSK. TS. MS.

KS ŚB TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Voc. gen.

*hranyayāḥ* (MS °yā) *śucayo dhūrapūtāḥ* RV. MS. The only grammatically construable form is °yāḥ; MS. seems corrupt

so 'ham vājam saneyam agne (KS. *sanāmy* †*agneḥ*) VS TS. MS. KS. Voc. gen.

*sapratḥa* (MŚ °ihah) *sabhām me gopāya* (MŚ. *pāhi*, and 'jugupah) TB. ApŚ MŚ. Both voc ; stems in *a* and *as*

*vmā brahma brahmavāḥ* (TS † °ha) RV. AV. KS TB. As prec *svāhā tvā subhava* (VSK. TS. ApŚ. °vah, KS. *subho*) *sūryāya* VS. VSK.

TS MS. KS KB ŚB. ApŚ Vocatives; *s* and *a*-stems On KS. see §749

*dātum cec chakṣān sa svarga eva* AV.: *dātum cec chaknuvāṁsaḥ* (Poona ed *chaknavān sa*) *svarga eṣām* TA. See §826.

*dyumad vibhātī bharatebhyah śucih* (VS *śuci*, comm *śucih*) RV. SV. VS. TS MS KS *śuci* might pass as an adverb.

*dūrvā rohatu puṣpīnī* (RV *rohanu puṣpīnīḥ*) RV. AV. Sing : plur. *tripadā yā ca ṣaṭpadā* (VS *yās ca ṣaṭpadāḥ*) VS TS MS KSA. Sing : plur.

*irṇam vasānā* (HG. °nāḥ) *sumanā asas* (HG. *asi*) *tvam* AV. HG. The form can only be nom sing fem , HG is impossible

*prthivyā* (MS \*°vyāḥ) *sambhava* VS TS MS (both) KS ŚB. KŚ ApŚ Probably the only correct reading is °vyā (see von Schroeder's note).

§382. In adverbial forms:

*athā* (AV *adhah*, comm *adha*, but Ppp *adhah*) *sapatnī yā mama* RV. AV ApMB.. *adhā sapatnān māmakān* AV. See §74.

*śṛnvanty* (PB °tv) *āpo adha* (PB 'dhah) *lṣarantīḥ* RV PB

*parā svapnamukhāḥ śucaḥ* AV *parah svapna mukhā kṛdhi* KŚ See §820 The variation *-mukhāḥ* (*bahuvrīhi*): *mukhā* belongs to the preceding section

§383. Involving different divisions of words:

*samudrād udajani vah* (ApŚ *udacann iwa*) *srucā* MS ApŚ See §53.

*idam aham rakṣo 'bhi* (MS \**rakṣobhiḥ*) *sam ūhāmi* (TS *sam dahāmi*) TS MS (both) KS MŚ As the Conc suggests, *rakṣobhiḥ* must be a corruption

*girā ca* (AV. *vrājah*) *śruṣṭiḥ sabharā asan nah* RV. AV. VS TS. MS KS ŚB See §57

*śarīram yajñāśamalam* (MahānU *yajñāḥ śa°*). TS KSA. TA. MahānU See §818

*tigmāyudhāya bharatā śṛnotu nah* (TB *śṛnotana*) RV TB N.



*āsann ā* (SV PB *āsan nah*) *pātram janayanta* (KS °tu) *devāh* RV SV VS. TS MS KS PB ŚB

*pra su* (HG *sa*) *mṛtyum* (SMB *pra sumarīyam*, MG *prathamam arīm*) *yuyolana* (MG *yuyotu nah*) SMB ApMB HG MG  
*ūrjam bibhrad vasuvānāh* (*vah sumandh, vah suvanāh, vasumanāh*) . . ,  
 see §227

*upānasah saparyan* RV † *upo nu sa sap°* SV  
*kavir yah putrah sa im ā* (TA Conc. *sā imāh*, Poona ed *sa imā*) *ciketa*  
 RV AV TA. N *imāh* has no standing

*ava* (RV. *abhi*, MS *ā vah*, VS ŚB *vācā*) *somam nayāmasi* (RV *mṛśāmasi*, VS ŚB *avanayāmi*) RV. AV VS TS MS. KS. ŚB The reading of MS is secondary but simple

*indrah pāšena ṡsiktivā vah* (HG *pāšena vah ṡsiktivā*) ApMB HG · *indrapāšena sīvā* PG See §819.

*ṛṣasyarlena mām uta* (TA *ita*) TB. TA . *ṛṣasya tv enam āmutah* MS (corrupt, see §838)

*adyā mamāra sa hyah sam āna* (MS Samhitā, *sahyah samānah*) RV AV. SV MS N. *sam āna*, verb, *samānah*, adj

*vīrenyah kratur indrah suśastih* RV cf *varenyakratūr* (°tur, *idenyakra-tūr*) *aham*, §554 Conc suggests *vīrenyakratur*, Oldenberg, *Noten*, goes further and suggests *varenya-* (or °yah) *kratur*.

*vāñmanascaṡṡuṡśrotayihvāghrānarelobuddhyākūṡṡsankalpā* (TA TAA °ākūṡṡh *sankalpā*) *me śudhyantām* TA TAA MahānU Despite the persistence of the reading °ākūṡṡh (to be sure, one ms of TA reads like MahānU), it seems to leave us with an impossible ending for the long compound

#### §384. Miscellaneous:

*purā jatrubhya* (TA. ApMB *jatṛbhya*, MS *cakṛbhya*, p p *vaktṛbhya*) *ātṛdah* (MS °da) RV AV. SV. MS. PB TA. KŚ ApMB See §57, *ātṛdah* apparently-abl sing of a noun, MS corrupt, perhaps feels *ātṛda* as imperative.

*apa* (AV *ava*) *śveta padā gah* AV. AG ŚG PG ApMB. HG : *apah śvetapad ā gah* MG (but most mss *apa*, so read, cf §817)

*apa* (MG *apah*) *prāgāt tama ā jyotir eti* RV MG Here all mss of MG. have the visarga, which is certainly near to nonsense

*parīṡṡaṡ tad arpitā* Aṡṡ : *pari doṡṡāṡ ud arpitāh* KŚ The true reading in both seems to be *udarpitah*, see §63

*sugantuh karma karanah kariṡṡyan* JB : *sugam vah karmah karanah karah karasyuh* LŚ On the obviously corrupt LŚ see §739

*gharmam śocantah* (AŚ °ta, ŚŚ °lam) *pravaneṡṡu* (AŚ ŚŚ *pranaveṡṡu*) *bibhratah* AB AŚ ŚŚ Cf VV I p 165

*aghāya bhūma harivah parāda* (MS °*da*h) RV. AV. TS MS *parāda* is an infinitive; *parāda*h is a very poor reading, perhaps felt stupidly as a second person aorist injunctive (addressed to Indra, despite the 1st person verb *bhūma*!), or else as an instr plur. 'by betrayal'. *tām ha jarūtar na pratyagrbbhan* AV. AB GB JB ŚŚ Gaastra reads *nah* in GB (v 1 *na*), but the sense clearly requires *na* *na sisarīdata* (HG †*sisarīdata*h) ApMB HG Both hopelessly corrupt, Winternitz p xxvi suggests *sisarī data*h)  
*adrnathāh śarkarābhis trivṣṭapi* (MŚ *tribhṣṭibhi*h) KS ApŚ MŚ.  
*samudram nah subhvam* (AVPpp ms *subhavas*) *tasthivānsam* AVPpp MS *samudram na subhva*h svā *abhiṣṭayah* RV. *samudram na subhvas tasthivānsam* AV And others, §§119, 789. *nah*, pronoun *na*, comparative particle  
*bhūṣajam na* (MS *nah*) *sarasvatīm* VS MS TB *na*, comparative particle.

# 7. Presence or absence of *h*

§385. The small number of cases of this sort at the beginning of words shows something that resembles occasional psilosis, or its reverse In the interior of words it is even rarer, and entirely sporadic, partly a matter of corruptions, but cf the startling *saṃjigātre* in the first variant under §387

§386. Initially *h* appears and disappears before vowels and *y*, once *r*. The variation is almost wholly lexical, it occurs especially with particles and light words, and sometimes involves different divisions of words: *sa ugrah sa h* (PG †) *havyo babbhūva* TS PG This has most the appearance of a purely phonetic variant; an otherwise unknown *i* (said to mean 'and', the mss are unanimous) seems to be substituted for *h*, and may be suspected of being only a phonetic variant for *h* *hm̐kāṛāya* (and, *hm̐kr̥tāya*) *svāhā* VS. MS. ŚB : *īm̐kāṛāya* (and, *īm̐kr̥tāya*, KSA †*im*°) TS KSA TB ApŚ. Interjections *tasminn* (AV *yasminn*) ā (VS *tasmn ha*) *tasthur bhuwanāni viśvā* RV. AV VS. cf *tasminn āptā bhu*° *vi*° RV.

*caṣṭur yeṣām* (v 1 *hy eṣām*) *tapa uccabhīmam* MŚ And others; see §340 *yasyām idam viśvam* (MS *viśvam hy asyām*) *bhuwanam āvīśa* VS TS. MS KS ŚB

*mahāś* (MS *mahī*) *cud yasya mīdhuṣo yavyā* RV VS. VSK. MS ŚB : *mahī hy asya mīdhuṣo yavyā* TS

*dhyo hinvāno* (MS *dhyā invāno*) *dhyā in no avyāt* (RV. *avyāh*) RV. MS TS Rime words

*antarikṣe pathabhr iyamānah* (GB *hriyamānah*, v. 1 *hīyamānah*, but no v 1 in Gaastra) RV GB See §353.

*uta no brahmann aviṣaḥ* (MS. °man haviṣaḥ) RV. MS KS AB ŚB ŚŚ KŚ The secondary haviṣaḥ is unaccented in MS, perhaps felt as a verb form from root *hu*: 'and do thou sacrifice for us in the brahman'.

*tēna samhanu kṛṇmasi* AV.: *tēna sann anugṛhṇāsi* HG See §47.

*atho mālātho pītā* TA. *hātā mālā hatah pītā* SMB: *hato hālamātā kṛmih* AV. The TA. probably secondary.

*raḥṣohāmivacālanah* (AV \* *atho amūa*°) RV AV. (both) VS. TS MS KS. ApŚ If the AV variant is based on the other, which is not certain, it is clearly secondary.

*āntrīmukhah* . . HG *ālīkhann anīmūṣah* . . *hantrīmukhah* . . . PG  
Barbaric names of demons, with vague suggestions of popular etymology (as if related to *āntra* and a fem form of *hantṛ*).

*atho ye ksullakā iva* AV *hatah kriminām kṣudrah* SMB.: *atho sthūrā atho kṣudrāh* TA.

*āsannīṣūn hṛtsvaso mayobhūn* RV. AV TS MS KSA N: *āsann eṣām apsvāho mayobhūn* SV See §820

*vanīsthor hrdayād* (AV \* *udarād*) *adhī* RV. AV (both) ApMB

§387. Medially this phenomenon is even rarer, and in general it has no particular phonetic interest. Only the first variant deserves special attention, in it all mss of Vait are reported as agreeing on the remarkable form *saṃjigātre*, which is certainly for °hīre and shows an unquestionable 'psilosis' between vowels which, just because it runs counter to all expectations in Sanskrit, must apparently be assumed to be a genuine (dialectic) phonetic variant.

*tāh prācyā* (Vait °yah, MŚ. *prācīr*) *ujjigāhīre* (KŚ † °hīre, Vait *saṃjigātre*) Vait KŚ MŚ *prācīś cojjagāhīre* ApŚ

*sa* (read *sa*) *nah prajāṃ paśūn pāhy aranīyamānah* (p p *ahāh, ānī* (sic!), *yāmānah*) MS *sa no rucam dhehy ahrīyamānah* TA Read doubtless *ahrīyamānah* in MS; the absurd p p points in this direction

*marudbhyo grhamedhībhyo* (MS °dhebhyo) *baṣkīhān* (MS *iaṣ*°, ApŚ *bāṣkān*). The word is wholly obscure

*tujo janā* (ArS *jane*) *vanam svah* AV. ArS.: *tujo yujo vanam* (ŚŚ *balam*, emend) *sahah* AA ŚŚ The passage is obscure, we see little to choose between *svah* and *sahah*

*pary agnīm ahrsata* (VSK † *arṣata* or *aharṣata*) RV VS VSK. *parīme 'gnīm arṣata* AV (v l in AV *arṣata*) Ppp (Barret, JAOS 43 99) reads as in RV. except *aharsata*, with one ms of VSK; Barret em *ahrsata*

## CHAPTER X. CONSONANT GROUPS

§388. In this chapter we include, first, variations between identical double consonants (or aspirates with preceding non-aspirates) and the same consonant alone; second, cases of assimilation of one consonant to an adjoining consonant, or the reverse, and finally, some cases of partial simplification of groups of more than two consonants, by the omission of one consonant (or the reverse)—in so far as the consonant omitted or inserted is not one of those whose character particularly lends itself to such treatment, that is, a nasal, semi-vowel, liquid, sibilant, *h*, or visarga, all of which have been treated in Chapter IX

### 1 Double and single consonants

§389. The principal subject of this section is double and single consonants between vowels, that is, not immediately preceded or followed by another consonant. When associated with other consonants, the tradition is so confused that a detailed record would hardly be profitable. Thus, after other consonants, especially after nasals and *r*, consonants are very commonly written either single or double in the mss. Editors have followed very different courses, sometimes they attempt, with more or less consistency, to regularize the discordant spellings of their mss, sometimes they add to the confusion. Cf. on the whole subject Whitney, *Grammar* §§228-232, Wackernagel I §98. The plain fact is that after or before other consonants it was in practice virtually impossible to distinguish between pronunciation of single and double consonants, as Wackernagel says l c. It seems therefore fruitless to collect such variants as the following.

*śunddhī* (PG MG *śundhī*) *śīro māśyāyuh pra moṣīh* AG PG. ApMB

MG. Many mss of ApMB read *śundhī*

*o śu* (MS *śū*) *varitā* (MS KS *varitā*) *maruto vpram aha* RV MS KS

The spelling *varitā* (2d plural) is etymological; Muller prints *varitā* in his one-volume edition (1873) of RV.

§390. Similarly before another consonant, a double consonant which would be required by etymology is very often written single (Whitney and Wackernagel ll cc). Very little value is or can be attached to the readings of mss and editions in such cases. Thus the word *paltra*

'wing', from root *pat* with suffix *tra*, may be spelled *patra* at any time, as in:

*śyenasya patram* (MS *pattram*) *na plihā śacibhūh* VS MS. KS TB, where only MS. has the etymological spelling. So in:

*ukthapatra* (MS °*rā*, TS °*patra*) *īdyo grbhūtah* VS † TS MS KS † ŚB †, the editor of TS alone prints °*patra*, all others (contrary to the Conc) °*patra*, but most mss. of TS. actually read °*patra*. The same arbitrary procedure is applied to TS in

*yena (yenā) rṣayas (yenarṣ°) tapasū satram* (TS † *sattram*) *āsate* (VS. ŚB *āyan*) VS. TS MS. KS ŚB,

where again most mss. of TS. read *satram*, with the others, but against the etymology (root *sad*). We have not burdened this book with a list of such cases

§391. Equally a matter of orthographic convention, and unworthy of prolonged consideration, are such variant spellings as occur in the following verb forms:

*tā yā devā . ā ca śāsvā* (VS. and Poona ed. of TB *śāssvā*) *ca gurasva* VS TB. The root is *śās*, the ending *sva*.

*iyam vah sū satyā . yām indrena samadhaddhvam* (MS °*dadhvam*) TS. MS : *eṣā vas sū satyā . . . yām indreṇa samadadhvam* KS Reduplicated stem *dhad* or *dad* plus ending *dhvam*

§392. Before dismissing this subject, however, we shall record a number of variations where real lexical or morphological shifts occur, or at least may possibly be felt as occurring, to be sure we shall find that some of them are mere corruptions or orthographic variants of the same sort as those just illustrated

*arhann idam dayase viśvam abhvam* (TA *abbhvam*, MS *ā dhanvā*) ,

RV MS TA. The TA may quite possibly have intended *abhvam* (on the epenthetic *u* cf. §790). But if the comm. is right it would be a lexically different word, he analyzes it as *ab-bhvam* 'produced from water (and the other four elements)' This is implausible as to sense, but formally possible

*ut tvā* (SV. PB Svidh *u* †*tvā*, two words) *mandantu somāh* RV. AV. SV PB. ŚŚ. Vart Rvidh Svidh The Conc prints *utvā* as one word, implying belief that *ut tvā* is intended. This is probably right, since the interjection *u* (of most doubtful authenticity even later) can hardly be assumed for SV, and the other *u* is enclitic, and could not stand first

*ya ālṛṇatly* (SamhitopaniṣadB *ālṛṇoty*) *avitathena* (VāDh *avida*°) *karnau* SamhitopaniṣadB. VāDh. N *ālṛṇoty* is an impossible form and must be an error.

*ayam yah puro vibhinaty* (SV. °*naty*) *ojasū RV SV*. The form *vibhinaty* is not noted by Benfey in his Glossary or the notes to his translation, and is doubtless a mere orthographic variant if not a misprint *agnir holā vetu* (ŚB *vettu*) *agnir* (ŚB AŚ *agner*) *holtram vetu prāvitrām*. ŚB. TB AŚ ŚŚ So the Conc; TB. Poona ed reads *vettu* and *vettu*. In any case there is here probably a real lexical variation between roots *vī* 'enjoy' and *vid* 'know' (ŚB comm. *jānātu*). Cf. next, and the variations between the participles *vīta* and *vitta*, §398 below

*prati tvādityās tvag vetu* (TB Poona ed † *vetu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB : *prati tvā diva* (TB *divāh*) *skambhanir vetu* (TB. Poona ed † *vetu*) TS TB And others in the context The text of TB actually reads *vetu-ity āha*; doubtless *vettu* is intended

*āprā* (AV \* *āprād*) *dyāvāprthivī antarīkṣam RV. AV. ArS VS TS MS. KS ŚB. TB AA TA N* See VV I pp. 27, 129.

*yad ūrāhvas tīṣṭhā* (KS *tīṣṭhād*) *dravineha dhātāt RV MS KS AB TB. N* Here the KS form assimilates, perhaps, to the following *dhātāt*, which however is originally and properly 2d person Cf. VV I p. 27.

*agnir dād* (TS *dā*) *dravinam vīrapeśāh RV. TS* See VV I p. 26

*satvānām* (KS † *satvā*) *pataye namah MS KS* This is certainly not a real lexical variant, for the gen. plur. of *satvān* would be *satvānām* (cf. §494), MS must intend gen. plur. of *satvā*, like KS.

*brhaspataye mahiṣa* (TS *māhi śad*) *dyuman namah AV TS*. The AV. has a corruption (called by Whitney 'senseless') based on the pronunciation of *dāy* as *dy*, and bringing in its train a false division of words; see §826.

*sadanān* (Vait *sa dahan*) *pradahan v* (Vait *nv*) *agāh GB Vait* Particles *u* and *nu*; the passage is metrical and *v(nv)* is read consonantically

*lokam* (RV. *ulokam*) *u* (ApŚ *id*) *dve upa jāmī* (RV. *jāmm*) *īyatuḥ RV. MS ApŚ*.

#### ,Double and single consonants between vowels

§393. The shift between double and single consonants when both preceded and followed by a vowel is more worthy of attention Here we seem to find traces of the Prakritic tendency to treat a short vowel plus a double consonant as the phonetic equivalent of a long (or nasalized) vowel plus a single consonant, so that (in Pāli and Prakrit) the two may interchange at random, without regard to etymology See Geiger,

*Pāl* §§5, 6, Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 32 f. While other considerations regularly enter in with the variants, it seems to us hardly to be doubted that this phonetic tendency existed in the Vedic language. It appears most clearly, of course, when the preceding vowel is long before the single consonant, but short before the double consonant.

§394. In some variants the preceding vowel is the diphthong *e*. This sound, of course pronounced as a monophthong from early times, may be either long or short in Pālī and Prakrit; there it is always short when followed by two consonants, long when followed by one. In Sanskrit it is invariably considered long. But we find variations in the mss between single and double consonants after it, as in AV. 15. 10. 2 (see Whitney's note), where nearly all mss read *mānaye tathā* for *mānayet tathā*. And so in the variant

*sa no jīveṣv ā yame* AV : *sa no deveṣv ā yamat* RV. TA, where most mss of AV read *yame*, but the comm *yamed*, which is certainly intended, the next word begins with *d-* and the actual reading of RV TA is *yamad*. See Whitney's note on AV 18. 2. 3, and VV I p. 74. This is clearly a phonetic simplification.

§395. The other variations, first where the quantity of the preceding vowel shifts with the doubling of the consonant, involve lexical or morphological shifts. Thus in equivalent noun stems of different declensions, the stem *apsaras* appears also as *apsarā* independently *apsarassu* (HG. \**rāsu ca*) *yo gandhah* ApMB HG

*yā medhā apsarāsu* (MG *medhāpsarahsu*, Scheftelowitz reads *medhāpsarassu* for RVKh) RVKh MG : *apsarāsu ca yā medhā* TA MahānU HG ApMB ApG

Here the fem. gender of the word, and its nom. sg. *apsarāḥ*, may have helped in the change. But the like is found with neuters, where no such influence can be suspected.

*yā te agne 'yāśayā* (VS ŚB 'yāśayā, TS 'yāśayā *raśāśayā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ. *yā te agne raśāśayā* (VS ŚB *raśāśayā*) VS MS. KS ŚB MŚ

§395a. The adjective *mahad* varies with its composition-form *mahā-agre vājasya bhajate mahādhanam* (SV *bhajasē mahad dhanam*) RV SV.

§396. The forms *rāye* and *rāyas* vary with *rayyāi* and *rayyās* (see Edgerton, l. c., §393). Undoubtedly the former are from *rai*, while the latter are from the parallel stem *rayn* (which by the way is usually masculine, but occasionally feminine). But the phonetic shift here considered seems also likely to be involved, the *rai* forms seem original: *agne samrād iṣe rāye* (ApŚ *rayyāi*). . AŚ. ApŚ *iṣe rāye*. VS MS

ŚB. TB. (The Conc. quotes AŚ ApŚ. under this form too, but it refers to the same passage, *agne samrād* etc.)

*rāyas poṣena* (MS *rayyā*) *mā paśyata* (and: *vah paśyāmi*) TS. MS KS.

§397. The base *su*, used as a root noun, must appear as *sut*; a superlative from it, *-suttama*, varies with the parallel base *-sū-tama*:

*indrāya* (MS MŚ °*ya tvā*) *suṣuttamam* (VS ŚB *suṣūtamam*) VS MS. KS ŚB. MŚ

§398. The roots *vī* 'enjoy' or the like, and *vid* 'find' with dental suffixes, produce forms which are lexically independent but show the same phonetic shift, it appears that in both the variants recorded, the forms of *vī* are older Cf. §329, *agnir hotā velv* (*vetlv*) . :

*iṣṭam ca vītam* (ŚB AŚ *vittam*) *ca* (ŚŚ *cābhūt*) MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ  
*śocasva devavītamah* (KS °*vittamah*) RV. RVKh VS TS MS KS.

ŚB TA : *rocasva devavītamah* VS

§399. More numerous are the cases in which the preceding vowel is either short or long in both forms of the variant They are chiefly lexical We begin with those in which the vowel is short Forms of the root *cit*, with dental suffixes, vary several times with derivatives of *ci* or *cyu* :

*acittapājā* (TA *acyuta*°) *agnī*, and.

*acittamanā* (TA. *acyuta*°) *upavaktā* MS TA. ŚŚ Proper names of rishis; 'unthinkable' and 'unshakable' both make good sense, the latter is secondary.

*cittim* (MS KS MŚ. *cittim*) *juhomī manasā* (VS TS ŚB add *ghṛtena*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB MŚ ApŚ. See Keith on TS (*HOS* 19 p 444, n. 1). *Cittim* is perhaps, as Keith says, a mistake for *cittim*; but it seems widely attested, and we doubt whether it 'should have been corrected' by the editors of the texts where it occurs To be sure, one ms of MS has *cittim*; but MŚ *cittim* The passage belongs to the ritual of 'piling' (*citi*) the fire-altar. In the same context occurs:

*cittim acittim* (KS ms *ṣcittim acittim*, emended by von Schroeder) *cīnavad*

KS † °*vo*) *vī vidvān* RV TS KS Add to VV I §337 Cf. prec *mā tvā nī kran pūrvacito* (AV. °*cittā*, MS °*cittau*) *nākārinah* AV. VS TS. MS. KS. Lexical, but the reading with *ti* seems to correspond better to what is expected (contrary to the view of Whitney and Keith). It refers to people who may 'get ahead of' us in the favor of the gods 'Having thoughts (devotion, or magic?) first', or, in MS, 'in first thought': 'piling (the altar) first'.



§400. One case concerns different case-forms of the same stem.

*varṣman kṣatrasya kakubhi* (TB Conc °bhūh, Poona ed °bhū, MS *kakubbhūh*) *śīśryānah* (TB *śrayasva*) TS MS TB Loc sing instr plur. of *kakubh* The form *kakubbhūh* is an impossible blend of the two, and should doubtless be removed from the text with Poona ed.; yet the comm seems to have read so (but he glosses *uttamāṅge*, as if loc)

§401. The rest are miscellaneous, and in part concern mere corruptions and false readings

*nama ākṣidate ce prakṣidate ca* VS MS KS . *nama ākṣidate ca prakṣidate ca* TS The curious doubling in TS, is authorized by TPr 14 8, but the mss show all sorts of variations, see Whitney's note on TPr, and Weber's on TS 4 5 9 2

*ayā san* (*ayāh san*, *ayās san*) *manasā hītah* (MS *kṛtah*, p p *kṛtah*, KS *kṛtah*) MS. KS TB. ApŚ. ApMB HG. *ayāsā manasā* (*payasā*) *kṛtah* AŚ ŚŚ Kauś. *ayasā manasā dhṛtah* ApŚ ApMB *kṛtah* is obviously a blunder Cf §402

*vr̥tāya* (VS *vr̥tāya*) *svāhā* VS TS MS KSA *vr̥tāya* probably an error

*nr̥tah* (ŚŚ *nr̥tāh*) *puruṣād dṛtāh* AV ŚŚ The passage where this occurs is rank nonsense, and any reading will do as well as any other

*varṣvānarah prānathā nākam āruhat* (PB *ṛāruha*) AV PB TA ApŚ In all followed by *diva-*, *āruhad* is the actual reading PB has a phonetic simplification or corruption; a 2d sing impv is inappropriate (subject nominative, and parallel 3d person verb in last pāda) Add to VV I §332

*phalāya*, and *phallāya*, KhG *bhalāya*, and *bhallāya*, SMB GG See §79

*samudrād udayani vah* (ApŚ *udacann va*) *srucā* MS ApŚ See §53

*imām narāh* (*narah*) *kṛnuta vedim etya* (*eta*, *etat*), see §328

*yamasya loke adhirajjur āyat* (TA *āya*, MS. *loke nadhir ajarāya*) AV MS TA Corruption in MS.

*vin̥ti* (*viciti*, *vin̥tīyati*, *vin̥stīyati*) *svāhā*, see §866

*māyādevā avataram* HG *adevā devavattaram* ApMB Several HG mss. read *avattaram*, pointing to probable corruption in its text

*ava tara* (TS *avattaram*) *nadiṣv ā* VS TS MS KS ŚB : *avattaro nadinām* AV. See §832

*iṣṭo yaḡño bhṛgubhir dravinodā yatibhir* (MS once *yattibhir*) *āśīrdā* . . . MS.† KS † ApŚ † The isolated *yattibhir* can only be a mistake

*pitvo* (VS MS *pidvo*) *nyañkuh kakkaṭas* (MS *kakuṭhas*, TS *kaṭas*) ..  
VS TS MS

*daridra* (TS °*dran*) *nīlaloṭita* VS TS. MS KS. ŚB Epithet of Rudra;  
the TS form apparently felt as a participle Keith, 'waster'.

*apā vṛdhi parivṛtam* (TB Conc °*vṛttim*, comm °*vṛtim*; Poona ed text  
and comm °*vṛtim*) *na rādhah* RV. TB

*ātmāsy ātmann ātmānam* (GB Conc *ātmanātmānam*) *me mā hnsīh*  
GB Vait. Kauś Gastra reads correctly like the others for GB.

*rajanī* (AV Berlin ed *rajjunī*, by emend) *graniher dānam* (AŚ *dhānām*)  
AV AŚ. Vait The emendation is probably right, at least in giving  
the true original reading of the passage; but there is no variant  
Caland in his translation of Vait quotes it as reading *rājanī*,  
perhaps by a slip

*jīvebhyas tvā samude vāyur indrah* AV 8 1 15a Conc. says read  
*sammude*, but Whitney would keep the text, analyzing with p p  
*sam-ude* 'conversation' The comm however connects the word  
with root *mud* If this were right the variant could be classed with  
§306 Uncertain

*svarvūdo abhi gā adriṃ uṣṇan* (SV *iṣṇan*) RV. SV. Conc. suggests  
*muṣṇan* in RV, see however Oldenberg, *Noten*, ad loc

§402. Next we come to cases in which the vowel preceding the single  
or double consonant is long in both cases Particularly interesting, as  
suggesting the Prakritic influence to which we alluded above, are cases  
where a secondary or corrupt reading appears with a single consonant  
after a long vowel, the proper form having double consonant This  
seems to point towards a tendency to simplify double consonants in that  
position Thus:

*sarvasmād devakūbīṣāt* (VS °*vīṣāt*, LŚ *eva kūbī*) RV VS MS. LŚ ApŚ  
The LŚ obviously has a secondary lect fac, altho it makes good  
sense

*ayā* (MS *ayāh*, KS *ayās*) *san* (KS ms *ayāsā*) *manasā hatah* (MS.  
*ḥṛtaḥ*, p p *ḥṛtaḥ*, KS *ḥṛtaḥ*) MS KS TB ApŚ ApMB HG :  
*ayāsā manasā* (AŚ *vayasā*) *ḥṛtaḥ* AŚ ŚŚ Kauś : *ayāsā manasā*  
*dhṛtaḥ* ApŚ ApMB Cf §401

*jīvām ṛtebhyah parinīyamānām* AV *mṛtāya jīvām parinīyamānām* TA  
Read *mṛtebhyah* in AV with some mss and SPP.

*sarvam nī śvāpayā janam* RVKh AV Edgerton, *AJP* 35 439, has  
suggested *śvāpayāj janam* as the true reading

§403. There are several variations concerning the synonymous  
adverbs *paścā* and *paścāt*, before following d- In the first, at least, the

form with double *d* is the older, so that the same tendency is involved: *apaścāddaghrane* (SV. *apaścāda*°) *nare* (SV. *narah*) RV. SV. TB. ApŚ. *apaścāddaghrānnaṁ* (AV. *apaścādaghrānnasya*) *bhūyāsam* AV. MS ApŚ. MŚ.

*paścādoṣāya glārinam* VS.: *paścāddoṣāya glāram* TB.

§404. There is some confusion between *pratīla* (and *parī*°), pple. of root *dā* in composition, and *pratīla* (*parī*°), similar form from root *i* in composition (and, once, an anomalous *apratīkam*). In the first two cases the form with double *t* is the proper or original one, and the other may be a phonetic (Prakritic) simplification. In the other two the true reading has single *t*, and the double *t* is textually very dubious:

*yat kusīdam apratīlam* (TS. °tīlam, and so TA. Poona ed., with v. I °tīlam. SMB. *apradattam*) *naycha* (TS. *mayi*) TS MS. TA. MŚ. SMB.: *apamityam apratīlām yat asmi* AV.: *yāny apāmityāny apratītāny* (TB. Poona ed °tītāny) *asmi* TB ApŚ. It seems that the original form must be *apratīlam*, from *prati-dā* (cf. SMB.); but possibly the pple. of *prati-i* may be defended. So the comm. on TA. reads (*apratīlam*), glossing *na pratyarpitam*.

*śyene parīto* (VSK. *parīto*) *acarac ca īrāte* VS. VSK. ŚB: *śyene cāta ula yo 'carat parītataḥ* AV. Here the true form is certainly from *pari-dā*.

*apah siṣāsan scar* (TB. ApŚ. *surar*) *apratītaḥ* (TB. Conc. °tītaḥ, Poona ed text and comm. °tītaḥ) RV. AV. KS TB. ApŚ. Here the double *t* has no standing.

*stuhī śūraṇi rajrinam apratīkam* (TB. Conc. *apratītam*, Poona ed °tītam) MS TB. The only correct reading is *apratīlam* 'invincible'. On MS. see §138.

§405. In the few remaining cases the doubling is secondary or corrupt: *atṛā* (AV. *atṛa*) *yamaḥ sādānā* (TA. °nāl) *te mnotu* (AV. *kṛnotu*) RV. AV. TA. A clear error in TA.: see note of Whitney-Lanman on AV.

*ugraṁ, prāśyā* (MS. *ugraṁ paśyāc*) *ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tām* MS TA. Names of Apsarases. The MS. has a corruption, probably due to mechanical form-assimilation to the final of *rāṣṭrabhṛt*, see §520.

*nama ā hidaṭe ca pratīhidate ca* VS. MS. KS: *nama ākḥi hī ca prakkhī ca* TS. See §401.

*srāna bhrājā*... VS. TS. ŚB KS. ApŚ: *srāna bhrāj*... TA.: *srān nabhrād*... KS.: *surān nabhrād* MS. MŚ. Keith on TS. suggests *srāna nabhrāj-* as the original form.

2. Assimilation of two consonants to one double consonant

§406. The variants seem to show clear traces of the common Middle Indic tendency to assimilate two adjoining consonants. Especially a semi-vowel or liquid is assimilated to a different consonant, and an adjoining different consonant is assimilated to a nasal. With these cases we shall group a few instances of the converse, in which the double consonant appears to be older than the two different consonants. Here we have then a sort of dissimilation, which indirectly points perhaps to a feeling of phonetic correspondence between two like consonants and a group consisting of one of them and (especially) a semi-vowel or liquid.

§407. We begin with cases concerning *r*, the weakest of all the consonants (Geiger, *Pāli* §51; Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī* xxxi).

*usrāv* (VSK KS *usrā*) *etam . . . anaśrū* (KS *anaśśū*, v l. °*śrū*) . . . *brahmacodanau* VS VSK TS KS. ŚB. MŚ See Keith on TS 1. 2. 8. 2; he points out that *anaśśū*, as well as *anaśrū* and *anaśśrū*, is capable of a kind of interpretation. Yet it is probably secondary, if not corrupt

*manyor mṛdhrasya* (HG. *mṛddhasya*) *nāśinī* ApMB. HG.: *manyoh krodhasya nāśanī* PG Kiste suggests reading *ṛddhasya*, saying that *manyoh* seems superfluous. But the parallels show that *manyoh* is original and that HG has a phonetic assimilation in *mṛd*.

*krīdī ca śāki corjeṣī* (ApŚ *śāki corjiṣī ca*) VS VSK ApŚ. Here the dissimilated form is secondary, it is no doubt vaguely felt as meaning 'food-seeking' (*urj* + root *ṣ*).

*āvat tam* (TA read *āvar tam*, §873) *indrah śacyā dhamantam* RV. AV. SV. KS TA

§408. The next-weakest consonant, that is most apt to be assimilated to another consonant, in Pāli-Prakrit is *y*. We have a number of cases concerning it, to them should be added a few cases of final *ny* varying with *nn* before an initial vowel, which really concern morphology but which we have placed with similar phenomena under Sandhi, §928

*abhinne khūlye* (TB *khille*) *udadhātī devayum* RV. AV. TB. Comm. on TB. *khūlībhūte*, the clearest possible case of purely phonetic assimilation

*duṣvapnahan duruṣyaha* TA. Bibl. Ind : *duṣṣvapnahan duruṣṣaha* TA. Poona ed., text and comm : *duḥsvapnahan duruṣṣahā* MahānU. See §255.

*aśvān anaśśato* (KS †ApŚ *anaśyato*, MS. van Gelder, *anaśvato*) *dānam* KS TA. ApŚ. MŚ. See §255

*ud u tye* (MS MŚ *ud-ut te*) *madhumattamāh* RV AV SV MS PB GB AŚ ŚŚ Vait MŚ The secondary MS MŚ reading involves substitution of *te* for the older *tye*

*yad annenātkroḥati* RV ArŚ VS TA · *yad anyenābhavat saha* AV Here the form with *ny* is secondary, but interesting as pointing to the light pronunciation of *y* On the nonsensical reading of AV (the comm has *annena*) see Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield* 127

*pītā bhāsvaty anūpamā* TA *pītābhā syāt lanūpamā* MahānU See §838 The assimilation is secondary

*capyam* (TB. Poona ed *cappam*) *na pāyur* VS MS KS TB *capyā* seems well established, tho etymologically obscure, *cappam* may be a graphic blunder.

*sūryācandramasau vṛkyābhyām* (KSA *vṛkkā*°) TS KSA The TS form is a secondary and (as shown by Av *vṛāṣka*) unhistorical form, dissimilatory in character, quite analogous to the preceding It has caused quite unnecessary trouble for etymologists (cf Uhlenbeck's plaintive query s v *vṛkkā*)

§409. A single case concerns *l*

*gāvo gulgulugandhayah* (Vait *guggulu*°) Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ The usual Sanskrit form is *guggulu*, but *gulgulu* occurs so persistently in Vedic texts that one is constrained to accept it as the original form

§410. As to *v*, it was already found involved in two cases mentioned in §408 Besides, we find.

*tan nas trāyatām tanvah sarvato* (ApŚ *tan no msvato*) *mahat* KS ApŚ *tan me tanvam trāyatām sarvato bṛhat* AV An obvious secondary assimilation in ApŚ, assisted of course by the preceding *tan nas yathāyatham nau tanvau* (AŚ *tanvā*, MŚ *tan nau*) *jātavedah* KS AŚ MŚ The MŚ is obviously corrupt, no *v* l quoted

*mitrāvarunā śaradāhnām* (MS °hnā) *cikittnū* (MS *cikittam*, KS *ṛgatnū*, AŚ *cikittvam*) TS MS KS AŚ See §45

*mśvandum* (AV °do) *vācam anśvaminnvām* (AV *anśvaminnām*) RV AV See §236

*apa durhārdāśo jahṛ* Kauś Read °dviśo, the corruption may be graphic (§869)

§411. Of cases concerning the assimilation of non-nasal consonants to adjoining nasals, there occur the following, besides one or two mentioned in the preceding sections as concerning semi-vowels

*aganma yatra pratiranta* (MG *prataram na*, mss °ran na) *āyuh* RV AV MG

*dāvya* (AV *dāvā*) *hotāro* (TS. °rā, AV. °rah) *vanuṣanta* (TS *vani*°, KS † *vanīṣan na*, AV. *sanīṣan na*) *pūrve* (AV. KS. *etat*) RV. AV TS. KS

*akṣalam ariṣṭam ilādam* SMB : *akṣalam asy ariṣṭam ilānam gopāyanam* ŚG Epithets of the cow; cf the cow-name *ilāndā*, MS. 4 2 1: 22 7, 10, and 4 2. 7: 28 12 Altho SMB comm. says *ilādam ilānam kṣīrādīlakṣanam*, it is probable that both this explanation and ŚG's form are due to secondary etymologizing *yad ejaṭ jagat yac ca ceṣṭat nāmno* (MahānU. *nānyo*) *bhāgo yan* (TAA. Poona ed 'yam) *nāmne* (MahānU *yatnān me*, v l *yan nāmne*) *svāhā* TAA MahānU. Here probably MahānU. is secondary if not corrupt, and the (partially) assimilated form with two nasals is original.

*ukṣantūdā maruto ghṛtena* AV 3. 12 4 So Conc, with Whitney's Transl, the comm, and SPP. But according to Whitney no ms reads so, except one of SPP's *śrotṛyaḥ*; most of them have °*ūnnā*, a few °*ūtnā* Ppp (Barret, JAOS 32 366) has °*ūnā* See §183. [svāhākṛtasya sam u tṛpnuta ṛbhavaḥ (TB. Conc *tṛnnutarbh*°; ApŚ and TB Poona ed *tṛpnutarbh*°) RV. TB. ApŚ *tṛnnu*° probably misprint]

§412. When a final mute is followed by an initial nasal, the rules of external sandhi require nasalization of the mute Lack of assimilation is here the exception, not the rule. But it occurs in a couple of cases: *sahasrāpsāh pṛtanāṣān* (SV °*ṣād*) *na yajñah* RV. SV.

*anuṣṭum* (MS °*ṭub*) *mitrasya* (GB. Vait add *patni*) MS. KS. GB Vait

It is perhaps not accidental that both the sounds here concerned are of very rare occurrence as finals.

§413. In a case or two *m* at the end of a reduplicating syllable, or absolutely final, is alternatively assimilated to a following *n*, or remains *anusvāra* This may be merely a matter of writing:

*devya* (ApŚ *dāvya*) *āpo nannamyadhvam* (KŚ *naṁnam*°) . . PB KŚ ApŚ

*vājasya hi prasave* (TS. °*vo*) *nannamīti* (TS. *namna*°) TS. MS KS *āyam* (MS MŚ *āyan*) *narah sudānavo dadāṣuṣe* RV. TS MS KS AŚ MŚ Lect fac in MS MŚ (verb form, 'they have come').

§414. Conversely, before initial *m*, final *n* varies with *anusvāra*. But two cases are purely morphological, concerning the masc. and neuter (adverbial) forms *tam* and *tad* (*tan*); and the third is regarded by Whitney and the Conc as a mere corruption:

*tam* (MS *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhāya* (MS °*yi*) TS MS. TA

*tan* (JB *tan*) *mā punsi kartary erayadhvam* JB KBU

*trita etan manuṣyeṣu māmrje* TB : *trita enam manuṣyeṣu manrje* AV.

Conc and Whitney's note say, read *enan* with SPP. At any rate a neuter and not a masculine form is intended

§415. Finally we come to assimilation of other consonants to adjoining mutes. In every case a preceding mute may be regarded as assimilated to a following mute (precisely as in Prakrit), with one exception which is extraordinary and may be corrupt, in it a following nasal (*l*) seems to be assimilated to a preceding mute:

*śiṣum nadīnām harim adribudhnam* (TS *\*buddham*) VS TS MS. KS

SB Kerth assumes *adribudhnam* in his translation

§416. The other cases present the order of sounds which would be expected as a basis for assimilation. Nevertheless in several of them the dissimilated form is historically secondary. All happen to belong also in §139, where they are discussed individually, there is, then, no need to repeat them here.

§416a. To complete the subject of assimilation and dissimilation, as it appears among the variants, a general remark may be added on the not very numerous traces of assimilation and dissimilation of vowels, details of which will be found in later parts of this book. We shall find some signs of a tendency towards *u* coloring in vowels associated with labial consonants. This appears in the variation of *av* with *uv*, §§601-4, and in that of *r* with *ru*, §§678-80. We have also noted, among the variants of *u* with *a* and *i*, what appear to be sporadic cases of assimilation to, or dissimilation from, similar vowels in adjoining syllables. These will be found in §§605, 607, 609, 622-4.

### 3. Simplification of Consonant Groups

§417. Under this heading there are first one or two special cases to be distinguished. On the insertion of *t* and *k* after final *n* and *ṇ* before a sibilant, see §§938 f. On the optional dropping of a mute etymologically required between a nasal and another consonant, see Whitney, *Grammar* §231; Wackernagel I §233a. The dropping of the mute is required by APr 2 20. The VPr 6 30 requires it before a voiced mute, the variants show also a case where the dropping occurs before a voiceless mute in writing, but as this case involves dropping of *t* before another *t*, it may be considered merely a matter of writing a double consonant as single after a nasal (§389). The other Prāṭisākhya's ignore it. All texts seem to show it sporadically. But editorial as well as scribal vagaries have helped to make the record of little value. Note Weber's disregard of the

TS mss in the first two variants, which is typical; other less conscientious editors have doubtless been equally arbitrary, without troubling to record the actual readings of their mss

§418. We quote the following variants for what they are worth, which in our opinion is not much, for the reasons just stated:

*bṛhaspate ṛyāmyām* (KS ms. °yā emend. °yām) *yūṅdhi* (AŚ. *yūṇdhi*)

*vācam* TS MS. KS AŚ. But practically all mss. of TS *yūṇdhi*. *paravṛṇdhi* (TS MS ŚB °vṛṇdhi) *harasā* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

But here too all mss of TS. *vṛṇdhi*; and so p p of MS.

*ādityam garbham payasā sam aṅdhi* (VS *aṇdhi*, TS. KS. *aṅjan*) VS TS MS KS ŚB.

*athāmṛtena jaritāram aṇdhi* (ApŚ. *aṅdhi*) TB ApŚ. But TB. Poona ed *aṅdhi*, text and comm

*śucir aṅkte* (SV. *aṅte*) *śucibhur gobhur agnih* RV. SV.

*yah pauruṣeyena kṛavṣā samaṅkte* (AV. *samaṅte*) RV. AV. Kauś

*udno* (VS MS *apo*) *dattodadhīm bhīnta* (VS. MS *bhīnta*) VS TS. MS.:

*udno dehy udadhīm ṛbhīndhi* KS

*śunddhi* (PG MG and v 1 of ApMB. *śundhi*) *śiro māsyāyuh pra moṣṭh* AG. PG ApMB MG

*ayam sa śīṅkte* (AV. *śīṅte*) *yena gaur abhīvṛtā* i. V. AV. JB N.

*sampaśyan paṅktir* (AV. *paṅtim*) *upatiṣṭhamānah* RV. AV.

*achā vīram naryam paṅktirādhasam* (SV. *paṅti*°) RV. SV. VS. MS. ŚB TA.

[*pāṅktirah* (KSA em *ṛpāṅktirah*) *kaśo mānthūlavas* (KSA. *ṛman*°) *te pīṛnām* (KSA *ṛpīṛnām*) TS KSA. The mss of both texts all read *pāmtra*, intending *pāṅtra*; TS comm *pāmtra-kaśān*, as a dvandva]

§419. There remains a miscellaneous group of cases in which a consonant is alternatively present or absent in a group of consonants, numbering three (or two at the beginning of the word) when the evanescent consonant is present. We do not include here cases in which the variant consonant is a nasal, a semi-vowel, a liquid, or a sibilant, since these have been treated in Chapter IX (Such cases are common when the evanescent consonant is *y* or *v*, see §§314-5, 321-2, 332-7, 357, 367, 370.) The only prominent group which stands out among them concerns derivatives of the roots *su* and *stu*. The ritualistic use of these words is such that the interchange is easy; there are many situations in which *suta* and *stuta*, *soma* and *stoma* will do about equally well:

*gīrah somah* (SV. *gīra stomān*) *pavamāno manīṣāh* RV. SV. Here there is a change in syntax, but of the next, where there is none,



*ghṛtāhutaḥ somaprṣṭhaḥ* (MS *stoma*°) *suwīrah* AV MS *stomaprṣṭho*  
*ghṛtavān supratīkah* KS TB † 3 7 2 7b, AŚ ApŚ The originality  
 of AV is supported by the RV. epithet *somaprṣṭha* (fashioned on  
 the model of *ghṛtapṛṣṭha*)

*apsu dhautasya te deva soma nṛbhīh* (TS tr. *soma deva te*) *sutasya* (KS *stu*°,  
 MS *štu*°) TS MS KS PB : *apsu dhūtasya deva soma te mahīvido*  
*nṛbhīh śtutastotrasya* (AS *nṛbhīh sutasya*) AŚ ŚŚ

*nārāśansena stomena* (RV *somena*) RV VS TS MS KS AB SB IŚ.  
 Kauś See Oldenberg, *ZDMG* 54 54 and 56, Hillebrandt, *Lieder*  
*des RV* 124 Grassmann would emend RV to *stomena*, but this  
 is undoubtedly a later lectio facilior

[*śutā* (mss *stutā*) *mayā varadā vandamānā* (mss *vedamātā*) AV : *stuto*  
*mayā varadā vedamātā* TAA Whitney's Translation abandons  
 the unfortunate emendations of the AV edition. Weber, *IST*  
 2. 144, discusses the TAA passage, he would understand *stuto*  
 as *stutā-u* ]

§420. The rest need no subdivision.

*parījmā cit kramate* (AŚ ŚŚ *cīd ramate*) *asya dharmanī* AV AŚ ŚŚ  
 'Even a wanderer walks (rejoices) in his (Savitar's) ordinance'  
 Whitney's note implies that he regards *ramate* as a preferable  
 reading, to us it seems merely a lectio fac

*tam tvam viśvebhyaḥ devebhyaḥ kratūn* (KS °bhya ṛtūn) *kalpaya* KS ApŚ  
 Apparently KS has the true reading, cf Caland on ApŚ 10 25 1,  
*kratūn* is suggested by the following phrase, *dakṣināḥ kalpaya*  
*ahorātrābhyām puruṣaḥ samena* (GB.\* *kṣanena*) GB. (both) ŚB.

*yena śrīyam akr̥nutām* PG *yena śrīyam akr̥nutam* (ŚŚ *śrīyāv ahuru-*  
*tam*) ŚŚ SMB GG *śrīyam* is clearly a secondary simplification  
 with phonetic aspects

*bṛhann asi bṛhadravā* (TS KS *bṛhadgrāvā*, MS *bṛhadrāyāḥ*, MŚ *bṛhad-*  
*rāyāḥ*) VS, TS MS KS ŚB MŚ The form containing *g* seems to  
 be the older

*śumbhānas* (KS *stam*°) *tanvam* (TB *tanuvam*, SV †*tanvām*) *svām* RV  
 SV MS KS TB 'Adorning (establishing) his own person'

*anyauratasya* (TA *anyādvra*°) *śaścima* (TA °mah, Poona ed °ma,  
 RV *śaścire*) RV VS MS ŚB TA Tho the comm on TA takes  
*anyāduratasya* as two words, accent and sense agree in showing  
 that it was felt as one, *anyad* is the 'stem' form

*māteva putram bibhṛtā sv* (VS ŚB *bibhṛtāpsv*) *enat* (TS KS *enam*)  
 VS TS MS KS ŚB The verse is addressed to the waters, which  
 accounts for the secondary change of VS ŚB

*namah śuṣkyāya* (MS *śuṣyāya*) *ca harityāya ca* VS TS MS KS. Von Schroeder thinks MS is probably to be emended to *śuṣkyāya*, but it may be the true reading (a phonetic simplification)

*bhayaṃ śtūmabhyām* (KSA ° *madbhyām*) TS KSA Stems in -*man-mant*; obscure names for some part of the horse's body

§421. In some cases an initial consonant, or even two initial consonants are dropped altogether (or added).

*ḥṛtān nah pāhy anhasah* (TA *enasah*) MS TA : *ṛtān mā muñcatānhasah*

TB The latter is poor, comm *ṛlāt prāptāt tasmād anhasah*

*ṛtasya dhāmno amṛtasya yoneh* TS . *ṛtasya yonim mahiṣasya dhārām*

VS KS ŚB . *ghṛtasya dhārām mahiṣasya yonim* MS : cf *ghṛtasya*

*dhārām amṛtasya panthām* TS KS ApŚ. Ritualistic rīgmarole

The MS pāda may be a blend of the other two, both of which are found in KS

*śraro* (RV. VS *avo*) *devasya sānasa* (TS TA ° *sim*) RV. VS. TS. MS.

KS TA

*stavāno* (VS TS KS ŚB *avā no*) *devyā kṛpā* (VS ŚB *dhṛyā*) RV VS

TS MS KS ŚB *avā no* is a facile and slipshod substitution.

*āyobhavyāya* (AG *māyo*°) *catuṣpadi* AG ŚG : *catvāri māyobhavāya*

TB ApŚ ApMB SMB PG HG. The ŚG is obviously secondary

and poor, it must be understood as a quasi-derivative from *āyu(s)*.

*yāsām agnir iṣṭyā* (KSA *nṛṣṭyā*) *nāmāni veda* RV TS KSA The KSA

reading is an attempt to 'correct' an obscure passage 'Whose

names Agni knows by the sacrifice'. 'whose foreign (external)

names Agni knows'

*erum tundānā patyeva jāyā* AV.: *perum tuñjānā patyeva jāyā* TS. The

original form of *eru peru* is unknown, it probably means the male organ.

*purudasmō viśurūpa* (KS. *purudasmavad viśvarūpam*) *induh* VS KS ŚB .

*urudrapso viśvarūpa induh* TS. ApŚ Synonyms

*madhvā* (VS *adhvā*) *raṇsānsindriyam* VS MS KS TB. Comm. on VS

*madhvā*, the only possible reading Is *adhvā* a misprint?

[*tvayā jvasena sam aśmahā tvā* ŚG.: *tvayāvasena* etc TS KS TB AŚ

MŚ Kauś SMB PG *jvasena* is a misprint, corrected SBE 29

98, note ]

## CHAPTER XI. VARIATIONS BETWEEN SHORT AND LONG A

§422. The outstanding feature of these variants is the light they throw on the matter of rhythmic lengthening, and, to a less extent, rhythmic shortening. They are supported in these respects to a much smaller degree by the variations between short and long *i* and *u*, recorded in the next chapter — In §§300–2 we have referred to variations between *ā* and short *a* plus nasal, they will not be repeated here. See likewise §§395–8 for the same variation before single and double consonants.

§423. Particularly important are the cases in which the variant vowel is final, either absolutely, or in the seam of a compound, or before a suffix that is treated as if it were a part of a compound. It is in these that we detect most clearly the lengthening of a short vowel due to sentence rhythm. We shall present them first, following them with variations between initial and medial long and short *a*, in stem formations of nouns and verbs (where we still seem to find traces of rhythmic lengthening), and in inflexional elements (where it seems to be virtually non-existent). Finally there will be presented a group of purely lexical and miscellaneous variants of non-final *a* and *ā*.

§424. In all these classes there are instances of shortening as well as lengthening; that is, cases in which *ā*, not short *a*, is historically the more original, not to speak of different formative elements where both forms may be justified. Shortenings of *ā* before more than one consonant seem occasionally to suggest the Prakritic tendency to shorten long vowels in closed syllables (cf. §§393 ff.). But other considerations usually enter in, so that the extent of this purely phonetic shortening is problematic.

§425. The relation of rhythmic lengthening to meter is well stated by Wackernagel I §266a. The poets make free use of the license to lengthen a final short *a* in syllables where the meter requires a long. But fundamentally it is a matter not of metrical requirements but of sentence rhythm. Among lengthenings of final short *a* which can with certainty be regarded as rhythmic, the majority do not occur in syllables required to be long by meter. As stated by Wackernagel, the rhythmic lengthening is prehistoric and occurred originally when the syllable would otherwise be short (that is, when a single consonant followed the vowel), and when the neighboring syllables were short,

especially the following one. Analogical extension has obscured without obliterating the original conditions.

### 1. Final *a* and *ā*

§426. Under this head are included *a* and *ā* not only as absolute finals in a word, but also as stem-finals in parts of compounds, or before such suffixes as *vant* (treated as compounds in respect of sandhi), or even in the reduplicating syllable, which as regards sandhi behaves in the same way, tho it may be regarded as closing the gap between final and medial conditions. But to avoid possible vitiation of results thru this grouping, we shall separate the absolutely from the relatively final cases

§427. To show the precise extent of genuine rhythmic lengthening, some further distinctions will be necessary. In some of the words concerned, the regular final is *ā*, not short *a*, either in all periods of the language, or at least in the earliest. In others, both *a* and *ā* can be more or less justified morphologically or lexically, or the lengthening may have been assisted by some formal analogy. Take as an instance the gerund ending *ya* or *yā*. Altho *ya* prevails entirely in the later language, *yā* is much the commoner in RV., and is probably the older form (a stereotyped instrumental case-form; whether *ya* is to be regarded as an originally distinct ending, not identical with *yā*, need not here be discussed; cf. Wackernagel III p 34 f. and references in small print there). Or again, the instrumental singular ending of *a*-stems (*ena*) often ends in *ā*; it is at least possible that other instrumental forms in *ā* may be concerned in this (as suggested by Wackernagel I p 312 *infra*; rather different is the implication of III p 92). Obviously such forms must be separated from cases of purely rhythmic lengthening. We shall therefore begin with—

- (a) Absolutely final *a*, originally short, varying with rhythmically lengthened *ā*

§428. Here we include thirty-eight variants in which the lengthening is certainly secondary and seems due to the sole and exclusive operation of the law of sentence rhythm, at least there is no apparent morphological or analogical justification for it. The principle is ably discussed by Wackernagel I §§264-6. The pada-pāṭhas regard the lengthening as one of sentence rhythm, for they regularly substitute short *a*. Their opinion is confirmed by the fact that the lengthening practically never occurs at the end of a pāda or sentence, nor, in TS, at the end of a

*landikā* (Wackernagel 1 §265a, note); cf. VV I p. 174. Originally it depended on the quantity of the surrounding syllables. The typical case was that in which final *a* followed by a single consonant (so that the syllable was light) was both preceded and followed by light syllables. This succession of three light syllables was avoided by lengthening the *a*.

§429. Most of the cases are verb forms ending in *a*: thirteen of the 2d sing. impv. *-a*, eight of 2d plur. *-ta* and *-tha*, two of 2d sing. middle *-sra*, four of 1st plur. *-ma*, and one each of 1st sing. perfect *-a*, 2d sing. perfect *-tha*, and 2d plur. perfect *-a*. There are seven other cases: two of *sma* and *pra*, and one each of *ca*, *uta*, *adya*, and *sapta*. On *pr̥*, probably not to be connected with IE \**prō*, see §§439, 449, 465.

§430. No school tendencies are revealed by the variants. Late and popular texts replace an older or hieratic *a* by *ā*, and vice versa, with perfect indifference. But some general considerations suggest themselves:

§431. First: the variant word never occurs at the end of a *pāda* or sentence, except in one or two peculiar cases. (Note that in AV. 19.39.10d *surā* is a misprint for *sura*, see Whitney's note, the *pāda* is repeated without variant from AV. 5.22.3d.) One exception has been explained in VV I p. 174: *vanaspate 'ra sṛjā* (KS. *sṛja*) AV. VS TS. MS KS. For another see *nihāram* etc., §446.

§432. Secondly: only once does the lengthened syllable occur before an initial vowel, leaving hiatus:

*indra somam pibā imam* RV. AV. SV. MS: *indra somam imam piba* RV. ŚS. Here indeed one might be tempted to understand *pibās* in the first form; but p. p. of RV. MS both *piba*. Cf. Oldenberg, *Noten* on 8.17.1.

§433. Thirdly: Otherwise the word following the *a ā* always begins with a single consonant, except in two cases, in both of which the *ā* is secondary (AV.; short *a* RV.) and seems due to special reasons. In both cases, as it happens, the following word is *pra*. We are not inclined to see any significance in the conjunction mute plus liquid (as if this group failed to make the preceding syllable heavy); possibly more important is the fact that *p* is a labial consonant (cf. §464):

*ut tiṣṭhata* (AV. Kauś. *āta*) *pra taratā sakḥāyah* RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TA. Kauś. The *ā* may be attracted to match the ending of *taratā*, where *ā* is in every way regular and demanded by the meter.

*rhota* (AV. *āta*) *pra ca tiṣṭhata* RV. AV. VS. TA. This *pāda* of AV. (1S 2.2b) is RV. 10.14.14b; the preceding one is RV. 10.14.15a (these two RV. verses are jumbled in AV., see Whitney-Lanman).

*yamāya madhumattamam* But further, RV. 7. 102 3b has *juhōā madhumattamam*, the first word is the first word of AV. 18 2. 2b, and the second is the last word of the preceding pāda. Apparently the secondary *ā* of AV *juhōā* is a reminiscence of *juhōā* RV. 7 102 3b, where the *ā* is regular, in that RV. passage it was immediately followed by *madhumattamam*, in AV. it is immediately preceded by that word.

§434. With these, the only two real exceptions, are to be compared two others in which two following consonants are or seem to be concerned.

*ekayā ca daśabhiś ca svabhūte* (AV *cā suhūte*) AV. VS MS ŚB TA. AŚ.

ŚŚ Both are regular, in AV *cā* plus one consonant, in the others *ca* plus two.

*agne puriṣyādhipā bhava* (TS *bhavā*) *tvam nah* VS TS MS. KS. ŚB.

Intended for a triṣṭubh pāda Perhaps *tvam* is surplusage, whether it is or not, a long syllable is required by the meter before it, and *tvam* (if kept at all) must be read *tuam*. But since vocalic *y* and *v* do not count as consonants for the purposes of the law of rhythmic lengthening (Wackernagel I §265a, note), the *ā* is not followed by two consonants and the lengthening is demanded. It is the other texts, with *bhava*, that are irregular.

§435. Fourthly, as to the quantity of the surrounding syllables, the variants do not support quite so strikingly the principle stated above, that they should both be short. We may remember that, in fact, one form of the variant always keeps short *a*. In about half the variants the preceding syllable is long. The following syllable conforms better; it is short in about three fourths of the cases. In eight cases both the adjoining syllables are long. In five of these, the older form of the variant has short *a*, but in the other three *ā* is older. It is, however, probably not accidental that in six of the eight cases the following syllable is an enclitic pronoun, that is a 'light word', lacking in accentual prominence, even tho metrically long. It is also worth noting that in half the cases the variant vowel is in the second syllable of the pāda; this is a favorite position for rhythmic lengthening, as we shall presently see.

§436. The eight cases where long syllables both precede and follow are:

*hinva* (Vait °vā) *me gātrā* (KŚ. *gātrāni*) *harivah* TS Vait KŚ. ApŚ.

MŚ Lengthening only in the late and pseudo-hieratic Vait

*pari ū śu pra dhanva* (AV. °vā) *vājasātaye* RV. AV. SV. KS AB ŚB.

Lengthening secondary

*abhī vāñr ṛṣṇām sapta* (SV °tā) *nūṣata* RV. SV.

*vidma* (Kauś text °mā; read °ma with AV.?) *te svapna janitram* AV.

Kauś (pratīka only).

*adha sma* (MS *smā*) *te vrajanam kṛṣnam asti* (MS. *astu*, KS. °nam *astu kṛṣnam*) RV. SV. VS TS MS. KS. ŚB Lengthening secondary.

*vidmā te nāma* (AV *vidma te dhāma*) *paramam guhā yat* RV. AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB ApMB.

*asti hi śmā* (TS MS. KS *astu sma*) *te śuśmānn avayāh* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*adyā* (SV GG Svidh. *adya*) *no deva savitah* RV. SV AB KB AA TA. MahānU AŚ. ŚŚ ApŚ AG ŚG. GG. Svidh.

§437. The only other cases of a following long syllable, not final in its pāda, are:

*vahā* (TB. N *vaha*) *devatrā didhīṣo* (MS. *dadh°*) *havīṣi* MS KS TB N.

*upa* (MS *utā*) *no mitrāvarunāv ihāvatam* (MS °nā *ihāvatam*) MS. TB. TA

*indrasya nu vīryāni pra vocam* (AV *nu pra* [read *prā*, §449] *vocam vīr°*) RV. AV. MS ArŚ AB KB TB. AA N. Note that *ā* is clearly secondary and is followed by a labial consonant (§464).

§438. In quoting the full list of these variants we shall classify them according to the position which the variant syllable occupies in the verse. All but one of the thirty-eight variants are metrical; and that one is cadenced prose and imitates a triṣṭubh pāda. In two cases the order of words is so changed that the variant syllable occurs in different positions. Of the rest, the variation occurs most often in the 2d, 3d, and 4th syllables of the pāda, viz, six, four, and six times respectively. It occurs three times in the fifth syllable of triṣṭubh-jagatī pādas before the cesura, and once as the initial syllable, so that it occurs twenty times in the first part of the verse, and fifteen in the last. But of these sixteen, eleven concern the eighth syllable and two the tenth, one case each concerns the seventh and ninth syllables of jagatī pādas, and the sixth of an anuṣṭubh. This summary indicates that, except where metrical requirements have caused the lengthening, the occurrences tend to be pretty closely restricted to the first part of the verse, and specifically to the second, third, and fourth syllables (and the fifth when that precedes the cesura). In the last part they occur as a rule only when the meter requires a long syllable.

§439. In the first syllable of a pāda

*pra* (KS *prā*) *na āyur jīvase soma tārīh* RV KS AB GB Vait MS. It is unlikely that a rather late text like KS has preserved a historic

representative of IE \**prō*. Cf. *pra* (*prā*) *smā mināly* (*minoty*) *ajarah*, §512, which probably belongs here, and §449.

§440. In the second syllable:

*huvā* (Vait. °*vā*) *me gātrā* (KŚ. *gātrāni*) *harivah* TS. Vait KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. *vahā* (TB N. *vaha*) *devatrā dādhiṣo* (MS *dadh°*) *havīṣi* MS. KS. TB N. *vidmā te nāma* (AV. *vidma te dhāma*) *paramaṁ guhā yat* RV. AV VS TS. MS KS. ŚB. ApMB

*vidma* (Kauś °*mā*) *te svapna janitram* AV Kauś.

*adyā* (SV. GG Svidh *adya*) *no deva savitah* RV. SV. AB KB. TB AA. TA MahānU AŚ ŚŚ. ApŚ AG. ŚG GG. Svidh

*upa* (MS. *ulā*) *no mitrāvarunāv ihāvalam* (MS °*nā ihāgatam*) MS. TB. TA.

§441. In the third syllable:

*juhota* (AV °*tā*) *pra ca tīṣṭhata* RV. AV VS TA

*pretā* (TS *upa pretā*) *jayatā narah* RV. SV. AV. VS TS Read *pra-ītā* in RV. etc TS seems to have tried to improve the meter, but only makes it worse

*janīṣvā* (MS °*ṣva*, RV. KS. °*ṣta*) *hī jenyō agre ahnām* RV. TS MS. KS. ApŚ.

*adha sma* (MS *smā*) *te vrajanam kṛṣṇam asti* (MS. *astu*, KS. °*nam astu kṛṣṇam*) RV. SV VS TS MS KS ŚB.

§442. In the fourth syllable:

*varivasya mahāmaha* (SV. °*syā mahonām*) RV. SV.

*īam ā prna* (TB. *prnā*) *vasupate vasūnām* RV TB

*ut tīṣṭhata* (AV Kauś °*tā*) *pra taratā sakhāyah* RV. AV VS ŚB. TA.

Kauś See §433

*ā juhota* (TB. ApŚ °*ta*) *duvasyata* RV ŚB TB ApŚ (pratikā)

*ramayata* (KS °*tā*) *marutah śyenam āyṇam* (MŚ. *marutah pretam vājṇam*)

TS KS ApŚ MŚ Three mss of KS. *ramayata*

*asti hī śmā* (TS MS KS *astu sma*) *te śuṣmān awayāh* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS ŚB

§443. In the fifth syllable, before the cesura:

*udārayathā* (MS MŚ. °*tā*, AV. KS °*ta*) *marutah samudratah* RV. AV TS. MS KS. AŚ.

*yatrā naś cakrā* (Cone *cakra* for KS with one ms, but ed *cakrā* with others) *jarasam lanūnām* RV VS MS. KS. GB ŚB ApŚ ApMB. HG.

*prāñco agāma* (TA *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛlaye hasāya* RV. AV. TA.

§444. In the sixth syllable of anuṣṭubh:

*indra somam pibā imam* RV. AV. SV. MS.. *indra somam. imam piba* RV. ŚŚ See §432.



§445. In the seventh syllable of jagatī

*pari ū ṣu pra dhanva* (AV *dhanvā*) *vājasūta* RV AV SV KS AB  
 ŚB The third syllable after the cesura in triṣṭubh-jagatī meter  
 tends to be long

§446. In the eighth syllable of triṣṭubh-jagatī

*apo devīr upa srja* (MS *srjā*) *madhumatī* VS TS MS KS ŚB

*brhaspate pari dīyā* (TS *dīya*) *rathena* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS  
 No real variant, since *dīyā* ends a *kandikā* in TS, see §428 and VV  
 I p 174

*agne puriṣyādhipā bhava* (TS *bhavā*) *tvam nah* VS TS MS KS ŚB

An irregular verse, which psychologically belongs here unless  
*tvam* be deleted, see §434

*vanaspate 'va srjā* (KS *srja*) AV VS TS MS KS Also belongs here  
 properly, see §431 and VV I p 174

*dyumantam śuṣmam ā bhara* (SV *bhara*) *svarvdam* RV SV

*adītsan vā* (MS *dhipsyam vā*, TB *yad vādāsyam*) *saṃjagara* (TB  
 °jagārā, MS °cakara) *janebhyah* MS TB TA

*vayam rāṣṭre jāgryāma* (MS † KS † °mā, MS p p and TS *jāgryāma*)  
*purohitāh* VS VSK TS MS KS

*yasmād yoner udārūthā* (KS °tha) *yaje* (MS KS *yajā*) *tam* RV. VS TS  
 MS KS ŚB

*sapta yonīr* (KS *yonīnr*) *ā prnasva* (TS KS TB °svā) *ghṛtena* VS TS  
 MS KS ŚB TB

*ekayā ca daśabhiś ca svabhūte* (AV *cā suhūte*) AV VS MS ŚB TA AŚ  
 ŚŚ

*bhagemām dhīyam ud aṣā* (TB † ApMB † *ava*) *dadān nah* RV AV. VS TB  
 ApMB

*nīhāram in nī me hara* (TS † *harā*) TS KS The TS form is quoted  
 as a case of lengthened final *a* in TPr 3 12, the actual quotation  
 there includes the following word *nīhāram*, which is the initial of  
 the next pāda. There is no doubt of the pāda-division; the pāda  
 is anuṣṭubh, not triṣṭubh. But the lengthening of *a* final in its  
 pāda is so utterly anomalous that one of two things must be  
 assumed. Either the lengthening was due to a careless assumption  
 that the pāda was triṣṭubh (including the following *nīhāram*),  
 or (and this we believe is the correct explanation), the real reading  
 intended in the samhitā-pāṭha is not *hara* but *harās*, subj. and not  
 imperative. This was wrongly analyzed by the p p as *hara*,  
 and hence arose the TPr rule on the subject. This variant should  
 then be added to VV I §152. We do not count it in our figures  
 for this section.

§447. In the ninth syllable of jagatī·

*abhi vānār ṛṣinām sapta* (SV °lā) *nūṣata* RV. SV.

§448. In the tenth syllable of triṣṭubh:

*virebhur aśvair maghavā bhavā* (TS °va) *nah* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS No true variant, since *bhava* ends a *kandikā* in TS; cf §428 and VV I p. 174.

*gharmam pāta vasavo yajata* (TA °lā, MS °trā) *vāḷ* (MS *veḷ*, TA *vaḷ*) VS MS ŚB TA Cadenced prose, imitating triṣṭubh meter; hence lengthening secondarily in TA Note that TA is the only text that has a short vowel in the following syllable

§449. Different syllables, with change of meter:

*idam me prāvata vacah* RV VS TS KS TB : *oṣadhayah prāvata vācam me* MS : *asyā avata vīryam* Kauś Where the lengthening occurs it is favored by its metrical position.

*indrasya nu vīryānu pra vocam* (AV *nu pra vocam vīr°*, but most mss, SPP, and Whitney Transl *prā* for *pra*) RV AV. ArS MS. AB KB TB AA N—Ppp (Barret, JAOS 48 47f) like RV On *prā* cf. §439 and 437

(b) Words in which absolutely final *a* varies with *ā*, the *ā* being capable of more or less justification on formal grounds

§450. Here other considerations enter in and make it impossible to regard the law of rhythmic lengthening as the sole determinant, altho it remains an important and perhaps in many cases the decisive factor We include here adverbs in *tra* or *trā*; adverbs in *tha* or *thā*, *dha* or *dhā*; gerunds in *ya* or *yā*, instrumentals from *a* stems in *na* or *nā*; and neuter nom-accs in *ma* or *mā*; also one variant of *acha achā*. It is noteworthy that in nearly all the cases, except the gerunds (in which the ending *yā* is probably older than *ya*), the variant vowel occurs in the second syllable of the pāda (cf §438) Furthermore, it nearly always (with only one exception) is followed by a word beginning in a single consonant Except in the case of gerunds, it never comes at the end of a pāda

§451. *Adverbs in tra trā*, viz *yatra*, *tatra*, *atra* There is a suffix *trā*, whose independence of *tra* seems indicated by a difference of accent (Whitney, *Grammar*, §1099a), the former is accented on the suffix, the latter on the stem So far as we have noted, our variant forms in *trā* always accent the stem Still, the existence of the *trā*-suffix cannot be ignored in considering these variations While they are probably to be regarded as primarily rhythmic lengthenings, some influence from the suffix *trā* may be at least suspected

§452. In all eight cases the adverb comes at the beginning of the pāda, so that the variant syllable is second. It is always followed by a single consonant; the following syllable is short three times, long five times. In nearly all cases the older version has *ā*

*yatrā* (MS. \**yatra*, AV. \**yenā*) *nah* (AV \**te*) *pūrve pitarah paretāh* (RV. MS.\* *pareyuh*) RV AV. (bis) MS (tris).

*yatrā sapta r̥ṣin* (TS KS *yatra saptar̥ṣin*) *para ekam āhuḥ* RV. VS TS MS KS. N.

*yatrā* (TS *yatra*) *suhārdah sukr̥to madanti* (TS. °*te*) AV. TS

*atrā* (AV. *tatra*) *yamah sūdanā* (TA °*nāt*) *te minotu* (AV *kṛnotu*) RV. AV.† TA

*tatrā sadah* (SV. *tatra yonim*) *kṛṇavase* RV. SV. KS

*tatrā* (SV *tatra*) *no brahmaṇaspatih* RV. SV.: *tatra indro bṛhaspatih* VS

*yatra* (SV. *yatrā*) *devā it̥i bravan* (SV *bruvan*) RV. SV

*atrā* (VS *atra*) *jahīmo* (RV TA *jahāma*, AV *jahīta*) *ye asann aśevāh* (AV. *aśvāh*, and *asan drevāh*; VS ŚB 'śvā *ye asan*) RV AV. VS. ŚB. TA

§453. Adverbs in *tha*, *thā*, and *dha*, *dhā* Among the variants are found only *atha*, *athā*, *adha*, *adhā*, and one case of *it̥tha*, *it̥thā*. Here there is less reason for assuming rhythmic lengthening, or more reason for suspecting formal analogy, because most adverbs of this type regularly have *ā*. The only form that usually ends in *tha* is *atha*, and *adha* is the only one usually ending in *dha*. The numerous forms in *thā* and *dhā* may therefore be supposed to have had some influence in producing the (not uncommon) forms *athā* and *adhā*. There is this time no difference in accent. The *it̥thā it̥tha* variant really belongs below, with §477, since the word regularly has *ā*.

§454. In the seven *atha* and *adha* variants, the adverb is always initial in the pāda. The following word begins with a single consonant in every case but one, but the following syllable is long also in every case but one

*atha* (AV *adhā*) *māsi punar āyāta no grhān* AV HG

*adha* (TB *adhā*) *vāyum nyutah saścata svāh* RV VS MS TB

*atha* *viśve arapā edhate grhah* TS : *adhā viśvāhārāpa edhate gr̥he* VS

*atha jivir̥* (read *jivir̥*, see Whitney) *indatham ā vadāsi* AV.. *athā jivir̥*... ApMB : *adhā jivir̥ indatham ā vadāthah* RV

*adha syāma* (MS. *athā syāta*) *surabhayo* (ApŚ corruptly, *syām asur ubhayor*) *gr̥heṣu* AV MS KS ApŚ.

*athā* (AV *atha*) *devānām vaśanir̥ bhavāt̥i* RV AV. TA.

*athā* (TS.\* *atha*) *bhava yajamānāya sam yoh* RV. TS MS KS. AŚ. No true variant, the short *a* once in TS (3 2 11. 2) is due to the fact that the word happens to end a *landikā*; see §428. This shows that after all the lengthening to *athā* was at least partly rhythmic, and felt as a matter akin to sandhi

§455. For completeness we add here the single case of *ithā* varying with *ittha*. The latter is not recorded in the lexicons, tho it occurs in this variant in four texts. It is, however, clearly analogical, due to thought of *atha*. Of course the original and regular form is *ithā*, and the variant properly belongs with shortening of original final *ā*, §477: *ihetha* (AV °*thā*) *prāg apāg udag adharāk* AV. GB AŚ ŚŚ Vait

§456. *Gerunds in ya yā*. According to Whitney, *Grammar* §993a, 'fully two thirds' of the RV forms in *ya* have *ā*, as if instr sing forms of *i* or *ti* stems. This, together with the fact that these *yā* gerunds are not governed by the laws which govern rhythmic lengthening, indicates that the variation is of a different sort. It is likely that the gerund ending was originally *yā*, and that the later regular ending *ya* is secondary.

§457. In a majority of the variants the gerund occurs at the end of a pāda, a striking proof that we are not dealing with rhythmic lengthening: *hranyayāt pari yoner nīṣadyā* (MS °*ya*) RV MS ApŚ

*vanaspate raśanayā nīyūyā* (MS °*ya*, KS TB *raśanayābhīdhāya*) RV. MS KS TB AŚ N

*viśvā agne abhīyuyo vīhatyā* (AV TB °*ya*) RV AV MS KS TB

*rudrāḥ samsrjya* (MS °*yā*, TS ApŚ *sambhṛtya*) *prthivīm* VS TS MS. KS ŚB ApŚ

*matrah samsrjya* (MS °*yā*) *prthivīm* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

§458. *Instrumentals of a-stems in na nā*. In the few variants occurring under this head we may suspect that the analogical influence of other instrumental forms in *ā* assisted the tendency to rhythmic lengthening of the *a*. There are only four cases, three of which concern the pronouns *tena* and *yena*, these three forms are initial in their pādas. In the remaining case the variant vowel is in the eighth syllable of a triṣṭubh pāda, so that the meter requires a long, which RV. has, while SV. substitutes short *a* against the meter. In all four cases the next word begins with a single consonant, and the following syllable is short:

*kavir gīrbhīh kāṭyenā* (SV °*na*) *kavīh san* RV. SV

*tenā* (AV TB Poona ed and MŚ ed *tena*, but all mss of MŚ *tenā*) *sahasraśāṇḍena* AV TB ApŚ. MŚ: *tena vāyam sahasraśāṇḍena* TB ApŚ

*tena* (AV *tenā*) *vāyam bhagavantah syāma* RV AV. VS. TB ApMB.

*yena vahasā sahasram* VS MS. ŚB · *yenā* (KS *yena*) *saahasram vahasā*  
AV TS KS. Vait

§459. *Nominatives and accusatives neuter (or nom masc) in ma mā* (once, a *ā*) Here the phenomena of noun declension play a rôle. Sometimes a change of gender is certain or possible (masc *ā*, neut *a*). Sometimes there is a change of number altho the ending short *a* in the neuter plural is twice as common as *ā* (Whitney, *Grammar* §425d), nevertheless *ā* is in a sense characteristic of the plural, and when found there cannot be regarded as merely a rhythmically lengthened *a*, despite the fact that the pp regularly writes *a*. Note the fact that twice among the variants it occurs at the end of a pāda, where rhythmic lengthening is impossible, and cf Wackernagel III §145h. There is, indeed, among the variants only a single case (the first quoted) where both *ma* and *mā* appear to be certainly neut sing, so that the lengthening must surely be rhythmic (cf Wackernagel III §145b).

§460. The variant vowel occurs in the second syllable of the pāda five times, in the fourth twice, and in the fifth of a triṣṭubh once, thus in the first part of the verse eight times out of eleven. In the other three cases it is final in the pāda, and certainly not rhythmically lengthened. The following word begins with a single consonant in every case but two, where it begins with *pr-* (cf §§433, 464). The preceding syllable is always long, the following one is long just half the time. *śarmā* (TA °*ma*) *sapraṭhā āvr̥ne* KS TA · *śarma yachātha sapraṭhah* (read °*thāh* with all mss, cf Lanman, *NInfl* 560) AV. The form must be singular, as the adjective shows, and KS has a clear rhythmic lengthening. This is the only indubitable case. *vyomā* (TS °*ma*) *saptadaśah* VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ MŚ —BR assume a change of gender here in *vyoman*. The formula is so devoid of meaning that anything is possible, but it may be merely a phonetic variant.

*ayam sahasram ānavo vidharma* (ApŚ °*mā*) SV ApŚ MŚ. Certainly not rhythmic lengthening, as it is final in the formula, rather change of gender, neut to masc, in ApŚ. Even the original neuter is used as an epithet ('Weltordner', Benfey).

*brahma* (ApŚ °*mā*) *devānām prathamajā rtasya* PB ApŚ. Here there is certainly a change of gender (in ApŚ masc, 'priest of the gods'). *rtasya brāhma* (AV *bhūtānām brahmā*) *prathamota* (emended by RWh in AV to *prathamoha*) *jajñe* AV TB. The difference of accent proves that different genders are intended. But the pāda is hard to interpret without some emendation; see Whitney's note.

*tan no brahmā* (TA °ma) *pracodayāt* MS. TA. MahānU. Here also there is change of gender (MS *brahmā*).

*trinśad dhāma* (MS. MŚ *trinśāddhāmā* as one word) *vi rājati* RV. AV. SV ArS VS TS MS KS ŚB The MS understands its compound as of masc gender.

*brahma devakṛtam upahūtam* TS MS TB. AŚ ŚŚ : *brahmā devakṛtopahūlā* ŚB Here the number is changed from singular to plural in ŚB

*varma* (AV. °mā) *śiviyadhvam bahulā pṛthūni* RV. AV. KS ApŚ. Both forms here are plural; and so in the next.

*yatra gavām nuhūtā sapta nāma* (AV. *nāmā*) RV AV. Cf. prec ; note the variation at the end of a pāda.

*tava śravānsy upamāny ukthyā* (SV. °ya) RV. SV. The only case of a n pl in a ā not from an n-stem

§461. One case of the preposition *acha achā*. The original quantity of the final *a* is uncertain; but in RV. it is always long except before a pause and in two other cases (Grassmann, s. v.). One of the two exceptional cases is concerned here Wackernagel II. 1 p. 131, believes that *achā* is original.

*acha yāhy ā īvahā dāvyaṁ janam* RV.: *achā no yāhy ā vaha* RV.SV.

We consider that *vahā vaha* in this variant does not deserve quotation above under final *a ā* in verb forms, because the second form of the text actually reads *vahābhi*, fusing *vaha* with following *abhi*. The p p, of course, always reads short *a*.

(c) Short *a* as final of stems in composition, and in analogous cases, optionally lengthened

§462. Just as the general laws of external sandhi are applied to the combination of parts of noun compounds, and even of stem-finals with certain suffixes (as *vant* and *vin*), so short *a* as stem-final may be rhythmically lengthened in these conditions. And the final vowel of the reduplicating syllable seems to be treated in the same way.

§463. The conditions of the lengthening are in large part similar to those where *a* is absolutely final. So the *ā* is invariably followed by a single consonant, without one exception among the variants. But the surrounding syllables are rather more apt to be long, instead of short as we should expect. The preceding syllable in fact is almost always long in the variants, and the following syllable is long in nearly half the cases. Most of the variants are prose, so that they furnish little evidence as to meter or position in the verse. There are five metrical

variants of a *ā* before the suffix *vant*, in every one the variant syllable is second in the pāda

§464. Wackernagel, who discusses this question in II 1 §56, recognizes an influence of a following consonant on the lengthening to this extent, that he finds it especially common before *v*. If the evidence of the variants is to be trusted, it would seem that other labial consonants, especially *p* and *m*, exert the same influence, cf. above, §§433, 460. Nearly all the cases occur before one of these three consonants — For compounds of a privative, sometimes lengthened to *ā*, see §§469 f.

§465. *Prepositions in final a*, optionally lengthened in composition. All the cases are prose. In two-out of three the following consonant is *m* or *v*.

*apamityam apratīṭṭam yad asmi* AV (pratikas in GB Vait Kauś)  
*yāny apāmyāny apratīṭṭāny* (TB Poona ed. °*itāny*) *asmi* TB  
 ApŚ (Metrical in AV, but prose in TB ApŚ)

*upāvir* (TS ApŚ *upa*°) *asi* VS TS MS KS ŚB. KŚ ApŚ MŚ. See  
 pw VII p 325

*prayāsāya* (VS *prā*°) *svāhā* VS TS KSA TB TA. On *prā*, not to be identified with IE \**prā*, cf. §§429, 439

[*prāvanebhiḥ* (MS KS *pravanena*) *saṃśasah* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

Probably to be derived from root *pru*, rather than *pra* + *vana*.  
 See §491]

§466. Other compounds. The variation occurs thrice before *p* and twice before *v*. The first three cases are metrical, the others prose. For variations of the adverb *uttarā* with the stem *uttara* in composition see §476

*āvīte dyāvōpṛthivī ṛtāvṛdhau* MS KS *āvinne dyāvōpṛthivī dhṛtavrate*  
 TS TB. And (in same passage) *āvītau* (TS *āvinṇau*) *nutrā-*  
*varunau dhṛtavratāu* (TS °*nāv ṛtāvṛdhau*) VS TS MS KS ŚB.  
 Note *ā* before *v* alone, but short *a* before *vr*- (the syllable being long already). Cf. §665

*sahasrapoṣam subhage* (TS \*°*gā*) *rarānā* RV TS MS KS SMB  
 ApMB *sahasrāpoṣam subhage rarānā* AV Kauś

*īde agnim svavasam* (AV *svāvasum*) *namobhiḥ* RV AV MS TB AŚ  
 Only the AV truly belongs here, as a compound of *sva* with *vasu*.  
 The others have a compound of *su* with *avas*.

*deva samsphāna sahasrapoṣasyeṣe* (AV *sahasrā*°) AV TS *sahasra-*  
*poṣasyeṣe* SMB. (Conc. quotes the latter again for AV TS, but it occurs in them only as part of the longer phrase)

*dvārapāya svāhā, dvārapāya svāhā, dvārapopa sprśa, dvārapy upa sprśa*,  
 all HG *dvārā*° etc., ApMB

[*brhaspatinā rāyā svagāhṛtaḥ* TS : [*svagāhṛtaḥ mahyam* MŚ. Conc *svagal*° for MŚ]

§467. *Formations in vant and vin* The variants seem to suggest a tendency for Tait texts to prefer *ā* before these suffixes, and Maitr texts short *a*, but they are not unanimous, and are probably too few in number to justify such an inference. It may be noted that similar variants before the parallel suffixes *mant* and *min* have not been observed, we have seen (§§238 ff) that they did not occur originally after *a* vowels. The first five variants are metrical

*aśvavat* (RV *aśvā*°) *soma vīravat* RV SV VS.

*indravanto* (TS *indrā*°) *maruṭo viṣṇur agnīḥ* RV AV. TS. KS †40 10b.

*puspavatīḥ* (TS *puṣpā*°) *supīppalāḥ* VS TS MS KS ŚB

*puspavatīḥ* (TS VīDh *puṣpā*°) *prasūvarīḥ* (TS °*vatīḥ*, AV. KS °*matīḥ*)

RV. AV VS TS MS KS

*sṛkāhasṭā* (TS KS *sṛkāvantō*, MS. *sṛgavanto*) *nṣaṅgināḥ* VS TS MS KS

*indravān brhad bhās svāhā* KS. *indrāvān svāhā* TS TB : *indravān svavān brhad bhāḥ* MS

*dūrehetur indriyāvān* (PB †°*yavān*) *patatrī* (PB °*trīḥ*) TS PB TB PG ApMB

*vātāvān varṣan bhīma rāvat svāhā* MS. *vātāvad varṣam ugrar āvṛt svāhā* TS. *vātāvān varṣann ugra rāvat svāhā* KS

*agnīndrayor aham devayajyayā vīryavān indriyavān bhūyāsam* MŚ. *indrāgnīyor* (MŚ °*nyor*) *aham devayajyayendriyāvya annādo* (MŚ °*driyavān vīryavān*) *bhūyāsam* TS MŚ. *indrasyāham devayajyayendriyāvī* (KS °*yāvān*, MŚ °*yavān*) *bhūyāsam* TS KS MŚ

*guṣṭam devebhyo havyam ghṛtāvat* (TS *ghṛtāvat svāhā*) TS MS

*dhiṣanās tvā devīr vīśvadevyāvatīḥ* (MS MŚ *dhiṣanā tvā devī vīśvadevyavātī*) *prthivyāḥ sadhasthe* VS TS MS KS ŚB. And so with *adītiḥ tvā* (°*tiḥ tvā*) *devī*, *devānām tvā patnī devīr*, *janayas tvāchinnapatrā devīr*, *varūtrayo janayas* (*varūtiḥ*, etc) ; *gnās tvā devīr*. All in same texts, Maitr always reading *vīśvadevyā*°, the others °*vyā*°

[*somam le krīṇāmy ūrjasvantam payasvantam vīryāvantam* TS KS Conc *vīryavantam* for TS]

§468. *The reduplicating syllable* Two cases, in both the following consonant is *m* or *v*

*trīta etan* (AV. *īṭta enam*, comm *etat*, read *etan* or *enan*) *manuṣyeṣu māmṛje* (AV *mamṛje*) AV TB. The AV form is more usual but bad metrically; TB (probably secondarily) improves the meter by using the stem *māmṛj-* (found RV)



*śucanto agnam vavṛdhanta* (AV *vā°*) *indram* RV. AV KS The regular form is *va°* but forms with *vā°* are found in RV.

(d) Final *ā* optionally shortened to *a*, and other *a ā* either absolutely final, or in the seam of compounds

§469. We group here a varied assortment of cases which complete the list of what may be called in a large sense 'final' *a ā* Real phonetic shortening of *ā* is not common In most of the following variants both short and long *a* can be justified morphologically We begin with an interesting group concerning *a* privative and the preposition *ā* Some of these concern lengthenings of *a* privative and properly belong in the preceding sections, but are mentioned here because of their similarity to those which involve the preposition *ā*

§470. Thus, it has long been recognized that the RV form *ā'deva*, 'godless', is the same as *ādeva*, which varies with it in two of our variants, one of which occurs in both forms in RV itself A somewhat dubious theory on *ādeva*, rejected by Oldenberg, *Noten* on RV 6 49 15, is put forward by Wackernagel II 1 p 131

*viśa ādevīr abhy aśnavāma* RV *viśo adevīr abhy ācarantīh* RV AV. AB *bhuva* (SV *bhuvo*) *viśvam abhy ādevam* (SV *ad°*) *oṣasā* RV SV Here the *ā* may be due to the tendency towards an anapest after the cesura, with short *a* we have a tribrach

§471. Less certain cases of lengthening of *a* privative are.

*adāyo* (TS *adāyo*, MS *ādāyo*) *vīrah* (AV *adaya ugrah*) *śatamanyur indrah* RV AV. SV. VS TS MS KS In pw I p 297 it is said that *ādāya* is an error for *adaya* But the p p repeats the form, it might be interpreted as 'taking, seizing', from *ā-dā*

*yavā ayavā ūmā abdah* (KS *yavā āyavā ūmā tevā abdas*) *sagaraḥ sumekah* MS KS MŚ : *yāvā ayāvā evā ūmāh sabdah sagarah sumekah* TS ApŚ The forms *yava(n)*, *yā°*, and *ayava(n)*, *ayā°*, are used with great confusion, but the *a-* seems to be felt as privative, the *y-*forms designate the first half of the lunar month, the *ay°* forms the latter half The form with *āy°* is not noted except here and in the next, it seems to be equivalent to *ay°*

*saṣṭūr abdo* (MS \* *abdā*) *ayavabhāh* (TS ApŚ 'yāvabhāh, MS MŚ *āyavabhāh*, KS *āyavabhāh*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ Cf preceding

§472. In the next we have a clear case of the preposition *ā* varying with *a* privative.

*yām āpīnām upasīdanty āpah* AV · *yām apītā upatiṣṭhanta āpah* LŚ

'Whom, fattened, the waters wait upon': 'whom the waters, undrunk, wait upon'

§473. In the rest, real phonetic shortening of *ā* seems at least possible, especially in the couple of cases where it occurs before conjunct consonants, cf. the similar law in Pāli and Prakrit (§§393 ff.) The words are however largely problematic, and in some of them a privative may be involved; so in the first:

*svastidā āghṛnīh* (TB TA. *aḡh°*) *sarvavīrah* RV. AV. MS TB. TA This familiar epithet of Pūṣan certainly contains the preposition *ā* The form *aghṛnī* is recorded in no lexicon. Comm. on TB desperately takes the *a* as privative: *asodhavyadīptīh* (!). The comm. on TA varies in different mss, one reading is *ūgaladīptīh* (taking *a* as = *ū*) The reading adopted in Poona ed. is *adīptīh*, *asmāsu anugrāhī*, which is not utterly unreasonable, cf. the classical *aghṛnīm* (pw II p. 286, 'nichts verachtend') But cf. also *pūṣne 'nighṛnaye svāhā*, §300, where the yet different form *añghṛnī* occurs, and is certainly a phonetic variant for *āghṛnī*

*aśleṣā* (TS *āsreṣā*) *nakṣatram* TS MS KS. Name of a nakṣatra, more commonly *āśleṣa*, both these forms are otherwise unknown BR. derive *aśleṣa* from a privative, but *āsleṣa* (*āśr°*) from the preposition *ā*, this is hardly credible The two forms must be of the same origin, one a phonetic variant of the other The prevalence of *ā*-forms suggests that *a-* is a case of shortening before two consonants

*ā no viśva* (MS *°vā*) *āśkrā* (TB *viśve askrā*) *gamantu* (MS *°ta*) *devāh* RV MS TB AŚ The word is obscure, *askra* seems to be otherwise unknown Comm. on TB *ābhūmukhyena kantiārah santah*, which implies *ā* and supports BR's derivation from *ā* plus root (*s)kr* (Sāyana derives from *kram*) This would then be another case of shortening before a two-consonant group.

§474. There are three other cases which would be counted as rhythmic lengthenings of a privative, but for the fact that they seem to be misprints or textual blunders The *ā* forms occur each time only in TB. Bibl. Ind. ed., and each time the Poona ed. reads short *a* in text and comm. without report of variant, agreeing thus with the other texts *arādḍhyā edidhīṣūpatim* VS. *ārādhyā jādihīṣūpatim* TB Conc.

'For misfortune'

*aśādham* (TB Conc. *aṣ°* or *āṣ°*) *yulṣu pṛlanāsu papṛim* RV VS VSK MS. TB AŚ ŚŚ 'Unconquerable'

*aśādham* (TB *āṣ°*, Conc.) *ugraṇi sahamānam ābhīh* RV. AB TB

§475. Next, a few cases of final *ā* of feminine stems, optionally shortened to *a* in composition and before *rant*. They hardly confirm, but are not numerous enough to dispute, the statement of Wackernagel II 1 §56e that the shortening is specially common before consonant combinations and in the neighborhood of long syllables. Perhaps by chance, a labial consonant follows the vowel in nearly every case  
*nāsikārate* (TS °*kavate*) *svāhā* TS. KSA.

*amāyān māyavattarah* ŚB.: *māyām māyāvattarah* AB

*idaprajaso* (KS *idā*°) *mānavih* TS. MS KS

*śirahpāṇipādapārśvapṛṣṭhorūdarajañghaśiśnopasthapāyaro* (MahānU. °*pṛṣṭhodarajañghā*°) *me sudhyantām* TA. TAA MahānU.

*ūrnamradasam* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *ūrṇā*°) *tvā stṛṇāmi* (KS *ūrnamradah prathasva*; Kauś *ūrnamradam prathasva*) *svāsastham* (VS † ŚB † °*sthām*) *derebhyah* VS. TS KS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. Kauś : *uru prathas-cornamradam svāsastham derebhyah* MS.

§476. The adverb *uttarā* varies with the adjective stem *uttara* in composition:

*mītrāvaruṇanetrebhyo vā marunnetrebhyo vā derebhyo uttarāsadbhyah* (VSK. *uttara*°) *svāhā* VS. VSK. ŚB.

*ye devā mētrāvarunanetrā vā marunnetrā vottarāsadas* (VSK. *vottara*°) *tebhyah svāhā* VS. VSK. ŚB.

§477. The rest are sporadic. The stem *aṣṭa-aṣṭā* belongs with noun formation rather than here; *ā* occurs in the regular inflexion of the stem (cf. Wackernagel II. 1 p. 131, III p. 358). On *itthā-ittha* see §455; on *achā*: *acha*, §461. Otherwise we record here only the form *viśvāhā* or °*ha*, and a couple of lexical variants:

*śivā viśvāha* (VS. and p p of MS. °*hā*) *bheṣajī* (MS °*jā*; TS *viśvāha-bheṣajī*) VS. TS. MS. KS. (Cf. *eratam rakṣanti viśrahā* etc., §511).

The reading of MS p p. suggests interestingly that we may have a case of shortening for the sake of rhythm or meter (note surrounding long syllables). If the word is a compound of *viśva* and *ahan*, as Grassmann believed, the variation would rather be one of noun declension (neut plur. in *a-ā*, cf. §§459 f.).

*ati rā* (AV. *atira*) *yo marulo manyate nah* RV. AV. *vā na*

*yad indra citra mehanā* (SV. PB *ma iha na*) RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ N

See §832

*athem ara sya* (AV. *athemam asyā*) *vara ā pṛthivyāḥ* AV TS AŚ ŚŚ MŚ  
 'Then set him free upon the choice spot of earth': 'then him upon the choice spot of this earth . . . '.

2 Non-final *a ā* in verb inflexion

§478. In various verbal stem-formations and a few verbal inflexional forms, *a* medial varies with *ā*. Rhythmic considerations play a part in some of these, notably in the well known variation between *āya* and *aya* in denominative stems (VV I p 155), with which must properly be classed verbal adjectives in *u* from denominative stems, showing the same shift.

*devān devayate* (TB ApŚ MŚ *devā°*) *yaja* (MŚ *yajamānāya svāhā*)  
RV SV. KS TB. ApŚ MŚ

*agne preṭi prathamō devayātām* (AV. *devatūnām*, MS KS *devāyatām*)  
AV VS TS MS KS ŚB The verse is meant for *jagati* in all except AV.; meter favors *devā°*.

*apānūdo janam amitrayantam* (AV *amitrā°*) RV. AV. TS. KS  
*devayuvam* (TS TB *devā°*) *viśtvārām* (AŚ °*re*) TS. ŚB TB AŚ. ŚŚ  
*devīr āpo agreṇuvo . . . devayuvam* (VSK *deva°*) VS VSK ŚB.

§479. Similar conditions exist in the radical syllable of the causative (VV I p 155).

*vasoṣpate nī ramaya* (N *rām°*, so v 1 of AV) AV. N : *vasupate vi ramaya*  
MS

*yāvayāsmad dveṣam* KS : *yavayāsmad dīcṣah* VS TS ŚB. Kauś . *yavaya*  
(v. 1 *yā°*) *dveṣo asmat* MS : *yavayāsmad aghā dveṣānsi* TA.

*yāvayārātm* KS . *yavayārātīh* (MS. Kauś °*tim*) VS TS. MS ŚB Kauś  
The p p of MS has *yāvaya*

*tatra havyāni gāmaya* (KS *ga°*) RV. KS TB ApŚ MŚ But von  
Schroeder reads *gāmaya* in KS with one of his three mss

§480. There are shifts between strong and weak perfect stems which involve this variation; see VV I p. 187, to which our first variant should be added

*adīśan vā* (MS *dhīpsyam vā*, TB *yad vādāsyān*) *saṃjagara* (TB. °*jagārā*,  
MS °*akara*) *janebhyah* MS TB TA These are first person forms,  
so that either *a* or *ā* is permissible by regular grammar  
*yat sāsahat* (SV *sāsāhā*, KS *śāsāhat*) *sadane kam cid atrinam* RV SV.  
KS

*bibheda valam* (AV. AŚ *balam*) *bhrgur na sasāhe* (AV. *sasahe*) AV. SV.  
AŚ ŚŚ The *ā* is probably due to the meter here, in the middle it  
is highly irregular, tho not unknown (Whitney, *Grammar* §793h).

But the AV. form is itself not regular, it should be *sehe*

*svām cāgne tanvam* (TA *tanuvam*) *pīprayasva* (AV. *pīprā°*) RV AV. TA.  
MahānU See VV I p 187 The *ā* here disturbs the meter, but  
is otherwise hardly much worse than the rival form.

§481. There are a number of cases of sigmatic aorists containing *a* or *ā*, or sigmatic aorists with *ā* varying with other aorists or presents in medial *a*. They are mostly collected in VV I pp 128 f, 186. On the latter page, under §277, is to be added the following.

*ānyāvākṣid* (VS *ānyā vakṣad*) *vasu vāryāni* VS TB Cf also *grāvāvadid* (ApŚ *grāvā vaded*, so KS ed, with *v* 1 as Conc) *abhi somasyānsum* (ApŚ *śunā*) KS ApŚ

§482. Subjunctive forms with an ending containing *ā* often vary with indicative or imperative (injunctive) forms with endings containing short *a*. They hardly concern phonetics, and can be found in VV I, in the appropriate places (§§117, 124, 137, 152-4, 167f). Nor shall we list here the different modal forms of the roots *dā* and *dhā* which show alternatively *a* and *ā* (VV I §193), or augmented and augmentless verb forms in initial *ā.a*, VV I pp 180f, and elsewhere, of which the following may be mentioned here as examples.

*ayann* (TB ApŚ *āyann*) *arthāni kṛnavann apānsi* RV KS TB ApŚ *ahā yad dyāvo* (AV *devā*) *asunītm ayan* (AV *āyan*) RV AV *āyan* is imperfect indicative, *ayan* subjunctive.

There are yet other variations in verbal endings showing this shift. We shall quote only one of the dual endings *-tam* and *-tām*, 2d and 3d persons, which should be added to VV I §337.

*ā mā gantām* (VSK † *īam*) *pītarā mātārā ca* (VSK † *yuvam*) VS VSK 10 3 12c, TS KS ŚB Subject voc in VSK, nom elsewhere. Surrounding *pādas* have 3d person verbs.

### 3 Non-final *a ā* in noun formation

§483. In this class nearly all traces of rhythmic or metrical influence disappear, the variants are almost exclusively morphological (occasionally lexical), and concern phonetics only to a slight extent. Yet even here it is hard to rule out altogether phonetic considerations. Our volume on Noun Formation will deal more extensively with this group.

§484. Most of them fall into two classes. First, there are variants in which two primary noun formations interchange, one having *a* and the other *ā* in the radical syllable, the suffix being usually tho not always the same. Included here are some obscure words of doubtful origin, where the original form is uncertain and the variation may be phonetic in some sense. Second, there are cases of variation between secondary formations with the *vṛiddhi* of secondary derivation and other, primary or secondary, formations without this *vṛiddhi*. The distinction between the two classes is not always clear or definite.

§485. Under primary formations with radical *a* or *ā*, we may call attention first to a number of variations between the stems *yava(n)*, *yavas*, *yāv°*, and *ay°*, *āy°*, to which attention has already been drawn in §471. The original form of the word in question is unknown:

*sajūr abdo* (MS \**abdā*) *ayavabhīh* (KS *āy°*, TS ApŚ 'yāvabhīh, MS.

MS *āyavabhīh*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MS

*yavā ayavā ūmā abdah* (KS *āyavā ūmā ũvā abdas*; TS. ApŚ *yāvā ayāvā evā ūmāh sabdah*) *sagarah sumekah* TS MS. KS. ApŚ MS

*yavānām* (TS *yāv°*) *bhāgo* 'sī VS TS MS KS ŚB

*ayavānām* (TS *ayāv°*) *ādhipatyam* VS TS MS KS

*yavās cāyavās cādhipataya āsan* VS MS KS ŚB : *yāvānām cāyavānām cādhipatyam āsū* TS

§486. Rather numerous are cases in which the primary suffix *a* is used with well-known roots in forming primary derivatives with either *a* or *ā* in the root syllable, type *bhaga bhāga*. They call for no comment: *subhagamkaranā mama* AV. *subhāgamkaranam mama* SMB. Most *samhitā* mss of AV *subhāg°*.

*mām agne bhāginam kuru* ApMB : *mām indra bhaginam kṛnu* AV

*samsrāvabhāgā* ('*gāh*, '*gās*, VS ŚB KŚ *samsrava°*) *slheṣā* (Kauś *taviṣā*) *bṛhantah* VS TS MS KS ŚB. Kauś

*namah parṇāya* (TS KS † *parṇāya*) *ca parṇasādāya* (TS '*sadyāya*, VS. '*sādāya*) *ca* VS TS. MS KS.

*prālah prālahsavasya* (ApŚ. MS '*sāvasya*) *śukravato* ... ŚB. KŚ ApŚ MS *prālahsāva* is the only form known to RV, but the other is commoner later

*prālah prālahsavasyendrāya* (ApŚ MS '*sāvasyen°*) .. KŚ ApŚ. MS *śrāvaś* (VS. *śravaś*) *ca me śrutis ca me* VS. VSK TS MS KS. *śravaś* might be taken as an *s*-stem, but not *śrāvaś*

*kṣuro bhrajaś* (TS *bhrjvāñ*, MS *bhrjaś*, VS *bhrājaś*) *chandah* VS TS. MS KS ŚB. : *bhrajaś* (KS ed † *bhrā°*, v l *bhra°*) *chandah* VS (in next verse) TS KS (in same verse) ŚB. Comm. on VS *bhrajaś* for *bhrā°*.

*vahnah samtarano* (TA *sampārano*) *bhava* VS TA. Different but synonymous roots

§487. Forms in primary *ya*, practically gerundives in meaning:

*yad bhūtam yac ca bhavyam* (AV \*ArS VS *bhā°*, AV.\* *yad vā bhāvyaṃ*)

RV AV (bis) ArS VS TA. Comm on AV and Ppp *bhav°* Metrical lengthening, possibly

*ullarasyām devayajyāyām upahūtah* (TB also '*iā*) TS ŚB TB : *upahūto 'yam yajamāna* (MS '*nā*) *ullarasyām devayajyāyām* (MS. '*yājyāyām*) MS AŚ ŚŚ

§488. Forms in other suffixes.

*havanaśrun* (TB *hāvanaśrūr*) *no rudreha bodh* RV TB *hāvana-* is not otherwise recorded from root *hū*

*dūṣikābhīr hrādunim* (KSA † *hra°*) TS KSA : *hrādunīr dūṣikābhīh* VS MS. The word is not otherwise recorded with short *a*, if KSA is correct, it has probably suffered analogical influence from the sphere of *hrada*

*duācarebhyo* (MG °*cārībhyo*) *bhūtebhyah* MG VīDh. *ahaścārebhyah* ŚG (Sc. *namah* in both) Also. *naktamcarebhyah* ŚG. VīDh. *naktamcārībhyo bhūtebhyah* MG Stems *cara* and *cārīn*

*tatañ me apas* (TB ApŚ. *ma āpas*) *tad u tāyate punah* RV KB TB AŚ ApŚ Both *apas* and *āpas* are Rigvedic

*vrātāni* (MS TB ApŚ *vrātā nu*) *bibhrad vrātāpā adabdhah* (TB ŚŚ ApŚ ŚG *adābhyah*) MS AB TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ ŚG Here the gerundive varies with a participle.

§489. The remaining variants under this head are in some way or other doubtful or obscure, but seem generally to be primary formations, occasionally they may be lexically different in origin

*adāyo* (TS *adāyo*, MS *ādāyo*) *vīrah* (AV ed with p p *adaya ugrah*, but mss *adā°*, and so comm) *śatamanyur indrah* RV AV. SV VS TS MS, KS On the initial *ā* of MS see §471 The second *ā* is anomalous if the word means 'pitiless' (so AV comm). Possibly 'without a share' (*dāya*), tho this fits none too well For other suggestions see Keith's translation of TS and note

*marudbhyo grhamedhībhyo* (MS °*dhebhyo*) *baśkīhān* (MS. *vaś*, ApŚ *bāśkīhān*) VS MS. ApŚ. Cf §219 The word is obscure, is the *ā* somehow connected with the suppression of the second syllable in ApŚ?

*īṣat* ApŚ. *vaśatīkārāh* AG ŚG If Garbe's conjecture is right (all mss of ApŚ *vaśat*) it is a deliberate and artificial variation of the familiar exclamation *vaśat*

*ākhuḥ laśo mānthālas* (MS *mānthālavas*, VSK *māndhālas*) *te pitṛnām* VS VSK MS : *pāñktrah* (KSA † *pāñktah*, but mss of both texts *pāntra-*) *laśo mānthālavas* (KSA † *man°*) *te pitṛnām* (KSA † *pitṛ°*) TS KSA See §77

*hemantāya laharān* (KSA † *lahārān*) VS MS KSA ApŚ Name of an unknown animal or bird

[*śīśirāya vīkalarān* (KSA † *vīkarān*, Conc *vīlārān*; ApŚ *vīkīrān*) VS KSA ApŚ]

*āstām jālma* (KS *jālma*) *udaram śranśayitvā* (KS *srans°*) AV KS.

*nāhro maharah kulīpayas* (TS *kulīkayas*, MS *pulīkayas*, KSA *pulī-rayas*) *te 'kūpārasya* (KSA † *kūvarasya*) VS. TS. MS KSA Read *kūvārasya* in KSA; see §198

*śanderathas śandikera ulūkhalaḥ* ApMB.: *śāndikera* (PG *śaundikeya*) *ulūkhalaḥ* HG PG Fanciful names of demons

*ākluh śjayā śayandakas te mairāh* (KSA *śayāndakās te mairiyāh*, em in ed to *'kas te mairāh*) TS KSA · *śārgah śjayah śayāndakas te mairāh* VS. MS The word *śay°* is obscure, and may have been originally a compound

*vāśā stha* VS TS ŚB TB ApŚ. *vaśāh stha* MS KS MŚ. Addressed to waters *vāśā* probably 'bellowing' (BR and Keith 'obedient', implausibly following one of Sāyana's guesses); *vaśāh* 'cows' It is held by some that *vāśā* is connected with the root *vāś*, 'bellow'.

§490. Coming to secondary noun formations, we find first a number of cases in which two secondary stems exchange, one having *vriḍḍhi* in the first syllable and the other lacking it

*tisraś ca rājabandhavīh* (HG. *°vaish*) HG ApMB. *prajāh sarvās ca rājabāndhavanīh* (MG *°vyah*) PG MG : *sarvās ca rājabāndhavanīh* (ŚG † *°bāndhavanīh*) AG ŚG (Oldenberg suggests reading *°vīh* in ŚG) Alternative stems *bandhava* and *bān°*, both from *bandhu*

*mitrāvarunau praśāstārau praśāstrāt* (KŚ *prā°*) KŚ ApŚ MŚ. The office of the *praśāstṛ* is *praśāstra* or *prā°*

*dvyam suparnam vāyasam* (AV *payasam*, KS VS ŚB TS \* *vayasā*, MS TS \* *vayasam*) *brhantam* RV. AV VS TS KS MS ŚB. AŚ. Suparn *vāyasa* and *va°* both 'bird', *vayasā* is instr of the unrelated *vayas* 'strength'.

*dhiṣanāsi parvatī* (TS TB ApŚ *°ityā*, MS KS MŚ *pārvatī*, but KS mss *par°*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ. In the Tait texts a secondary adjective *parvatya*, in the Maitr. school an equivalent *pārvaṭa*, the form *parvatī* must also have the same meaning (Mahidhara seems to explain it as having 'Vedic' shortening); it is too well attested to make emendation advisable See next

*prah tvā parvatī* (TS TB *°ur*, MS KS MŚ *pārvatī*) *vettu* VS. TS. MS KS ŚB TB MŚ See prec Twice in KS, once the sole ms has *parv°*, the other time *pārvo°*, but KapŚ *parv°*

*gārgī* (AG *gargī*) *vācakanavī* (sc *īrpyatu*) AG. ŚG. Patronymics, *gārgī* is to be expected See next

*śākalyam* ŚG *śākalam* AG (with both sc *īrpayāmi*) Read no doubt *śākalyam* in ŚG (misprint, Oldenberg's translation has *Śākalya*) Cf prec



*ya āntarikṣāh* (sc *sarpās tebhya imam bahm harāmi*) HG : *ye sarpāh pārthivā ye antarikṣyā ye divyā* AG.

*vāyur na īdita īditavyair devair antarikṣyair* (ApŚ *āntarikṣair*) *pātu* KS ApŚ

*āṅgūśānām* (SV *aṅgośinam*) *avāvasanta vānīh* RV SV The SV form in this and the next is dubious

*āṅgūśyam* (SV *aṅgośinam*) *pavamānam sakhāyah* RV SV Cf prec *śvetāya vaidarvāya* (*°vyāya, °dārvāya, vaitahavyāya*), see §315

*suvarṇastainyam avrātyam* (BDh *avratyam*) V1Dh BDh Perfect equivalents

*narāśanse* (VS *nār°*) *somapūham ya āśuh* (KS *ānaśuh*) VS MS KS TB It is at least conceivable that *narāśansa*, as name of a certain libation, is a secondary derivative without *vṛddhi*

[*narāśansa stavīṣyate* AV AŚ ŚŚ In the Berlin ed of AV. is printed the false emendation *nārā°*]

*sūyavasinvā manave* (RV TA *manuṣe*, KS *mānuṣe*) *daśasyā* (TA *°sye*, TS MS KS *yaśasye*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB *mānuṣa* of KS = *manuṣa* of TA (*manuṣe* in RV. is dative of *manuṣ*, a more primitive form, all ultimately connected with *manu*, whence the dative *manave*)

*agnīd rajanarauhinau* (so ed, v 1 *rāja°*, p p *rājan, rau°*) *purodāśāv adhiśraya* MS A name of a *sāman*, see note in MS, and BR s v *rājana*, which seems to be the true form; *rajana* would perhaps be an equivalent formation if it were acceptable

*yakṣmam śronibhyām* (ApMB *śronī°*) *bhāsadāt* RV ApMB : *yakṣmam bhasadyam śronibhyām bhāsadam* AV

*aranyāya* (MS *āranāya*) *śmarah* VS. TS MS KSA Both mean 'of distance'

*kalpayatam mānuṣīh* TB ApŚ. *ḍṛnhantām dauṛ viśah kalpantām* †*manuṣyāh* KS

*achinno divyas* (KS ApŚ *dauvyas*) *lantur mā mānuṣaś* (KS ApŚ *manuṣyaś*) *chedi* MS KS ApŚ

*bṛhaspatir devānām* (ŚŚ *dauvo*) *brahmāham manuṣyānām* (ŚŚ *mānuṣah*) VSK TB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ

§491. In other cases a secondary formation with *vṛddhi* of the initial syllable varies with some form of the primary word from which it is derived, or with a related word.

*śunam vāhāh śunam narah* (TA *nārāh*) RV AV TA *narah*, plur of *nṛ*, *nārāh*, plur. of *nāra*, from *nṛ* or *nara*

*namas te rathamtarāya* (AA *rāth°*) . . AA LŚ ŚŚ Both words refer to

the Rathamtara sāman, AA. forms an adjective from the noun *rath°*, with *sāmnē* understood.

*bhuvanam asi sāhasram* (MS. \**sah°*, ŚG. *sahasrapoṣam*, MS. \**sahasrapoṣapuṣi*, ApŚ *sahasrapoṣam puṣa*) MS SMB ApŚ MŚ. ŚG. Probably read *sāhasram* in MS\*, note that MŚ. has this *vāyosāmitra* (TS p p °*trah*, MS *vāyusavitṛbhīyām*) *āgomugbhīyām caruh* (MS. *payah*) TS. MS KSA Both = 'of Vāyu and Savitar.'

*tasmai brahma ca brāhmāś* (TA *brahmā*) *ca* AV TA.

*nāsām āmitro* (TB *nainā amītro*) *vyathir ā dadharṣati* RV. AV. TB *āmītra* = 'belonging to the enemy (*amītra*).'

*agnes tvā* (MS *agneṣ (vā)* *mātrayā jagatyai* (KS. °*lyā*, MS. *jāgatyā*) *vartanyā*. . TS MS. KS 'with the path of the jagatī' or 'with the jagatī as path'. KS v l. *jāgatyā*

*jagad asi* MS MŚ : *jāgataṁ asi* MS. TA ApŚ : *jāgatāsi* MS : *jāgato 'si* MS MŚ All 'composed in jagatī meter'

*prabhāyā agnyedham* (TB *āgnendham*), VS TB. The TB. form is problematic, comm *agneh prajvalanākartāram*, which would make it equal to *agnyedham* Should we read *āgnyendham*, 'having to do with fire-kindling'? Or *āgnīndham*?

*sadyakṛīś* (ApMB *sādyakṛīś*) *chandasā saha* ŚG ApMB. *sadyakṛī* (masc !), name of an ekāha The ApMB. form would seem to be a secondary derivative, but in that case would have to be fem., and there seems to be no fem noun with which it could agree

*prāvanebhīh sajoṣasah* RV. VS TS ŚB.: *pravanena sajoṣasah* MS KS The π λγ *prāv°* is doubtful; Grassmann as secondary adj, '(fires) of the abyss' But RV. p p *prav°*, possibly rhythmic lengthening (note that the following consonant is *v*, cf. §464). The primary word is probably to be derived from root *pru*, tho it has been interpreted as a compound of *pra* and *vana*; in that case it would belong to §465

*śāśvatībhīyah* (AV ApŚ and TB Poona ed *śas°*) *śamābhīyah* AV. VS TB IśU. ApŚ The adjective *śāśvata* = *śasval*, fem forms of both *yadi varunasyāsi*. Kauś : *yadi vāruny asi* Rvidh ApG.: *yady asi vāruṣi* . . GG

*yathā yamāya harmyam* (TA *hā°*) AV. TA.; and

*evā* (TA. *evam*) *vapānu harmyam* (TA *hā°*) AV TA *harmya* is recorded only here, and may mean the same as *harmya*, or be a corruption of that; but TA takes it as a secondary adj, 'suitable for the house', supplying a noun, and this is also possible

*sūpasithā asi vānaspatīyah* MŚ. *sūpasthā devo vānaspatīh* TS. ApŚ.

*esa u sya vṛṣā rāthah* RV. SV · *esa sya rāthyo vṛṣā* VS ŚB  
*adhyaḥśyāyānuḥṣattāram* TB †*ādhyahśyāyānuḥṣattāram* VS  
*somo vaiṣṇavo rājā* (AŚ ŚŚ *somo vaiṣṇavas*) . *aṅgirasas* (AŚ †*āṅg*°,  
 ŚŚ *aṅgirasas veda*) *vedah* . ŚB AŚ ŚŚ. 'The Aṅgirasas (i.e.,  
 the AV) are the Veda', so ŚB The others mean the same thing.  
 'the (Veda) of the Aṅgirasas'

§492. There remain a number of other cases which seem to concern  
 noun formation in a broad sense First a group of variants between  
*āgrayana* and *āgrā°*, name of the first soma offering at the Agniṣṭoma,  
 which is apparently derived from *agra*, the *ā* may be rhythmic in  
 character. The variants seem to suggest a preference for the *ā* form in  
 MS MŚ and KS, with short *a* elsewhere.

*nāhanavata āgrayanah* (MS KS *āgrā°*) VS TS MS KS ŚB  
*āgrayanaś* (MS KS *āgrā°*) *ca me* VS TS MS KS  
*āgrayanāt* (KS MS *āgrā°*) *trīnavatrayastrīṇsau* VS TS MS KS ŚB  
*āgrayano* (MS MŚ *āgrā°*) 'si *svāgrayanah* (MS MŚ *svāgrā°*) VS TS  
 MS ŚB MŚ

*āgrayanas te dakṣakratū pātu asau* AŚ · *ātmānam ta āgrāyanah* (ApŚ  
 †*āgra°*) *pātu* MS ApŚ

§493. When roots ending in *ā* are used as final parts of compounds,  
 the *ā* is frequently shortened, bringing the word into the common *a*  
 declension

*ūrnamradasam* (etc, see §475) *svāsastham* (VS † ŚB † *°sthām*)  
*devebhyaḥ* VS TS KS ŚB TB KŚ Kauś *uru prathasvornam-*  
*radam svāsastham devebhyaḥ* MS

*kṛṣṇo 'sy ākhareṣṭhah* (MS KS and most mss of MŚ *°ṣṭhāḥ*) VS TS  
 MS KS ŚB TB MŚ ApŚ

*yuvā kavī puruṇiṣṭha* (KS *°ṣṭhā*) *ṛtāvā* RV TS MS KS

*mītro na* (MS MŚ *nā*) *ehi sumitradhah* (TS KS *°dhāḥ*, MS \* *°dhah*  
*saha rāyas poṣena*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

*yo devānām nāmadhā* (AV *°dha*) *eka eva* (KS *eko asti*) RV AV VS TS  
 MS KS.

*adabdhō gopāḥ* (KS †*gopah*) *pari pāhi nas tvam* (KS *pari pātu viśvataḥ*)  
 RV TS KS

*pravāyāhne 'har jnva* MS : *pravayāhnāhar jnva* VS The MS form is  
 suspicious in the light of the surrounding parallel formulas, which  
 are instrumental in form If correct it is a dative from *pra-va*,  
 VS has instr. of *pra-vā* The root is *vā*, 'blow'

§494. Other variants involving different related or quasi-related  
 noun stems

*aprajastām pautramṛtyum* ApMB HG : *aprajasyam pautramarītyam* SMB . *aprajāstvam mārīvalasam* AV On stems *prajas* and *prajāś* (: *prajā*) see Wackernagel II 1 p 95 f

*sa tvā manmanasām karotu* (ApMB °*sam karotu*) PG ApMB. 'He shall make thee (fem) me-minded' Stems *man-manas* and *man-manasa*

*agnir adhyakṣah* (TA °*śāh*) MS TA. 'Agni is overlord' There is no apparent explanation of the anomalous *ā* of TA., as if from stem *adhyakṣas*<sup>1</sup> It is repeated in the comm, with gloss *svāmī*

*satvanām* (MS *satvānām*, KS †*satvānām*) *pataye namah* VS TS MS. KS Stems *satvan* and *sattva*; MS. has a bad writing for *sattv*°, cf §392

*imām narāh (narah)*, see §328 Nom pl of stems *nara* and *nṛ*. *tisrah kṣapas* (TA °*pās*) *trir ahātivrajadbhīh* RV TA. Stems *kṣap* and *kṣapā*

*tābhīr* (TB *yābhīr*) *yāsi dūtyām* (MS °*yam*) *sūryasya* RV MS TB Stems *dūtyā* and °*ya* (Pischel, VSt 1 22, Oldenberg, *Noten* on 6 58 3)

*agne pṛthivīpate . . . varuna dharmanām pate* TB · *agne pṛthivyā varuna dharmānām*. ŚS Stems *dharma* and °*man* (Also listed in Conc under *varuna* )

§495. The numeral for 'eight' has stem final, in declensional forms as well as in composition, ending in both *ā* and *a*, the former predominates earlier, the latter in the later language, cf. Wackernagel III p 358 f

*aṣṭasthūno daśapakṣah* Kauś : *aṣṭāpakṣām daśapakṣām* AV

*aṣṭābhyaḥ* (KSA *aṣṭa*°, but ed em *aṣṭā*°) *śatebhyaḥ svāhā* TS KSA

[*aṣṭābhyaḥ* (Conc wrongly KSA *aṣṭa*°) *svāhā* TS KSA]

[*agnaye gāyatrāya trivṛte rathamtarāyāṣṭākāpālāh* (with varr) VS TS MS KSA All texts *aṣṭā*°, Conc *aṣṭa*° for VS]

§496. A couple of doubtful cases

*samudrasya tvāvakayā* (TS ApŚ *tvāvā*°) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ. *avakā*, name of a water-plant, from *ava*, *avākā* presumably the same, perhaps with rhythmically lengthened *ā* before suffix *ka*, cf similar cases before *vant* and *vin*, §467, and Edgerton, JAOS 31 118, where this should in that case be added Boehtlingk, 'die untere Eihaut' for *avākā*, evidently thinking of *avā(ñ)c*, Keith, 'wind', we see little reason for either interpretation.

*nirṛtim nirjajalpena* (MS *nirjalpena*, TS *nirjālmakena*, KS *nirjālmāka-*) *śīrṣṇā* VS TS. MS KS Obscure word, see §810 TS comm, followed by Keith, 'bald'.

4. Non-final *a ā* in Noun Declension

§497. In inflexional forms of nouns the shift between *a* and *ā* is regularly accompanied, and no doubt wholly determined, by morphological or syntactic changes. Rhythmic or other phonetic considerations enter in hardly at all. We begin with purely formal shifts, not accompanied by change of syntax, that is, the variant forms are felt as of the same case, number, and gender.

§498. First, the forms *apas* and *āpas* are frequently interchanged as nom. and acc. of stem *ap* (Wackernagel III p. 240):

*śam no bhavantu āpa oṣadhayah* (6.23.3 *apa oṣadhīh*) *śvāh* AV 2.3.6, 6.23.3. But mss. at 2.3.6 also *apa* (comm. *āpah*), which Whitney's Translation restores, and this despite the fact that both forms are nominatives! The shortening may be influenced by the meter, it furnishes the desired anapest after the cesura.

*apo* (RV. AŚ *āpo*) *adyānu* (TS TB JB. ApŚ *anu*, AV. *divyā*) *acārīṣam* (JB *īacārīṣam*, AV *acārīṣam*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB JB AŚ LŚ ApŚ MŚ ApMB. ApG MG. Here the form is accusative.

§499. Stems in *d* do not usually show ablaut in the stem syllable except in the case of *pad*, which shows some fluctuation in composition and in case-forms (Whitney §387.4, Wackernagel III p. 235 f.). The variants present a couple of cases of this stem, and also one of *sad*, not recognized as lengthening the stem *a* by Whitney §387 or Wackernagel III p. 237, foot.

*dṛpac catuṣpad* (SV *dṛpāc catuṣpād*) *arjuna* RV SV.

*dṛpac catuṣpad* (AV VS Kauś. *dṛpāc catuṣpād*) *asmākam* RV AV VS VSK TS Kauś.

*catuṣpadām uta yo* (TS *ca*) *dṛpadām* AV TS *catuṣpādā uta ye dṛpādāh* KS MŚ. Here the ablaut is regular, different case forms.

*viśvā āśā dakṣinasat* (AB AŚ °*sāt*, ŚŚ °*tah*, LŚ °*dhak*) VS. MS AB ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ.

§500. Twice Tait. texts present vṛiddhi-grade forms of *pitṛ* in the bahuvrīhi compound *dākṣa-pitṛ*, which Wackernagel II 1 p. 101 (cf. also III p. 200) properly compares with *tvāt-pitārah*.

*sudakṣā dakṣapitarā* (TB °*tārā*) RV. TB

*ye devā manoṣṭhā* (MS KS MŚ *manu*°) *sudakṣā dakṣapitaras* (TS † °*tāras*) TS MS KS BDh VdH.

§501. Of *n*-stems, there is one case of nom. pl. *vṛṣañah* (Wackernagel III p. 267) replaced in a later text by the more regular-seeming *vṛṣānah* *īṛṣānah* (TB *vṛṣānah*) *saṃdihmah* RV. AV SV ŚB TB.

§501a. And once a form with irregularly lengthened *a*, *paśumānti*, from a *mant* stem (noted RPr 589 = 9 30), is replaced in SV by the regular form:

*mīleva sadma paśumānti* (SV °*mant*) *hotā* RV SV — Similarly.

*ava dronāni ghṛtavānti sīda* (SV °*vanti roha*) RV SV.

§502. As to *s*-stems, the ending *as* in the neuter nom.-acc. of adjectives may be lengthened to *ās* (Wackernagel III p 288).

*śarmā* (TA °*ma*) *sapṛathā āvr̥ne* KS TA. *śarma yachātha sapṛathah*

AV But all mss. of AV °*thāh*, which should doubtless be read;

comm °*thah*

*yachā nah* (AV *yachāsmar*) *śarma sapṛathah* (AV VS KS TA ApŚ ApMB HG °*thāh*) RV AV VS MS KS TA ApŚ SMB HG ApMB N

*viśām agnīm atithīm suprayasam* (KS °*yāsam*) RV KS The meter favors a long, and this may be the reason for KS's secondary reading, v Schr emends to °*yāsam*, rather rashly, we think Cf. Whitney §415b, 2, 3 (But Wackernagel III p 282 denies *ās* to other words than *uśas*) Oldenberg, *Noten*, denies ground for emending the RV, which is unquestionably conservative and wise, but the meter is nevertheless poor, and he offers no explanation of it *ayā san* (so read, MS *ayāh san*, KS ms *ayāsā*, ed emend *ayās san*) *manasā hītah* (MS *kṛtah*, p p *kṛtah*, KS *kṛtah*) MS KS TB. ApŚ ApMB HG : *ayāsā manasā* (AŚ *vayasā*) *kṛtah* AŚ ŚŚ : *ayāsā manasā dhṛtah* ApŚ ApMB HG See next.

*ayā san* (MS ŚŚ *ayāh san*, KS *ayā<sup>c</sup> san*, Kauś *ayāsyam*) *havyam ūhṣe* MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś ApMB HG *ayasā ha<sup>c</sup> ū<sup>c</sup>* ApŚ ApMB. HG The old adjective *ayās* becomes *ayas* in oblique cases in some secondary texts, a natural change owing to the rarity of stems in *ās*, and to the agreement of the nom. form with nouns of stems in *as* See Geldner *VSt* 3 122 n 5, Neisser, *ZWbch d RV*, s v, Wackernagel III p 282

§503. A couple of miscellaneous equivalent noun forms

*agne yan me tanvā* (TS *tanuvā*) *ūnam* (ŚŚ *yan ma ūnam tanvas*) *tan ma ā pr̥na* VS TS ŚB ŚŚ PG Abl-gen sing of *u*-stem

*anadvāns tapyate vahan* (MŚ *talpate vahān*) ApŚ MŚ The passage of MŚ is unpublished, if correctly reported, the ending of the nom. sing. pres. pple. would be lengthened by analogy with *mant* and *vant* stems

§504. Concerning pronoun declension, we have one case in which the dual stem *yuva-* is replaced by the later *yuvā-*:

*athā somasya prayatī yuvābhyām* RV.: *adhā somasya prayatī yuvābhyām*  
KS But v. 1. of KS *yuva°*.

§505. Coming now to forms involving some syntactic shift, we find first exchanges between forms of masculine and feminine gender in adjectives modifying nouns of common gender

*svām* (MS KS. *svam*, MG *sva-*) *yonim gacha svāhā* AV. VS TS MS KS  
ŚB MG *yonī* may be masc or fem, the Tait school makes it fem in all the variants

*agne svam* (TS TB *svām*, ŚB *tvam*) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS ŚB *sādhuyā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB See prec

*svam* (TS *svām*) *yonim ihāsadaḥ* VS TS † MS KS (No *svam* in TS)  
*yajñō bhūtvā yajñam ā sīda svām* (MŚ *svam*) *yonim* TB ApŚ MŚ  
[*svāmkrto* (KS *svam°*) 'sī VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ Here both forms are quasi-adverbial, in a compound verb form]

*dhruvam* (TS °*vām*) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS ŚB *sādhuyā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB.

*mā mā* (KS *mām*) *hinsīṣam svam* (KS *yat svam*) *yonim* . . . MS KS :  
*mā mā hinsīh svām* (KS *svam*) *yonim* . VS KS ŚB TB. ApŚ :  
*mainam hinsīṣam svām yonim* AB

*sa no dadātu tam* (AV. *tām*) *rayim* AV AA ŚŚ *rayī*, masc or fem  
*athāsmabhyam saha virām* (AV VSK MS KS °*ram*) *rayim dāh* AV.  
VS VSK TS MS KS HG Cf prec

*abhīmam* (TS °*mām*, MS MŚ v. 1 °*mān*) *mahinā* (VS. MŚ v. 1. °*mā*)  
*divam* (MS *divah*) VS TS MS TA. ApŚ MŚ.

*yā* (MS *yā*) *iṣavo yātudhānānām* VS TS MS. ŚB NīlarU ApMB  
*iṣu*, m or f.

§506. These are the only cases noted of this change due to change in gender of the noun modified (the words concerned being *yonī*, *rayī*, and *divī*). There are not a few others in which the epithet is transferred to a different noun, involving change of gender. These will be treated in our volume on Noun Declension, and we deem it unnecessary to list them here We may, however, quote a few examples of forms in *-am* *-ām*, which are both adverbs equivalent in meaning, or of which the form in *-ām* is an adverb, that in *-am* a masc or neut adjective:

*indremam pratarām* (VS TS ŚB °*rām*) *kṛdhī* (VS MS ŚB. *naya*) AV.  
VS TS MS KS ŚB

*ud enam ultarām* (VS TS KS ŚB °*rām*) *naya* AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB  
Vait ApŚ MŚ Kauś

*jīvātare pratarām* (RV °*ram*) *sādhayā dhīyah* RV SV. SMB

*drāghīya āyuh pratarām* (TA † °*rām*, MG *prataram*) . RV AV. TA  
AG MG And others, see §575

*asmin kṣaye pratarām dīdyānaḥ* SV.: *adhi kṣami pratarām dīdhyānaḥ* RV. AV.

§507. In the declension of nouns, pronouns, and adjectives there are quite a few case forms which differ from one another only or chiefly in the quantity of an *a* vowel. This is, for instance, true as between the instr. sing. and other singular oblique cases of *ā*-stems, and between the nom. masc. sing. and plur. of *a*-stems; as well as between masc. or neut. and fem. forms, treated in §§505–6. We give merely a couple of examples of these, followed by an exchange between the nom. and accus. pronouns *tvaṃ* and *tām*. Since this matter does not properly concern phonetics, we shall reserve a full list and discussion for our volume on declension:

*surayā* (MS. KS *surāyā*) *mūtrāj janayanti* (VS. †MS. °*ta*) *retāḥ* VS MS KS † TB. 'By (from) *surā* they generate(d) seed from urine.'

*surayā* (MS. *surāyāḥ*) *somah suta āsuto madāya* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. *dīkṣayedam* (KS. *dīkṣāy°*) *havir āgachataṃ naḥ* KS. TB. ApŚ. All mss. and ed. of KS. read so; but it seems that it must be an error for *dīkṣay°*.

*ā yat tṛpan maruto vāraśānāḥ* (MS. °*naḥ*) RV. TS. MS. KS. The originally plural epithet is transferred to a singular noun in MS.

*pra candramās tirate* (TS † °*ti*, AV. † °*mas tirase*) *dirgham āyuh* RV. AV. TS MS. KS N Nom. voc.

*bhaga eva bhagavān astu devāḥ* (AV † *devaḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. *devāḥ* voc. pl.; *devaḥ* (lect. fac.) nom. sing. Ppp ms. *devāḥ*, wrongly emended to *devaḥ* by Barret JAOS 35. 88.

*namaḥ kṛtsnāyatayā* (VSK °*yatāya*)... VS. VSK. Others, §311. Metathesis of quantity in VS, which simulates an instr. fem. but is really uninterpretable

*tvaṃ* (TB. *tvaṃ*) *rāya ubhayāso janānām* RV. MS. KS. TB. The construction is changed; both readings are construable.

### 5 Non-final *a:ā* lexical and miscellaneous.

§508. In a considerable group of cases forms with the prepositional prefix *ā* vary with forms beginning in short *a*, of different origins; cf. the cases of *ā* and *a* privative, §§469 ff. First, cases in which the short *a* is the augment:

*vedhām āśata* (SV. *medhām āśa°*) *śriye* RV. SV. †

*ākṛān* (TA *ākṛān*) *samudrah prathame vidharman* RV. SV. PB. TA.

MahānU. N. Comm. on TA. *ākṛān ākrāntāvān vyāptarān*. *āgann apāna ātmānam*... ŚŚ.: *āgan prānaḥ svargam*... ŚŚ.



*āganma* (AŚ *ag°*) *vśvavedasam* VS ŚB AŚ

*āganma* (SV *ag°*) *vr̥trahantamam* RV SV AA ŚŚ

*ūrdhvo adhvare asthāt* (VS ŚB 'dhvara *āsthāt*, KS 'dhvare *sthāh*, ApŚ *adhvare sthāt*) VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

*agnaye samudham āhārṣam* (ŚG GG *ahārṣam*) AG ŚG SMB GG PG HG ApMB

*yad gharmah paryavartayat* (MŚ *paryā°*) TB ApŚ MŚ

*ājagan rātri sumanā iha syām* AV SPP, Berlin ed *ajagan*, with slight ms authority, some mss *ājagan*, see Whitney's note on AV 19 49 3

§509. Other cases involving presence or absence of the preposition *ā*, before forms in short *a*

*agne* (RV. *agne*) *yāhi suśastibhih* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

*aryamāyāti vṛṣabhas tuviṣmān* TS · *āryamā yāti vṛṣabhas turāṣāt* MS KS  
*patho anaktu* (AV KS °ti, TS *patha ānakti*) *madhvā ghṛtena* AV VS TS MS KS,

*āsmāsu* (KB *as°*) *nṛmnam dhāt* (KB *dhāh*) MS KB TA ŚŚ

*lāny antah puruṣe arpitāni* (AŚ °ṣa *ār°*) VS AŚ ŚŚ LŚ

*lāny antah puruṣe arpitāni* (AŚ Vait °ṣa *ār°*) VS AŚ ŚŚ LŚ Vait  
*yasmun sūryā ārpitāh* (KS †TB TA *ar°*) *sapta sākam* AV KS TB TA  
*indram yajñe prayaty ahvetām* (TB Conc *āhv°*, Poona ed *ahv°*, comm. *ahv°* with v l *āhv°*) VS TB

*agnayaḥ upāhvayadhvam* Vait : *agnir me hotā sa mopahvayatām* SMB

*agne gr̥hapata upa mā hvayasva* KS ApŚ MŚ In Vait *upa + ā*  
[*antarikṣam* (VS *ān°*) *prihvim adṛnhit* VS TB But Poona ed of TB *ān°*, which is clearly right]

§510. The pronouns *asmat* 'from us' and *asmāt* 'from him, it' exchange:

*kṛtam cid enah pra mumugdhy* (AV. TS\* *mumukṣam*) *asmat* (KS *asmāt*) RV. AV. TS MS KS

*pratya aupalām* (MS *ūh°*) *aśvinnā mṛtyum asmāt* (AV *asmat*) AV VS TS KS MS TA

§511. The rest are miscellaneous.

*vratam rakṣanti vśvāhā* AV · *vratā rakṣante vśvāhā* RV Probably both forms are adverbial (not compounded with *-ahan*), and the penultimate vowel lengthened in the RV form for some obscure reason, cf *śivā vśvāhā* ('ha) etc, §477.

*ye te panihāno bahavo janāyanāh* AV. · *ye te 'ryaman* (KS *arya°*) *bahavo delayānāh* TS MS KS † 10 13a *jana-ayana deva-yāna* But rhythmic or metrical considerations may be involved here

*gharmam pāta vasavo yajata* (TA. °tā, see §448, MS °trā) *vāl* (MS *vet*, TA *vat*) VS MS ŚB TA *vat*, *vāl*, or *vet*, a meaningless sacrificial exclamation

*āhalag* (MS *ah°*, TS TB *āhalam*, KSA *ahalam*) *iti vañcati* (TS. TB *sarpati*) VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB An onomatopoeitic interjection All texts may intend *āh°*, since the vowel is fused with a preceding final -ā, comm on VS TS *āh°*, p p of MS, to be sure, *ah°*, in default of comm or p p there is no evidence as to which KS intended

*añnārasya parah putrah ŚB āhnārasya parasyādah ŚŚ* Proper names of barbaric appearance and unknown relationships

*śataśśaraś chandasānuṣṭubheṇa ApŚ śatākṣarachandasā jāgalena Kauś* The Conc suggests *śatākṣ°* in ApŚ, but probably wrongly, Caland, 'der hundertstromige' (*sruva*).

*agdhād eko. samasanād ekah TS. adhvād eko .. sanād ekah sanāsanād ekah MŚ* See §181

*agnaye tvā mahyam āyur* (MS *mayo*) *dātra edhi* VS VSK MS ŚB ŚŚ Near-synonyms

*añlāñham* (MS *añlāv-añham*, so p p, KS *añkañham*) *chandah* VS TS MS KS ŚB The curious shortening in KS seems secondary, and may be related to the fact that two consonants follow (Prakritic shortening) Cf §362

*āptye* (AV *apriye*) *saṁ nayāmasi* RV. AV See §878

*vātajavar* (HG *vātājavar*) *balavadbhir manojavair* MS HG. See §268

*gāva upāvatāvatam* (SV *upa vadāvate*) RV SV See §60

*āntrīmukhaḥ* HG *ālikhann .. hantrīmukhaḥ* PG. See §386

*vśvaakarman bhauvana mām didāsitha* (ŚB *manda āsitha*) AB ŚB. ŚŚ. See §840

§512. Finally, a few cases with readings which are dubious or clearly erroneous-

*pra smā mināty ajarah* RV KS · *prāsmā minoty ajarah* ApŚ We cannot interpret *prāsmā*, unless as *prā* (for *pra*) *smā* (for *sma*). In that case the writing of the two words together is merely an editorial error, and the variant should be added to §439

*nīlagalasālā* AV. 6.16.4c *nīlagalamālāḥ śivah paśya* NīlarU. 22b The true reading of NīlarU. is certainly that of AV, see Jacob's *Concordance* s v, two mss and the comm read so, and the comm quotes AV 6.16.4

*aśīrṣānā ahaya* (SV. °ṣāno 'haya) *va* RVKh SV : *aśīrṣāna wāhayah* AV But we must read in RVKh as in SV, with Scheftelowitz (p 106).

*agnis ca dahatam prati* AV. SV. Misprinted *āgnis* in AV, see Whitney's note

*atṛā* (AV *tatra*) *yamah sādānā* (TA. °nāt) *te minotu* (AV *lṛnotu*) RV AV TA. Conc *sadanā* for AV

*asmān devāso 'ratā* (Conc. 'rata) *hateṣu* AV † And others, all with *aiatā*

*ā na indo śatagṛnam* (SV. misprinted *śāta*°) RV SV. See Benfey's Corrigenda

*artān* (GB *ārūn*) *chi somakāmam tākūh* GB etc Gaastra correctly *artān*

*visre devā udīcyām tu abhiṣṭcantu* (error for °cyām tvābhi°) *śreyase* Rvidh. *udīcyām tū dīśi visre devāh. . abhiṣṭcantv* AB.

*jāmim* (KS *īcamī*) *mā hinsīr amuyā* (MŚ *anu yā*) *śayānā* KS TB MŚ *mā jāmim moṣīr amuyā śayānām* AV The KS (one ms only) must certainly be emended to *jāmim*

*pavamāna vidharmanī* RV SV Once misprinted *pavamānā* in SV. corr Benfey's Corrigenda

*ītrīṣāharam sāma gāya* (correct Conc) MS ŚB MŚ *prastotar vīṣā-haram sāma gāya* ApŚ

## CHAPTER XII VARIATIONS BETWEEN SHORT AND LONG I AND U

§513. In contrast to the *a ā* variants, those between *i* and *ī* and between *u* and *ū* are both fewer in number and more miscellaneous in character. In particular they show relatively little clear evidence of the rhythmic lengthening which was so prominent a feature of the last chapter. This is perhaps partly due to the fact that variations between *i ī* and *u ū* as finals of noun stems are more often matters of morphology. To put it otherwise, there is great confusion in the Vedic language between the short and long *i* and *u* declensions, and only occasionally can such variation be plausibly attributed to rhythmic or other phonetic influences. On the other hand, these variants show a rather noteworthy number, proportionately speaking, of cases of 'phonetic' shortening of an *ī* or *ū* historically long. By this we mean a shortening which seems to have no justification in any known morphological category or any analogical influence—See §§300-2 for variations between *ī*, *ū*, and short *i*, *u*, plus nasal, and §§395-8 for the like before single and double consonants.

### 1 Final short *i* lengthened phonetically

§514. We begin with cases in which final *i*, originally short, is lengthened, apparently as a matter of straight phonetics. As in the case of *a ā*, we include not only absolutely final *i*, but *i* in the seam of compounds, before the suffix *vant*, and in the reduplicating syllable. Except the last, nearly all the cases concern prepositional adverbs in final *i*.

§515. The variants do not conform very well to the general principles established at the beginning of Chapter XI, except that the following syllable regularly begins with a single consonant, and that as a rule they do not occur at the end of a *pāda*. (On the one exception to this last, see §518.) The syllables surrounding the variant syllable are as apt to be long as short. A majority of the variants are prose, of the metrical ones, about half have the variant syllable as the second of the *pāda*. Only in one case can the lengthening be said to be required by the meter (*obhe aprā rodasī vi [vī] śa āvāh*, §516). There seems to be a special tendency for *i* to be lengthened before *v*, but also before *r* and sibilants (cf. §464, and Wackernagel I §§38, 41).



§518. The only other absolutely final *i* *ī* concerns the imperative ending *dhi*, which appears sometimes as *dhī*, probably under the same general conditions as final *ā* for *a* in verb endings. It happens that almost no variants of this sort occur; we may note that in the pāda: *sa no bodhi śrudhī havam* RV VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ several mss of MS. read *śrudhi*, but the printed texts are all alike. The single variant noted is, in fact, not recorded in the Conc. Strangely enough, the variant syllable is at the end of its pāda, where rhythmic lengthening is generally not allowed. The following pāda begins with *havam*, and it has been plausibly suggested by Benfey (*Quant* II 51), and approved by Oldenberg (*Proleg.* 421), that the lengthening in RV. is due to the common cadence *śrudhī havam* (cf. *RVRep* 673, top). In all texts but one this pāda has *śrudhī*, and that one (AŚ) is the only one in which the word *havam* does not immediately follow (the pāda being quoted in isolation there).

*imam me varuna śrudhī* (AŚ *śrudhi*) RV SV. VS TS MS KS AŚ. ApMB.

§519. Next we find three cases concerning the reduplicating syllable. The lengthening here is doubtless rhythmic, except in the first variant where it is obviously secondary and late (occurring before two consonants, the only case of this kind among the phonetic lengthenings of *i*).

*imam agne camasam iā v jīhvarā* (TA *jī°*) RV. AV. TA AG. *vyāpsyata* (AŚ *yī°*) *va te manah* (AŚ *mukham*) AŚ ŚŚ. Desiderative from *yabh*, the form with *yī°* is not recorded lexically nor in Whitney's Roots.

*udgrābhenod ajīrabhat* (KS *ajīrabham* and *ajīgrbham*) MS. KS.

§520. There are two cases of apparently rhythmic lengthening of *i* before the suffix *vant*.

*mādhyamdinasya savanasya nīṣkevalyasya bhāgasya śukravato* (ApŚ adds *manthivato*) *mādhuścula* (KŚ \* *manthivata*, v. 1 *manthi°*) *indrāya* (MŚ *savanasya śukra° manthivato nīṣk° bhāgasyendrāya*). . KŚ (bis) ApŚ MŚ. Stem is *manthin* (weak *manthī*) + *vant*.

*parameṣṭhī tvā sādayatu* . *raśmivaṭīm* (MŚ *raśmī°*) MS KS.

§520a. In one case *ī* is required in composition with a derivative of the root *kr*, while the *i*-form (otherwise textually dubious) may possibly represent an *m*-stem before *cārīn*:

*ima udvāsikārīna ime* . . TB ApŚ *imā uddhāsīcārīṇa ime* . . . MŚ.

Cf §59

§521. And finally, a single case of a noun compound, with what looks

like genuine rhythmic lengthening of *i* as stem final of its first member: *yā te agne hariṣayā* (VSK *harī°*, MS MŚ. *harā°*) *tanūr varṣiṣṭhā gahvar- eṣṭhā* VS. VSK ŚB. (Pratīkas MS MŚ.)

## 2 Final *i* in the seam of compounds shortened phonetically

§522. No wholly satisfactory formulation of the circumstances of this not uncommon phenomenon has yet been attained. We cannot improve on Wackernagel II 1 §56 e-g (cf also Leumann, *Gurupūṣākaumudī* 13 ff). It seems most likely to have been dependent originally on the opposite conditions to those which caused rhythmic lengthening, that is, to avoid a succession of long syllables, *i* was shortened before two consonants and between long syllables. The variants are on the whole favorable, or at least not unfavorable, to this hypothesis

§523. Radical *i* is shortened in the word *senānī*, not only in composition but in case-forms (below, §527), the following group of variants occurs all in one passage, where TS alone has the shortening:

*tasya rathagṛtsaś* (KS *ṛtsaś*, MŚ *ṛtsnaś*) *ca rathaujās ca senānī-grāmanyau* (TS *senām°*) VS TS MS KS ŚB And so with *tārṣyaś cārṣtanemiś ca, senajic ca susenaś ca, rathaprotāś* (TS *rathe°*) *cāsamarathāś ca, rathasvanaś ca rathecitraś ca*

§524. The other cases concern the feminine nouns *prthivī* and (once) *prapharvī*.

*yā devy aṣiṣṭake prānadā prapharvīdāh* (ApŚ *°vidāh*) KS ApŚ *namo 'gnaye prthivīkṣite lokasṛte* (ChU *prthivīkṣite lokakṣite*, MU *prthivīkṣite lokasṛte*) TS KSA ChU. MU.

*prthivīśadam* (MS *prthivī°*, VS *†°śadam*) *tvāntarikṣasadam* (VS *ṛaddasadam devasadam*) . . VS. TS MS KS ŚB TB

*prthivīsṛṇ* (MS *prthivī°*) *mā mā hṛnsih* MS TA

*ye devā dīnḥbhāgā* . . *ye prthivībhāgās* (TS KS *prthivī°*, but 2 mss of KS *°vī°*) TS MS KS

*svadhā pṛṛbhyah prthivīśadbhyah* (MŚ GG *prthivī°*) AV ApŚ MŚ Kauś GG HG

## 3 Miscellaneous final *i*-*ī*

§525. There is very little else On *na ced avedī* (*avedī*) etc, see §530 below, it does not belong here except by grace of Boehtlingk's emendation, which is not justified Otherwise we have noted only a few stray cases concerning noun declension, which really belong later and are placed here only because both forms happen to have final *i* or *ī*.

*agne tvam sūklavāg asy upaśruṭī* (MS. *°ti*, TB *°śruṭo*) *divas* (TB *divah*) *prthivyoh* MS ŚB. TB AŚ. ŚŚ The form is locative of an *i*-stem:

MS is anomalous (or possibly felt as a sort of neuter accusative adverb?)  
*ado* (MŚ *ato*, AV *ado yad*) *devī* (AV. KS *devī*) *prathamānā prthag yat* (AV. °*mānā purastāt*) AV KS. ApŚ. MŚ Nominative and vocative  
*stomatrayastrinśe bhuvanasya patnī* TS KS AŚ : *stomas trayastrinśe bhu° patnī* MS As prec see §818  
*sam devī* (KS *devī*) *devyorvaśyā* . . . TS KS ApŚ  
*rātri* (TB *rātrī*, v. 1 of KS *rātrih*) *stomam na jigyuṣe* (KS † TB °*ṣī*) RV KS TB  
*satyād ā* (ApŚ *satyā tā*) *dharmanas patī* (Vait MŚ *parī*) AŚ Vait ApŚ. MŚ  
*aśvinendram na jāgrn* (TB ° *vī*) VS MS TB. The -*vī* form is a dual adj., and so Mahīdhara takes the -*vi* form also; but possibly it may be a neut sing adverb  
*gāyatrī* (MG °*trī*) *chandasaṁ mātā* (MG *mōtah*) TA. TAA MahānU. MG Nom : voc  
*na śīsarīdata* (HG † *śīsarīdatah*) ApMB HG See §384.

#### 4 Noun stems in *i ī*

§526. It is well known that the division between short and long *i*-stems is lax, many words slip over from one category to the other sporadically or even frequently, and in some cases it is hard to be sure to which they originally belonged. Practically all the variants in this division concern such fluctuations. Little evidence for rhythmic influence can be discerned.

§527. We begin with cases where the original is certainly or probably *ī*. First, a case of the stem *senānī*, where the root *nī* 'lead' guarantees the original length of the vowel. In §523 we have seen that the shortening occurs also in composition:

*namah senābhyah senānībhyāś* (VS TS °*nībhyāś*) *ca vo namah* VS TS MS KS

§528. In the same context occurs the following variant. Boehtlingk takes the form in short *i* from a stem *śvan-in* 'having dogs', while he derives the other from *śva-nī* 'leading dogs', this seems improbable in the light of the variants, both are probably from *śva-nī*, with (possibly rhythmic) shortening in the one case (so Mahīdhara, followed by Griffith and Keith).

*namah śvanībhyo* (MS *śvanī°*) *mṛgayubhyāś ca vo namah* VS MS KS : *namo mṛgayubhyah śvanībhyāś ca vo namah* TS



Other cases of probably original *ī* are  
*sucakṣā aham akṣibhyām* (MG *akṣi*°) *bhūyāsam* AG PG MG N The  
*ī*-form is regular in the older language Wackernagel III p 303  
*varūtrīm* (KS † *varu*°, TS, *varūtrīm*) *tvaṣtur varunasya nābhīm* VS TS  
 KS ŚB *tvaṣtur varutrīm va*° *nā*° MS MŚ  
*rātrīm-rātrīm* (AV TS *rātrīm-rātrīm*) *aprayāvam bharantah* AV TS  
 MS KS ŚB  
*rātrīm* (KS *rātrīm*) *jinvā* TS KS PB Vait  
*rātrīm* (TS *rātrīm*) *pīvasā* TS KSA  
*śam rātrī* (VS *rātrīh*, VSK TA *rātrīh*) *prati dhīyatām* AV VS VSK  
 MS TA  
*rātrīm* (SMB PG MG °*rīm*) *dhenum wāyatīm* (AV *upāyatīm*) AV  
 HG ApMB SMB PG MG  
*ye rātrīm* (KS °*rīm*) *anulīsthantī* (KS † °*sthatha*) AV. KS  
*prati tvā parvatī* (TS TB °*tr*, MS KS MŚ *pārvatī*) *vettu* VS TS MS  
 KS. ŚB TB MŚ See §490  
*veṣaśrīr* (TS ° *śrīr*) *asī* TS KS GB PB Vait LŚ  
*mahīnām* (VSK *mahīnām*) *payo* 'sī VS VSK TS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ  
 MŚ ŚG Even from the stem *mahi*, the VSK form would be  
 anomalous  
*hrādunābhyah* (KSA °*nābhyah*) *svāhā* VS TS KSA This is uncertain,  
 both short and long *ī* are otherwise known RV has *hrādunīm*,  
 but *hrādunī-vrī* See also *dūṣikābhīr hrādunīm* etc, §543  
*śimībhih* (KSA † *śimī*°, VS *śamī*°) *śimiyantu* (VS *śamī*°) *tvā* VS TS KSA  
 §529. But in the rest stems in short *ī* seem to be primary.  
*svāhākṛtābhyah* (TS ApŚ and most mss of MŚ °*kṛtī*°) *preṣya* TS ŚB  
 KŚ ApŚ MŚ 'To hail-makings', suffix *ī*  
*ayāś cāgne* 'sy *anabhiśastīś* (AŚ ApMB HG °*ūś*) *ca* MS KS AŚ ŚŚ  
 KŚ ApŚ Kauś ApMB HG Suffix *ī*, as in the last  
*ākūtim* (SMB °*tim*) *devīm manasah* (SMB °*sā*, AV *subhagām*) *puro*  
*dadhe* (SMB *prapadye*) AV TB SMB As prec  
*ātīr* (TS KSA *ātī*) *vāhaso darvidā te vāyave* (TS KSA *vāyavyāh*) VS  
 TS MS KSA *ātī* is R̥gvedic  
*abhiśrīr* (HG °*tr*, ApMB *abhiśrīr*) *yā ca no gr̥he* (RVKh *ca me dhruvā*)  
 RVKh ApMB HG  
*dīva* (*divas*, *divah*) *skambhanīr* (VS ŚB ° *nīr*, VSK † *skambhany*) *asī*  
 VS VSK TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ Here fem gender is responsible  
 for the long *ī*  
*śīrah-śīrah prati sūrī vī caṣṭe* TS ApŚ *śīro devī prati sūrī vī caṣṭe* KS  
 Here too *sūrī* is made fem, agreeing with a fem entity

- śronibhyām (TS. śronī°) śrāhā TS KSA  
 yakṣman śronibhyām (ApMB °nī°, v 1 °nī°) bhā°adāt RV. ApMB :  
 yakṣman bhasadyam śronibhyām bhāsadam AV  
 matrāvarunau śronibhyām (TS śronī°) TS. KSA  
 śam methur (ApMB śam te methi) bhavatu śam yugasya tardma (ApMB.  
 tṛdma) AV. ApMB  
 ṛtūn prṣṭibhih (KSA em prṣṭibhih, ms bḥr°) TS KSA Cf. Macdonell  
 and Keith, *Vedic Index* 2 358 f.  
 prṣṭibhyah (KSA † prṣṭī°) śrāhā TS. KSA  
 imām khanāmy oṣadhīm (ApMB °dhīm) RV. AV. ApMB  
 oṣadhībhyah MG · oṣadhībhyah ŚG.  
 kratvā varīṣṭham vara āmurim uta RV : kratve rare sthmany āmurim  
 uta SV.  
 sam arir (VS ŚB arir) vidām (KS vidah) VS MS KS ŚB Nom  
 sing of stem arī; the anomalous VS ŚB. form is noted in BR,  
 s. v. 2 arī  
 adhā jivri (AV. atha jivri, ApMB athā jivri) vidatham ā radāci (RV.  
 radāthah) RV AV. ApMB Stem jivri (or, with most mss of AV.,  
 jivri). RV. has a dual form; ApMB an isolated sing. from a stem  
 in ī, perhaps due to confusion between the RV. and AV. forms.  
 On the ī of the initial syllable see §544  
 plāṣṭr (TB °ṣṭr) ryaktah śatadhāra utsah VS MS KS. TB.  
 ambā ca bulā ca nitatnī . . MS · ambā dūlā nitatnī . . TS.  
 apo mahi vyayati cakṣase tamah RV : apo mahī vṛnute caḥṣuṣā tamah  
 SV TB. Here we have a complete change of construction, in  
 addition to (or perhaps rather than?) a change of stem-form  
 ri te bhinadam takarīm (KS °rim, AVPpp [Roth] tagarīm, AV mehanam)  
 AV TS KS ApŚ. See §49 There is no way to determine the  
 original quantity of the r here  
 §529a. There are also cases in which a nom. sing in ī, apparently  
 from a stem in in, varies with one in ih from a stem in i:  
 ryānaśih (SV. °ṣi) pavase soma dharmabhih (SV dharmanā) RV SV.  
 tan no danti (TA. °ti) pracodayāt MS TA MahānU Comm on TA.  
 mahādantah  
 dūrehetir indriyāvān (PB † °yavān) patatrī (PB. °trih) TS PB TB PG  
 ApMB · dūr° patatrī vājnivān MŚ. MG  
 suparno avyathir (SV. °thi) bharat RV SV  
 §530. In one variant there is multiple confusion, involving also  
 verb forms:  
 na ced avedī (BrhU avedī) mahatī vnaṣṭih ŚB BrhU. So Conc, with

the printed texts But *avedi* is only Boehtlingk's emendation; mss *avedi* The Kāṇva recension, however, has *avedir*, and Kena Up (not in Cone) *avedin*, a verb-form ('if he has not known [this, it is] a great disaster') *avedir* would be nom sing of a noun stem *avedi* 'if not, (there is) ignorance, a great disaster' *avedi* is taken by comm as nom sing of *avedin*. 'if not, (he is) ignorant', etc These are surely enough variants, without Boehtlingk's additional one!

5 Verb forms containing *i* *ī* and *ī* *ī* in the second syllable of dissyllabic bases

§531. This variation occurs in a considerable number of miscellaneous cases in the inflection of the verb, oftenest in root or stem syllables, in which may be included the second syllable of dissyllabic bases Among the latter we find cases which may plausibly be interpreted as rhythmic or at least phonetic in character We include with them also nouns which show the same shift in the second syllable of dissyllabic bases, since they are of the same phonetic character:

*suśamī śamīṣva* (TS TB *śamīṣva*, KS *śamīṣva*) VS TS MS KS TB  
*avanti asya pavitāram* (SV. *pavi*°) *āśavah* RV SV The shortening of SV. improves the meter (anapest after cesura)

§532. The next two concern noun forms which may possibly contain dissyllabic bases in their first elements, but they are very obscure.

*anīrīkṣam purītātā* (TS *puri*°, MS *puk*°, KSA *puk*°) VS VSK TS  
 MS KSA

*ūlo halikṣno* (TS *ūlo hali*°) . VS TS MS KSA Name of some animal A theory as to the origin of this *ī* in Wackernagel, I §39 note

§533. At least in origin, the *i* of the *iṣ* aorist represents likewise an IE *schwa*, the second syllable of dissyllabic bases For well-known phonetic reasons, it is regularly long in the 2d and 3d persons singular, short in the rest of the inflexion When we find divergences from this scheme, they are to be regarded as analogical extensions in one direction or the other, cf VV I p 189.

*tena* (TB. *tato*) *no mitrāvarunāv* (MS *ōnā*) *avīṣam* (TB *avī*°) RV MS  
 TB The root *av* is undoubtedly dissyllabic in origin The *i* of TB is due to the analogy of singular forms like *avī* So in the next

*amīmadanta pīlaro* (Kauś also *patnyo*), *yathābhāgam* ( ) *āvṛṣāyṣata*  
 (AŚ *°yīṣata*) VS VSK ŚB AŚ LŚ Kauś SMB GG KhG Cf  
 prec

*mā tvāgnir dhanayīd* (TS °yīd, KSA °yed, MS. *dhanayīd*) *dhūmagandhīh*  
RV VS TS MS. KSA. This is the converse of the preceding;  
TS shortens the vowel by analogy with dual and plural forms  
*ata ū ṣu madhu madhunābhī yodhi* TS · *adah su madhu madhunābhī*  
*yodhīh* RV AV SV AA MŚ On the anomalous TS form see  
VV I p 27

*ā gharṃ agnir ṛṣayann asādī* (TA °dī) RV. TA : *ā gharṃ agnir*  
*amṛto na sādī* MS See VV I §84

§534. Probably rhythmic in character is the *ī* which varies with *i*  
in denominative stems before the *ya*-sign, cf. VV I p 155, and above  
§478 where the same shift occurs between *a* and *ā*:

*putrīyantah* (AV *putrīyanti*) *sudānavah* RV. AV SV  
*janīyanto nv* (AV. *janīyanti nāv*) *agravah* RV SV AV. AŚ. ŚŚ

§535. In some cases we seem to have rhythmic or metrical lengthening  
of *i* in stem syllables, at least it occurs in positions where the meter  
favors a long

*prati śma* (SV *sma*) *deva rīṣatah* (SV *rīṣ°*, and so p p. of RV. and MS )  
RV SV MS KS TB The p p readings confirm our opinion that  
the *ī* is metri gratia

*avāmba* (VS ŚB KŚ *ava*) *rudram adīmahi* (VS ŚB KŚ *adī°*, and so  
v 1 of MS KS MŚ, and p p of MS ) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB  
KŚ ApŚ MŚ

§536. But the 'same shift in root or stem syllables occurs in some  
cases where it cannot be rhythmic, the explanation varies and is some-  
times obscure:

*sarvān patho anṛnā ā kṣīyema* (AV. *kṣī°*) AV TB TA ApŚ The root  
*kṣi* 'dwell' here presents an exceptional form with *ī*, perhaps under  
the influence of the other root *kṣi* 'perish', from which *ī* forms are  
familiar

*yūpāyocchrīyamānāyānubrahī* (MŚ °chriya°) ApŚ MŚ Here the *ī*,  
in the passive of *śri*, is regular, and is probably to be read also in  
MŚ with most mss

*samīṅgayati* (ŚB *samī°*) *sarvatah* RV ŚB BrhU The root *īṅ* appears  
sporadically as *īṅ* in the Brāhmanas, the true reading of BrhU  
is *samīṅg°* in this passage (text emended)

§537. Jumbled participial forms of the parallel roots *ṇi* and *jyā*, *jī*  
*aṇtāh* (TA *aṇtāh*, ApMB and one ms of HG *aṇtā*) *syāma śaradah*  
*śatam* TA ApMB HG

*vājino vājanto vājam sasṛvānso* (KS *jigvānso*, TS *sasṛvānso vājam*  
*jigvānso*) . VS TS KS ŚB

§538. We have classified the form *iyāna* 'going', as a reduplicated present from root *i*; see VV I p 126.

*iyānah* (SV *īy<sup>o</sup>*) *kṛṣṇo daśabhīh sahasraṇh* RV SV. AV KS TA  
*ślotṛbhyo dhṛṣṇav iyānah* (SV *īy<sup>o</sup>*) RV. AV SV.

§539. The participle *īdita* appears as *id<sup>o</sup>*, probably under the influence of the nouns *id*, *idā*.

*īdūto* (MS KS. *id<sup>o</sup>*, VSK. *ī<sup>o</sup>*) *devair harivān abhiṣṭah* VS VSK MS KS  
 TB

§540. The present and past passive participles of root *kṣi* 'perish', *kṣīnat* and *kṣīna*, are concerned in the following:

*namo vkṣīnatkebhyaḥ* (TS KS *vkṣīnak<sup>o</sup>*) VS TS KS ŚB. *nama ākṣīnakebhyaḥ* MS If MS. is right it has a blend of the other two readings, but the mss vary, and it is likely that *ākṣīnak<sup>o</sup>* was intended

The 3 plur perfect ending *ire* appears once as *īre*:

*tāh prācyā* (Vait. *īyah*, MŚ *prācīr*) *ujjigāhire* (KS † *īre*, Vait *sanji-gāire*) KS Vait. MŚ : *prācīs cojagāhire* ApŚ

#### 6 Noun suffixes containing *i* ī

§541. Twice in MS the suffix *īya*, representing *ya* after two consonants, appears as *īya*; but both times the p. p. of MS has *īya*:

*namo agrīyāya* (VS KS 'gryāya, MS 'grīyāya) *ca prathamāya ca* VS TS  
 MS KS

*sahasrīyo dyotatām* (TS TB. *dīpyatām*; MS *sahasrīyo jyotatām*) *aprayu-  
 chan* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB.

§541a. We have quoted in §249 (q v.) three variants in which AV. reads *varīyah* for older *varivah*:

*asmabhyam indra varivah* (AV. *varīyah*) *sugam kṛdhi* RV. AV.: *as-  
 mabhyam mahi varivah sugam laḥ* RV

*sakhā sakhibhyo varivah* (AV. \**varīyah*; so one ms of GB ; Ppp. *varivah*)  
*kṛnotu* RV AV \*TS KS. GB

*tvaṣṭā no atra varivah* (AV *varīyah*) *kṛnotu* AV. TS

§542. Several times forms in *īna* vary with other forms containing short *i*:

*yā sarasvatī veśabhagīna* (ApŚ.\* *viśobh<sup>o</sup>*, KS *veśabhaginī*) ... MS KS  
 ApŚ *-bhagīna*, from *bhaga*, seems to be found only here; KS  
 substitutes a more regular form (fem of *bhagin*).

*tiraścīrājī* (MS *tiraścīnarājī*) *rakṣatā* AV MS Again *īna* varies with  
*in* (weak stem *i*)

*namo yuvabhyo nama āśīnebhyah* RV ApŚ : *namo yuvabhyā āśīnebhyas*

(MS  $\bar{a}ṣi^o$ , p p  $\bar{a}ṣi^o$ ) *ca vo namah* (MS *namo-namah*) MS. KS.  $\bar{a}ṣina$  is  $\bar{a}\pi$   $\lambda\epsilon\gamma$  in RV, in MS it seems to be secondarily adapted in form to words in *ina*

§543. The shortening of  $\bar{i}$  to  $i$  before suffixal *ka* may properly be classed with rhythmic shortenings Cf Edgerton, *JAOS* 31 95 f, 111 *dūṣikābhū hrādunim* (KSA  $\daggerhra^o$ ) TS KSA . *hrādunīr dūṣikābhū* VS MS

## 7 Miscellaneous $i$ and $\bar{i}$

§544. Here, first, a few variants which seem to concern what are fundamentally related forms, one being usually more or less suspicious: *imkāraya*, and  $^o\bar{k}rlāya$  (KSA  $im^o$ , VS MS ŚB  $him^o$ ) VS TS. MS.

KSA ŚB TB ApŚ

*īryatāyā* (TB  $ir^o$ ) *akṛtavam* VS TB From the equivalent adjective forms *īrya* (RV) and *īrya*, doubtless ultimately the same, tho the etymology is doubtful (cf Neisser, *ZWbch. d RV*, s v. *īrya*)

*uṣṭārayoh pīlvayoh* (ApŚ *pīlvayoh*) MS ApŚ MŚ Cf the word *pīlu* or *pīlu*, name of a tree Obscure

*vidvīr yāmann avardhayan* VS *vidvīr yāman vavardhayan* TB Comm on TB *dr̥dhasaktayah*, that is equivalent to *vidu*, for which *vidu* is not recorded

*adhā jūrī* (AV *athā jūrīr*, most mss *jūrīr*, which Whitney would restore; ApMB *athā jūrī*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV *vadāthah*) RV. AV ApMB Various theories connect the obscure word with either *jyā(ji)* or *jr*. The  $\bar{i}$  in the first syllable in ApMB is isolated and no doubt due to popular etymology, thinking of *jīv* or of the  $\bar{i}$  forms of *jyā* or *jr* (*jīrna* etc) See §529

*anamīvāsa idayā* (MS *anamīmāsā idayā*, p p *idayā*) *madantah* RV MS. TB AŚ The MS form is probably a mere corruption (due to thought of  $\bar{id}^o$  cf the lexically quoted  $\bar{idā}$ ), corrected in p p *dame-dame suṣṭutyā* (TS  $^o\bar{itr}$ , MS  $^o\bar{it}$ , AŚ ŚŚ  $^o\bar{itr}$ ) *vāvrdhānā* (AV  $^o\bar{nau}$ , AŚ ŚŚ *vām yānā*) AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ Different case forms of an  $i$ -stem See §236

*sanderathāś sandikera ulūkhalah* ApMB . *sāndikera* (PG *saundikeya*) *ulūkhalah* HG PG See §489

§545. The rest are more definitely lexical in character, but even they occasionally show traces of phonetic relations, thus in the first:

*subhūtāya pīpīhi* (MS *pīpīhi*) MS TA. ApŚ And others, with *īṣe*, *ūrje*, *brahmararcasāya*, etc In MS always *pīpīhi*, probably from *pā* 'drink', while *pīpīhi* is from *pyā(pī)* 'swell' The result, how-

- ever, gives the semblance of a mutual (quasi-rhythmic) shift of quantity; cf VV I p 182
- sarasvatī tvā maghavann abhiṣṇak* (TB ApŚ *abhiṣṇāt*) RV AV VS MS KS TB ŚB. ApŚ See §142
- sudītir asī* TS PB : *sudītir asī* KS GB Vait : *sudītir nādītyebhya ādītyān jīvā* MS Boehtlingk: *sudītī* Anklang an Aditi, *sudītī* glanzvoll (*dī*) *Sudītī* is Rigvedic
- vīśvam id dhītam* (MS *dhītam*) *ānaśuh* (SV. *āśata*) RV AV SV MS ApŚ Roots *dhī* and *dhā*
- tīgmam āyudham* (AV *anīkam*) *vīditam* (AV *viditam*, KS *°dham īditam*) *sahasvat* AV TS MS KS See §169
- kavir yah putrah sa im ā* (TA *sā imāh*, Poona ed *sa imā*) *cakela* RV AV TA N
- alī vā* (AV Kauś *atīva*) *yo maruto manyate nah* RV AV Kauś Meta-thesis of quantity
- śam padam magham* *†rayīṣine na lāmam* (AA *rayīṣanī na somah*) SV AA *rayī-ṣin· rayī-san* (so Keith, or, *-sanī*)
- ghasīnā* (ApŚ *ghasīnā*) *me mā sampṛkthāh* VSK ApŚ Corruption in ApŚ, perhaps for *ghāsīnā* (RV *ghāsi*), with metathesis of quantity? Cf Caland's note
- ā yāhi śūra haribhyām* (SV KB ŚŚ *hariha*, AŚ *harī iha*) AV SV KB AŚ ŚŚ Doubtless read, in all except AV, *hariha* (= *harī iha*), with Whitney on AV and Keith on KB
- gaurīr* (TB TA *°rī*, AV *gaur im*) *mīmāya salilāni takṣatī* RV AV KS TB ApŚ SMB MG.
- indrāpūsyā phaligam* ApMB *indrāyayāsya śephām alīkam* HG See §46
- samiddho agnir vṛṣanāratar* (AV *°nā rathī*, ŚŚ *°nā rayir*) *dīvāh* AV AB AŚ ŚŚ
- rūdhānsīl* (MS MŚ *°sī*) *sampṛcānāv* (MS MŚ *°nā*) *asam°* MS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ
- nen na ṛnān ṛnava it samānah* FA *nem na ṛnān ṛnavān īpsamānah* MS And others, see §180
- [*atīkīritam* (comm *°rītam*) *atīdanturam* TB So Conc. with Bibl Ihd ed, probably misprint, Poona ed comm with text *atīkīritam* ]
- [*†vañhīrīr* (so all!) *asīasya sradhītīh sam eti* RV VS TS KSA ]

### 8 Final u lengthened

§546 As with the *a* and *i* vowels, we include here cases in which the vowel is relatively final, that is, final in its stem as prior member of

compounds, or before the suffix *mant*, or in the reduplicating syllable. The cases are still less numerous than those of *i* and *u*, and add nothing further to the subject.

§547. Of absolutely final *u* lengthened to *ū* we have noted only four cases, three of the particle *u*, and one of *su*. All occur before single consonants (once *v*, twice a sibilant), and in most of them the surrounding syllables are short. In only one are both long, but here the original form has short *u*, and *ū* is introduced in a secondary text (MS):

*o śu* (MS *śū*) *varita* (MS KS *varita*) *maruto vpram acha* RV. MS. KS. *ta* *ū* (MS *u*) *śucim śucayo dīdīvānsam* RV. ArS TS MS KS

*imam ū* (MS *u*, p p *ū[m]*, and MŚ *ū*) *śu tvam asmākam* (TA ApŚ. *tyam asmabhyam*) RV. SV. MS. TA ApŚ MŚ.

*idam ta ekam para ū* (TB † ApŚ † *u*) *ta ekam* RV. AV. SV. KS † TB.

TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ (*u-ta* = *uta*) On *puru*: *purū*, a matter of noun inflexion, see §555

§548. In the reduplicating syllable the change occurs in reduplicated aorists of root *gup*; the *ū* form is here more usual, and is doubtless a matter of rhythmic lengthening. Cf. VV I p. 182:

*grhān ayūgupatam yuvam* AŚ: *grhān* (MŚ *grhān*) *jugupatam yuvam* MS MŚ

*prajām me* (ApŚ \**no*) *naryājugupah* (ApŚ and MŚ. v. 1 °*jūgupah*) MS KS ApŚ MŚ.

*paśūn me* (ApŚ \**nah*) *śansyājugupah* (ApŚ and MŚ. v. 1 °*jūgupah*) MS MŚ ApŚ

*dhanam me śansyājugupah* KS: *śansya paśūn me*

*'jugupas tān me pāhy eva* ŚŚ. And others in the same passages

*ahvrbudhnya mantram me 'jugupah* (v. 1 °*jū*) . . . MŚ.

§549. There is one doubtful case before the suffix *mant*

*savitre tvarbhumate* (VS ŚB *tva r̥bhu*°, MS *tvarbhu*°) VS MS ŚB

TA. If MS understands a form of *r̥bhu*°, as do the others, we have rhythmic lengthening in it. But this would imply anomalous sandhi for MS (see §916), and two mss. read *svarbhumate*

§550. In the seam of compounds, we find first several variants of the preposition *anu*, lengthened to *anū*. The change occurs before either *v* or *r* in every case but one (cf. under §516)

*anuroham jinva* Vait. *anuroho* (KS *anū*°) 'si TS KS GB PB Vait. *anurohāya tvā* PB Vait.: *anūrohenānūrohāyānūroham jinva* MS (with p p and v. 1 each time *anu*°).

*anur̥d* (KS *anū*°) *asi* KS GB PB Vait.: *anur̥te* (KS. *anū*°) *tvā* KS

PB Vait. *anur̥tam jinva* Vait.: *tanūr̥tānūr̥te 'nūr̥t jinva* MS *panthām anūr̥tgbhyām* (KSA *anu*°) TS. KSA



*anukāśena bāhyam* MS : *anūkāśena bāhvyam* VS *antarenānūkāsam* TS KSA.

§551. Among other compounds, we find several which quite clearly contain rhythmic lengthening of *u*, in the first two this is the older form, and is shortened in secondary texts

*samdhātū samdhem* (MS °*dhir*) *maghavā purūvasuh* (TA ApMB and p p of MS *puro*°, MS *puru*°) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB

*urūnasāv* (TA *uru*°) *asutr̥pā* (AV TA °*pāv*) *udumbalau* (TA *ulu*°) RV AV TA AŚ

*mithucaranītam* (TS *mithuś ca*°, KS *mīthū*°, AV *mīthuyā ca*°) *upayātī* (AV *abhīyātī*) *dāṣayan* AV TS MS. KS

*sindhoh śinśumārah* (KSA † *śisū*°) TS KSA. *samudrāya śiśumārah* VS MS See §305 Whether this is really a compound or not is wholly uncertain

§552. Aside from one or two compounds where the *ū* *u* concerns noun stem formation or inflexion (§§554 ff), we find further only compounds of *su* (*suyama*) and its opposite *ku*, appearing also as *sū*, *kū* (cf also §563).

*brahmanas pate suyamasya* (MS *sū*°, p p *su*°) *viśvahā* RV MS TB  
The *ū* is secondary and not favored by the meter (anapest after cesura)

*suyame me adya ghr̥tācī bhūyāstam svāvrtau sūpāvrtau* ApŚ *suyame me 'bhūyāstam* VS ŚB. *sūyame me 'dya stam svāvrtau sūpāvrtau* MS MŚ

*kuyavam ca me 'kṣitīś* (VS °*īam*) *ca me* VS MS KS (v l *kū*° in MS) *akṣitīś ca me kūyavāś ca me* TS

## 9 Final *ū* shortened

§553. Only one variant, concerning the old adverb *kū* 'where?', which appears in SV as *ku* before a consonant combination, so that it may be regarded as a case of rhythmic, or quasi-Prakritic shortening

*kūṣṭho* (read *kū ṣṭho*) *devāv aśvinā* RV *ku ṣṭhah ko vām aśvinā* SV  
See Oldenberg, *Noten* on 5 74 1

## 10. Long and short *u* in noun stem formation and inflexion

§554. The words *hanu* and *tanu*, compounds of -*bhū*, and a few others, vary between *u* and *ū* forms, in case-forms and in composition

*hanūbhyām* (KSA *hanu*°) *svāhā* TS KSA TB ApŚ  
*hanubhyām* (TS *hanū*°) *stenān bhagavah* VS TS MS KS In this and the prec Tait texts alone have *ū*, the others *u*

*agne sadakṣah satanur* (KS.† °nūr) *hi bhūtvā* TS KS : *agnih sudakṣah sutanur ha bhūtvā* MŚ.

*śūrāso ye tanūtyajah* (TA. *tanu°*) RV AV. TA. Note that two consonants follow the *ū*, which opposes the possible theory of rhythmic lengthening

*vyam te yaṇṇyā tanūh* (VSK *tanuh*) VS VSK ŚB ApŚ.

*avasyur* (VS ŚB °syūr) *asī duvasvān* VS. TS MS KS PB ŚB ŚŚ

*śundhyur* (VS TS. °yūr) *asī mārjāliyah* VS. TS MS. KS. PB. ŚŚ.

Only -yu in RV.

*ārādhyai* (see §474) *†dīdhīṣūpatim* TB . *arūddhyā edīdhīṣūhpatim* VS (on the latter see §381)

*varenyakratūr* (AV. °tur, ApŚ. *īdenyakra-tūr*) *aham* RVKh AV. ApŚ.

Whitney calls °tūr 'an improvement'. See also §383

*vibhūr* (PB *vibhur*) *asī pravāhanah* VS. TS MS ŚB. TB PB ApŚ. MŚ

*vibhūr* (KSA *vibhur*) *mātrā prabhūh* (KSA *prabhuh*) *pitrā* VS. TS. MS.

KSA. ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ

*śambhūr* (KS °bhur) *mayobhūr abhi mā vāhi svāhā* VS. TS MS KS. ŚB.

Note *mayobhūr* even in KS.

*ābhūr* (VS. TS *ābhur*) *asya nīṣaṅgalih* (VS °dhīh) VS. TS MS KS

*savītre tvarbhūmate* (etc., §549) *vibhūmate* (MŚ *vibhū°*) . . . VS MS ŚB TA

*phalgūr* (KSA °gur) *lohitornī* . VS TS MS KSA.

*havanaśrūn* (TB *hāvanaśrūr*) *no rudreha bodhi* RV. TB Comm on TB *āhvānasya śrotā san* Irregular lengthening of *śru* in composition

§555. Neuter *u* stems in the Veda have nom -acc forms, both sing. and plur, in either *u* or *ū*

*sa hi purū* (SV *puru*) *cīd ojasā viruḥmatā* RV. SV. Adverbial.

[*saṁ grbhāya purū* (TB *puru*, Poona ed *purū-*) *śatā* RV AV. MS KS TB]

Different forms of related stems *āyu* and *āyus*.

*dadhad ratnam āyunī* (AV *āyūṇṣī*) AV AŚ. ŚŚ See §819  
*vṛṣā punāna āyūṣu* (SV. *āyūṇṣī*) RV SV

§556. In the first member of a dual devatādvandva, the *ū* may be understood as the dual ending, rather than lengthened stem vowel: *kratūdaḥśābhyām me varcodā varcase pavasva* VS. VSK -ŚB : *daḥśakra-tubhyām* (sc me etc) TS ApŚ : *daḥśakratubhyām me varcodāh pavasva* MŚ

§557. The stem *dhur* regularly appears as *dhūr* before a consonantal ending (Wackernagel III §134e). In the ApŚ form of the following

variant *ur* appears before the ending *bhīh*, and conversely in the KS form *ūr* before vocalic endings. Both must be analogical, if textually sound, note that in the 'correct' MŚ form both *dhur* and *dhūr* forms occur Von Schroeder, followed by the Conc, stigmatizes KS *dhūro* and *dhūran* (for. °*iam*) as corrupt, and Knauer proposes to emend KS on the basis of MŚ But mechanical form-assimilation may account for all the variants

*yathādhuram* (KS ms °*dhūran*) *dhuro* (KS *dhūro*) *dhūrbhīh kalpantām*  
KS MŚ . *yathāyatham dhuro dhurbhīh kalpantām* ApŚ

### 11 Other *u-ū*

§558. The remaining variants are so miscellaneous that they seem hardly worth subdividing In verb inflexion there is practically nothing Once TB presents an anomalous *ūh* for the regular 3d plural secondary ending *uh*, it occurs at the end of a *pūda*, and remains unexplained.

*upo ha yad vidatham vājino guh* (TB *gūh*) RV MS TB

§559. The various forms of the root *su*, *sū*, 'beget, enliven' etc, show some confusion as to the quantity of the radical vowel Thus.

*rasāstah pra suh* (KŚ *sūh*, MŚ *suva*, ApŚ *suva pra suh*) AŚ ŚŚ KŚ  
ApŚ MŚ Both *sūh* and *suva* are regular forms, and in VV I p

189 it is suggested that *suh* is a blend of the two Cf next

*irdhamāsyam prasūtāt pītryāvatah* JB : *pañcadaśāt prasūtāt pītryāvatah*

KBU Both must apparently be from the same root, of which the regular participle is *sūta*, but *suta* is recorded otherwise JB

1 18 has v. 1 *prasūtāt* (see Oertel, JAOS 19 [2], 112, 115, delete in Conc *tam ardhamāsam* .)

1st and 2d aorists of *bhū*.

*abhyāṣikṣi rājābhūm* (ApŚ °*bhūvam*) MS ApŚ *abhiṣikṣa rājābhūvam*  
(v 1 °*bhūvam*) MŚ

§560. Quite similarly *vah* (weak stem *uh*) and *ūh* are 'in some forms and meanings hardly to be separated' (Whitney, *Roots*), indeed, Whitney gives some forms (such as passive *uhyate*) as identical from the two roots Of course they are ultimately variants of each other

*mā hinsīsur vahatum uhyamānam* (ApMB † *ūhyamānām*) AV ApMB

Here *ūh* does not fit very well, AV means 'may they not injure the procession as it proceeds' (In ApMB the pple is made to agree with the bride—'as she is being carried off')

*samūhyo 'sī vīsvabharāh* ŚŚ . *samūhyo 'sī vīsvabharāh* ApŚ *samūhyo 'sī vīsvavedā* VSK KŚ Here, contrary to the prec, it is *sam-ūh*

that is meant, even in ŚŚ

*phalgunībhyām vy ūhyate* ApG *phalgunīṣu vy uhyate* AV Kauś

§561. The present participle of the 'root' *tūrv* varies with the related adjective *tura*:

*tūrvan* (KS *turo*) *na yāmann elāsasya nū rane* RV VS TS MS KS

§562. Several times the word *varutrī* *varūtrī*, from the dissyllabic root *vr* 'cover', varies in its two forms.

*varūtrīṣ* (vā (KS. *varutrīs* *tvā*) *devīr viśvadevyāvatīh* . . VS. KS ŚB KŚ :

*varūtrayo janayas tvā devīr* . TS : *varūtrī* (once, 2 7 6, *†varu*°,

and so v. 1 in the other passage) *tvā devī viśva*° MS (bis)

*traṣṭur varutrīm varunasya nābhīm* MS MŚ . *varūtrim* (VS ŚB °*trīm*,

KS *† varutrīm*) *tvastur var*° *nā*° VS TS KS ŚB

*varutrīr avayan* KS : *varūtrāyas tlvāryan* ApŚ.

§563. The word *sumna* or *sū*° has been interpreted by some as a compound of *su*, but can scarcely have been felt as such in Vedic times; yet it is possible that the not infrequent *ū* in it may have been due to confusion with compounds of *su*, which as we saw (§552, cf §547) also appear with *sū*:

*sumnāya* (VS. *sū*°) *nūnam īmahe sakhībhyah* RV SV VS TS MS. KS.

ŚB Kauś

*dhīrā deveṣu sumnayā* (AV. °*yau*, VS *sūmnayā*) RV AV VS VSK TS

MS KS ŚB

The word *stūpa*, of unknown origin, ordinarily appears in that form; but two variants show that the form *stupa* was fairly widespread:

*viṣṇo* (°*noh*, °*nos*) *stupo* (TS. TB. ApŚ *stūpo*) 'sī VS. TS. MS KS ŚB

TB ApŚ MŚ : *viṣṇoh stupah* MS. MŚ.

*reṣmānam stupena* (MS *stū*°, but p p. *stu*°!) VS MS

§564. The word *ūrva*, on which see last Neisser *ZWbch d RV.*, s v, may be ultimately connected with *uru*. At any rate forms which look like derivatives of these two words vary with each other in a confused way which usually suggests textual corruption:

*urūm gavyām pariśadam no akran* AV : *ūrvam gavyam pariśadanto agman* RV. KS See §46

*uru* (AŚ once *urvy*, once *urvy*) *antarīkṣam vīhi* MS KS ŚB Vait AŚ. (bis) ApŚ MŚ We might be tempted to see in *ūrvy* a phonetic lengthening before *r* + consonant (cf Wackernagel I §38), but it is probably only a misprint

*ūrva* (TB *urva*) *iva paprathe kāmō asme* RV 13 90 19c, TB N. Comm. on TB. *urva iva, vādavāgnir iva*, connecting the word with *aurva*, a derivative of *ūrva*

*rudrānām urvyāyām* (ApŚ *ūrmyāyām*, ŚŚ *omyāyām*) . ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ

See §228

§565. The word *kulyā* 'stream' is written *kūlyā* certainly once, and probably twice, probably under the influence of *kūla* 'bank':

*kulyābhyah* (TS *kū*<sup>o</sup>) *srāhā* TS KSA. Here the TS comm. takes *kūl*<sup>o</sup> as a secondary adjective from *l-ūla*; but it is probably only an equivalent of *kuiyā*, cf. next. Keith, 'to those of the pools'.

*medasah* (HG \* *ājyasya*) *lulyā* (HG *kū*<sup>o</sup>) *upa tān* (AG *upainān*, SMB *abhi tān*) *srarantu* (HG. ApMB *kṣarantu*) VS AG ŚG Kauś SMB HG ApMB: *medaso ghṛtasya kulyā abhinīhsrarantu* MG. Cf also *ghṛtasya kulyā(m)* ... in Conc, and prec Here there can be no question of the precise equivalence of *kūlyā* and *kū*<sup>o</sup>.

§566. The form *pūruṣa* for *puruṣa* is familiar in all periods of the language, beginning with RV., but is almost if not quite restricted to positions where the first syllable must be metrically long, such as the following variant, where TA Poona ed reads *pū*<sup>o</sup> with r. 1 *pu*<sup>o</sup>:

*ato* (AV. ArS ChU. *tato*) *jyāyānś ca pūruṣah* (TA. *pu*<sup>o</sup>) RV. AV. ArS VS. TA ChU.

§567. Twice the RV writes *ūgra* for *ugra*. According to Oldenberg, *Noten* on 1. 165 6, following an earlier suggestion of Haug's, the *ū* would be due to the fact that the syllable has *kampa* (*svarita* accent followed by an accented syllable; cf Wackernagel I p 293 f). One might think of understanding the particle *u* plus *ugra*, but p p *hi, ugraḥ*. Both *pādas* occur in the same hymn:

*aham hy ugras* (RV. *ū*<sup>o</sup>) *tariṣas tuviṣmān* RV. MS. KS. TB.

*aham hy ugro* (RV. *ū*<sup>o</sup>) *maruto vidānaḥ* RV MS. KS

§568. Other cases concerning different readings of what is apparently the same word or related words.

*ūlena parimīdho 'si* HG.: *ulena pariṣīto 'si* ApMB. Followed by. *parimīdho 'sy ūlena* HG.: *pariṣīto 'sy ulena* ApMB.: *utūla parimīdho 'si*

PG. The meaning of *ula* or *ūla* is unknown. Cf. next.

*ulo halikṣno* (TS *ūlo hali*<sup>o</sup>) ... VS TS. MS KSA. Cf. prec Here apparently some animal is meant

*godhūmāś ca me masūrāś* (TS and KapS *masu*<sup>o</sup>) *ca me* VS. TS MS KS

Both forms are otherwise known; *masūra* seems to be commoner *hotā redīṣad atithir duronasat* (VS. *dū*<sup>o</sup>, but comm. *du*<sup>o</sup>) RV. VS VSK. TS MS. KS AB ŚB. TA. MahānU. KU. NrpU VaradapU. The word *dūroṇa*, for the usual *durona* 'house', seems to be otherwise unrecorded.

*kurkuro nīlabandhanaḥ* HG: *kūrkuro bālabandhanaḥ* (ApMB *vāla*<sup>o</sup>)

PG. ApMB The usual form is *kurkura*, perhaps cf Wackernagel I §38 (lengthening before *r* + consonant). Cf. next

*kurkuraḥ sukurkuraḥ* HG : *kūrḥkuraḥ* (ApMB °ras) *sukūrḥkuraḥ* PG.

ApMB Cf prec

*kuṣmāṇḍāḥ*, °dānī, °dyah, and *kuś*°, *kūṣ*°, *kūs*°. See §290

*prathamāya januṣe bhūmanesṭhāḥ* (AV *bhuwane*°, ŚŚ *bhūma ne*°) AV. AŚ.

ŚŚ Different but related stems *bhuvana* and *bhūma(n)*

*ā pūṣā etv ā rasu* TS : *ā puṣṭam etv ā vasu* AV.

*āpura stā* ŚŚ · *āpūryā sthā* . TS AŚ

*atīkulam* (VSK °*kūlvam*) *cātīlomaśam ca* VS VSK. *kulva* 'bald', regularly with short *u*

*agnaye dhūñḥṣṇā* (KSA °*ḥṣṇā*) TS KSA : *dhuñḥṣāgneyī* (VSK °*ḥṣvā*° or °*ḥṣyā*°) VS VSK MS. Said to mean a sort of bird; original form and precise meaning unknown

*uṣo* (PB *ūṣā*) *dadṛṣe* (PB *dadṛṣe*) *na punar yatīva* RV. PB. Conc suggests reading *uṣā* in PB

*pūlyāny* (ApMB *kulpāny*) *āvapantīkā* AV. ApMB The latter is secondary if not corrupt (note metathesis of consonants) Cf. §151 §569. The rest concern lexically different words, and are all isolated, except that there are two cases of interchange between the stems *ugra* and *ūrdhva*.

*ugro* (HG *ūrdhvo*, MG. *agne*) *virājann* (MG °*jam*) *apa* (MG *upa*-) *sedha* (AV *vrñḥṣva*) *śatrūn* (MG *śakram*) AV. ApMB HG. MG.

*ugradhancā* (TS MS KS. *ūrdhavadha*°) *pratihātābhīr astā* RV AV. SV. VS TS MS KS

*ud ranṣam va yemire* RV. SV TS KB N *ūrdhvam kham iva menire* Mbh

*yad annam admī* (PrānāgU *agnīr*) *bahudhā virūpam* (PrānāgU *virād-dham*, vv ll *virājam*, *viruddham*) AV TA PrānāgU.

*brahmādhiguptah* (etc) . · *brahmābhigūrtam* . ., see §742

*athā jīvah* (KS *adhā viṣṭah*, VS ŚB. *athantam*, AV. *adomadam*) *pītum* (AV *annam*) *addhī prasūtah* (TS MS. KS *pramuktah*) AV VS. TS. MS KS ŚB

*aghnyau śūnam* (AV. *aghnyāv asunam*) *āratām* RV. AV. *śūna* 'want': *aśūna* 'unprosperity'

*suhūtakṛtāḥ sthā* AŚ *subhūtakṛtā sthā* ApŚ

*ulem* (SV. *ūltm*) *arbhe havāmahe* RV. AV SV MS In RV etc *uta-īm*, in SV acc of *ūtī* But the Samhitās contain no actual variation in quantity of the *u* vowel, since in all it is fused with a preceding final *u*

*sā brahmajāyā v dunoti rāṣṭram* AV.: *sā rāṣṭram ava dhūnute brahmajyasya* AV 'Burns up': 'shatters'.

*trīni padāni rūpo anv aroha* AV.. *pañca padāni ruṇo anv aroham* RV

Read *ruṇo* in AV, with many mss., comm, and Whitney's Transl  
*udno* (AV text *ūdhno*) *divyasya no dehi* (AV MS *dhātah*) AV. TS MS

KS *ūdhno* is a false emendation, withdrawn in Whitney's note  
 Cf §106

*namo vah pīlaraḥ śuṣmāya* (VS ŚŚ *śoṣāya*, SMB GG KhG *śūṣāya*)

VS. VSK TS MS. KS TB AŚ ŚŚ SMB GG KhG See §720

## CHAPTER XIII QUALITATIVE INTERCHANGES OF A, I, AND U VOWELS

### 1. Short *a* and *i*

§570. The variations between *a* and *i* are numerous, but also rather miscellaneous. One large group stands out among them as concerning noun suffixes which differ only or chiefly in containing the vowels *a* and *i* respectively. These have little phonetic interest. At the opposite pole stands the only other considerable group which appears prominently in this section, namely *a i* in radical syllables which concern ablaut, or quasi-ablaut. That is, the *i* forms are, or have the aspect of being, reduced ablaut grades corresponding to full-grade forms in *a*, which vary with them. That *ir* and *ur* may appear historically in such relations to *ar* is recognized by all (cf. Wackernagel I §21). Whether the same is true of *i* in relation to short *a* (as distinguished from *ā*) before other consonants, is a disputed question. Cf. Wackernagel I §15 note, where this possibility is denied and the attempt is made to explain otherwise some of the seeming instances.

§571. We shall content ourselves with recording the variants which seem to concern this real or supposed ablaut, it will of course be understood that we do not claim that they prove or disprove either side. We shall begin with one in which an otherwise unrecorded *śikya* appears persistently for the common *śakya* (by which TA comm glosses *śikya*). One naturally thinks of comparing *śikvan* and other forms of the sort with *i* (*śikman*, *śikvas*); according to Wackernagel (I c, p 17) *śikvan* would be etymologically unrelated to root *śak*, which seems to us doubtful. But the forms in *i* might perhaps be influenced by *śikṣ* *satām śikyah* (MahānU *śa*°, v 1 *śi*°) *provācapanīṣat* TA MahānU.

A form of *śikṣ* itself varies with one from *śak* in *lātum cec chikṣān sa* (TA *chaknuwānsah*, or °*vān sa*) *svarga eva* (TA *eṣām*) AV TA. See §826.

§572. Several variants concern the root or roots *śam śim*, which certainly are synonymous, but according to Wackernagel (p 18) ultimately unrelated. In the variant *pādas* VS uses only *śam*, TS KS only *śim*.

*śamībhūh samyantu tvā* VS *śimībhūh* (KSA †*śimi*°) *śimyantu tvā* TS  
KSA



*kas te gātrāni śamyat* (TS KSA śm°) VS TS KSA.

*māsā āchyanu śamyantah* VS : *māsūs chyanu śmyantah* TS KSA

*śimāh* (KSA Conc *śimām*, ed with *v* l *śimāh*, VS *śimāh*) *kṛnavantu* (VS \* *śamyantu*) *śmyantah* (VS *śamyantāh*) VS TS KSA Note that VS denies consciousness of relation between the verb and the noun by reading *śimāh* with *s*, not *ś* (comm interprets by *śimā rekhāh*)

*sūcībhiḥ śamyantu* (TS KSA śm°, MS *śamayantu*) *tvā* VS TS MS KSA

§573. Next a few variants which either contain or have the aspect of containing ablaut between *ir* and *ar* (or *ri* and *ra*), cf Wackernagel I §21, but most of the cases are obscure or dubious, only the first is a clearly genuine instance, and there too both forms are familiar, SV has merely substituted a more commonplace synonym (*hari*) for the old and rarer *hri*

*hriśmaśrum* (SV *hari*°) *nārvānam* (SV *na varmanā*) *dhanaṛcam* (SV °*cim*) RV SV

*asyai nāryā upastare* (ApMB °*stire*) AV ApMB Infinitive forms, Whitney emends to °*stire* with Ppp

*śisirāya vikakarān* (KS *ṛvikarān*, ApŚ *vikarān*, vv ll *vikakarān*, *vikakirān*) VS KS ApŚ. Name of an animal, of uncertain form, origin, and meaning

*sugantuh karma karanah kariṣyan* JB. *sugam tvah karmah karanah karah karasyuh* LŚ With *karasyu* cf. the noun *kāras*, RV ?

*rudra yat te krayī* (VS KS *kriṇi*, VSK *kraṇi*, MS MŚ *giri*°) *param nāma* VS VSK TS MS. KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ See §47, all the forms are unintelligible

§574. There is a sort of superficial resemblance to these cases in certain verb forms (e.g. the desideratives mentioned in §583), to be dealt with presently; and ablaut of a different kind (*ay* for *e* °) also appears among the verbal variants (§582) Here we shall append a number of variations between words which, while actually of independent origin, simulate the kind of ablaut relation here considered, being usually quasi-synonyms and (but for the shift between *a* and *i*) nearly or quite homonyms

§575. First, cases in which *r* follows (cf §578) Here we find two cases in which *pralāra*, that is *pra-tara*, a comparative from *pra*, varies with forms in *pra-tir-* (verbal or nominal), in which *tir* is connected with the root *tr* 'cross' The psychological affinity between this root as commonly used in Sanskrit and the comparative suffix is evident

*drāghīya āyuh pratarām* (TA †*pratarāmi*, MG *pratiram*) *dadhānāh* (AV. \**te dadhāmi*) RV. AV. TA AG MG. *dirgham āyuh pratirad bheṣajām* TB.: *āyur dadhānāh pratarām navīyah* AV. Here *pratirad* is a verb-form (*prakarṣena dadātu*, comm.), *pratarām* an adverb (comm. *prakarṣena*); *pratiram*, if correct, is the Rigvedic infinitive *pratiram*, but all but one of Knauer's mss read *pratarām* in MŚ

*aganma yatra pratiranta* (MG *pratarām na*) *āyuh* RV. AV. MG

§576. Before other consonants than *r* (cf. §§570 ff.); here might be mentioned, first, the three variants concerning the synonymous roots *saṁ-vas* and *saṁvś*, which are listed in §281. Formally even closer are two variants between *lśan* 'injure' and *lśi* 'destroy', also virtual synonyms:

*indra vāriṣṭo akṣatah* (AV. *akṣitah*) RV. AV.

*akṣatam asy* (SMB omits *asy*) *ariṣṭam* SMB ŚG : *akṣitam* (*akṣitr*) *asī* .. (see §586).

*prithivī darvir akṣitūparimitānupadastā* (V1Dh *akṣatā*) .. Kauś V1Dh . *yathāgnir akṣito* ... ApMB HG

§577. Other near-synonyms:

*gajñam devebhir anvitam* (TS TB *inv*°) TS. MS ApŚ TB †1 4 4. 5b 'Accompanied' (*anu* + *i*)· 'impelled'

*śiṣṭe śrṅge rakṣase* (AV *rukṣobhyo*) *vinakṣe* (KS *vinakṣe*, AV. mss. °*nikṣve*) RV. AV. TS. MS KS *nikṣ* 'pierce': *naś* (as if causative) 'destroy'. But no such form of *naś* is otherwise recorded, and the KS. form is questionable

*pavamāno daśasyati* (SV. *daś*°) RV. SV. Benfey would derive the SV form from stem *dśas* = *dś* (lex., and class in composition).

§578. Since it is impossible to draw a sharp line between these cases and other lexical variants, we shall add here other cases which seem to us purely lexical, concluding with some false-readings or corruptions. First, there are a number that concern pronouns (the bases *a* and *i*) and particles (*ha*: *hi*, etc.):

*ato* (AV. MahānU. *ito*, TB *tato*) *dharmāni dhārayan* RV. AV. SV. VS. TB MahānU.

*pūrvo ha* (TA. MahānU. *hi*) *jālah* (JUB *jaṇe*) *sa u garbhe antah* VS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU. ŚirasU. JUB

*rṣir ha* (ŚŚ *hi*) *dirghaśrutamah* TS MS. KS TA AŚ. ŚŚ.

*eṣo* (TA MahānU. *eṣa*, ŚirasU. *eko*) *ha* (TA MahānU. *hi*) *devah pradīso* 'nu *sarvāh* VS TA MahānU ŚvetU ŚirasU.

*vīśvam hi* (KS *ha*) *ripram pravahanti* (MS °*tu*) *devih* RV. AV VS MS. KS. ŚB.

*agnih sudakṣaḥ satanur ha bhūtvā* MŚ *agne sadakṣaḥ satanur* (KS †  
°nūr) *hi bhūtvā* TS KS

*śreṣṭho ha* (Sāyana, AV Introd p 5, *hi*) *vedas tapaso 'dhyātah* GB  
*amutibhūyād adha* (AV *adhī*) *yad yamasya* AV. VS TS MS KS TAA  
*anūdā yadī jījanad* (SV *yad ajījanad*) *adhā ca nu* (SV *adhā cid ā*)

RV. SV Two cases in the same pāda.

*vācā cit prayatam* (AŚ *ca prayutī*) *devahedanam* TB AŚ ApŚ  
*durās ca vīsvā avṛnod apa svāh* RV *turās cid vīsvam arnavat tapasvān*  
AV

*tāv ehi* (AV *iha*, AB. *eha*, MG *tā eva*) AV AB AG ŚG PG MG

Others, §888 *ehi* contains the verb *ihi*, *eha* is probably corrupt  
(Weber, *ISi* 10 160), and *eva* is certainly secondary

*anu manyasva suyajā yajāma* (MŚ *yaje hi*, most mss *yajeha*) TS MŚ  
*asūrte* (TS MS KS °iā) *sūrte* (TS °tā) *rajasī* (TS °so) *nīṣatle* (MS  
°iā, KS *na satīā*, TS *vimāne*) RV VS TS MS KS N

*mā no agne 'va* (MG *vi*) *srjo aghāya* RV AG MG

*sūrya apo vi* (MG 'va) *gāhate* MS ApŚ MG

Miscellaneous pronominal forms

*āre asman* (MS NilarU *asmīn*) *nī dhehi tam* VS TS MS KS NilarU  
*asmat* 'from us'. *asmīn* 'in it' or 'in him' MS has *v l asman*,  
and its *p p asmat*

*prajāyati kam* (AV *kīm*) *amṛtam nāvṛnīla* RV AV Both forms are used  
as particles here

*yad iā me api* (LŚ 'pi, Vait *apa*) *qachati* AŚ Vait LŚ

*yo gā udājad apa* (MS *api*) *hi valam* (MS *balam*) *vah* RV MS

*ahir jaghāna* (PG *dadarśa*) *kam* (AG MG *kīm*) *cana* AG PG ApMB

HG MG Here true pronoun forms, 'no one' 'nothing'

*māmīṣām kam canoc chīṣah* RV SV VS *maīṣām kam canoc chīṣah* TS

TB ApŚ *maīṣām uc cheṣi kīm cana* AV As in prec

§579. Remoter lexical variants

*mā no vidad* (KS *vadhīd*) *abhībhā mo āśatīh* AV KS TB ApŚ These

forms are still quasi-synonyms, 'find' (in a hostile sense) 'injure'

*dhyulāno vāyibhir yatah* (SV *hitah*) RV -SV 'Guided' 'placed'

*jāmim itvā* (Poona ed *jāmi mitvā*) *mā vīvīti lohān* (Poona ed *lohāt*)

TA *jāmim itvā māva patsi lohāt* AV See §198

*śukrām vayanīy asuraya nūnījam* RV *śukrā vi yanīy asurāya nūnīje*  
SV.

*vāṭajavair* (HG. *vātājirair*) . , see §268

*anarśarātīm* (SV *alarśarātīm*) *tasudīm upa stuh* RV SV AV N See

§292

*hṛtsu kratum varuno* (°nam) *vikṣv* (*apsv*, *dikṣv*) *agnim*, see §360.

*mitrāvarunā śaradāhnām* (MS. °nā) *cikittnū* (MS. *cikittam*, KS. *jigatnū*, AŚ. *cikittvam*) TS. MS KS. AŚ See §45.

*tisro yahvasya* (MS MŚ. *juhvasya*) *samidhah parymanah* RV. MS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §192.

*mśvakarman bhauvana mām didāsitha* (ŚB *manda āsitha*) AB. ŚB. ŚŚ. See §840.

*abhi dyumnān* (RV VS. *sumnān*) *devabhaktam yaviṣṭha* (MS KS *devahitam yaviṣṭhya*) RV VS. TS MS KS ApMB

*rāyah syāma rathyo vayasvatah* (TB. *vivasvatah*) RV. MS TB. See §255.

*yaśo* (AŚ *diśo*) *yajñasya dakṣinām* (AŚ. °nāh) TB AŚ.

*agnih pareṣu* (AŚ *pratneṣu*, SV VS. ŚB. *prīyeṣu*) *dhāmasu* AV. SV. VS. ŚB. AŚ ŚŚ.

*hinvāno hetrbhur yatah* (SV. *hatah*) RV. SV

*ahvandāya svāhā* KSA : *ihuvardāya svāhā* TB ApŚ. Followed by *bahuvardāya* (KSA. °vandāya), which suggests that KSA has an assimilated form.

*śam padam magham trayiṣṇe na kāmam* (AA. *rayiṣṇani na somah*) SV. AA See §545.

*vasūni cārur* (SMB *cārye*, ApMB. *cāryo*, HG *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB *bhṛjāsi*, HG. *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV. SMB HG. ApMB.

*miham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma* RV.: *mahī no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau* AV. Metathesis of *a* and *i*

§580. The following seem to be false readings:

*ahim* (RVKh *aham*) *dandenāgatam* RVKh AV Both words make good sense; but Scheftelowitz (p. 62) reads *ahim* for RVKh with his ms. *tādūnā* (TB. Poona ed *tādīknā*) *śatrum* (TB *śatrūn*) *na kilā vivitse* (TB *vivalse*) RV. TB But Poona ed *vivitse*, comm gloss *na labhase*

*gāvo bhago gāva vndro me achān* (AV. *ma ichāt*; TB with two AV. mss *īachāt*) RV AV KS TB *achān* is the only intelligible reading and is adopted by Whitney, see VV I p 130

[*aiṇṣakthāya* (KSA °*śak*°, Conc °*śik*°) *svāhā* TS KSA ]

[*namaḥ śaspiṇṇjārāya* (TS *sasp*°, Conc wrongly *śiṣp*° for MS) *tnṣimate* VS TS MS KS ]

[*mā no vadhih* (Conc *vadhīh* for TS, wrongly) *pitaram* RV. VS TS TAA MŚ ]

§581. In verbal inflexion there are a number of miscellaneous variants. Thus the reduplicating syllable contains variously *a* or *i*, included are some noun or adjective forms based on reduplicated stems:

*pi* *bhūnavah* *sīrate* (SV. *sa*<sup>o</sup>) *nākam* *acha* RV. AV SV VS. TS MS

On this and the two next see VV I §272

*vṛṣāva cakradad* (and *°do*) *vane* RV · *vṛṣo acakradad vane* SV See prec  
*tāh prācyā* (Vait. *°yah*, MŚ. *prācīr*) *ujjigāhīre* (KŚ. *°ire*, Vait *saṃji-*  
*gāire*) KŚ. Vait MŚ . *prācīś cojjagāhīre* ApŚ See prec two  
*stolūram id didhīcyā* (SV *dadhīṣe*) *radāvaso* RV AV SV. See VV I  
 p 90

*haslagrābhasya didhīṣos* (AV *da*<sup>o</sup>) *tavedam* (TA *tvam elat*) RV AV TA  
 Manymss of AV *dī*<sup>o</sup>, which Whitney would read. Cf however next  
*vahā* (TB N *vaha*) *devatrā didhīṣo* (MS *da*<sup>o</sup>) *havīṣṣi* MS KS TB N  
 Cf prec The MS reading is not certain, several mss *dī*<sup>o</sup>.

§582. In present formations of different classes:

*suvirābhīs tīrate* (SV TS *taratī*) .. RV. SV TS KS Note the  
 following *r* (§573).

*anāgaso adham it samkṣayema* TB *anāgaso yathā sadam it samkṣiyema*  
 Vait 1st and 4th class presents; VV I p 125 In the latter *y* is  
 epenthetic

*yac ca prānīti* (AV *°atī*) *yac ca na* AV ŚB † TB BṛhU † 1st and 2d class  
 presents, VV I p 123

*yah prānīti* (AV *prānātī*) *ya im śrnoty uktam* RV AV Cf prec  
*katī kṛtvah prānātī cāpānātī ca* (ŚB *prānīti cāpa cānūtī*) GB ŚB Cf  
 prec two

*nī śānīhi* (AV *abhi śāna*) *duritā bādhamānah* RV AV VS TS MS  
 KS Cf prec three

§583. The *i* of the following is of desiderative character, cf Whitney  
 §1030.

*na yac chūdreṣu alapsata* (ŚŚ *alī*<sup>o</sup>) AB. ŚŚ An aorist in *-AB*. See VV I  
 p 87

*sa bhikṣamāno* (SV. *bha*<sup>o</sup>) *amṛtasya cārunah* RV. SV. Both *bhikṣ* (a  
 sort of desiderative) and *bhakṣ* are derived from *bhāj*, but function  
 as quasi-independent roots

§584. In various miscellaneous verb forms,

*ajīgapatā* (TS TB *°japata*) *vanaspatayah* TS MS TB MŚ See VV I  
 p 192 Both are reduplicated (causative) aorists, the form with  
 radical *a* is influenced by the vocalism of the causative, the other by  
 that of the simple root

*grhā mā bibhīta mā vepadhvam* (LŚ ApŚ HG *vepīdhvam*) VS LŚ ApŚ  
 ŚG. HG See VV I p 133

*nābhā samdāyi navyasī* (SV *°dāya navyase*) RV SV. *samdāyi* is 3d sing  
 passive aor, *samdāya* gerund (but awkward, with no finite verb)

*yenā samatsu' sāsahāh* (SV. °*hīh*, MŚ °*hī*) RV SV. VS. ApŚ. MŚ 'Whereby thou shalt conquer in battles', RV (perfect subj) : 'whereby (thou shalt be) conqueror in battles' SV. (adjective). In MŚ the adjective is made neuter, agreeing with *manas* '(thy) mind' in prec

*sam indra no (no) manasā neṣi* (AV *neṣa*) *gobhūh* RV. AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB TB See VV I p 105

*pitā no bodhi* (TA *bodha*) VS ŚB TA See VV I p 123.

#### *a* ɪ in noun formation

§585. The remaining cases, considerable in number, concern different noun suffixes Phonetics has little to do with them; at most they show how easily different suffixal forms containing *a* and ɪ may exchange. Most of the variants are in fact practically synonymous Thus there are many interchanges of past participles in *ta* with nouns of action or abstracts in *ti*, the change may or may not be accompanied by slight changes in the psychology of the passages Thus the participial forms may be used as nouns, practically equivalent to the nouns in *ti*; or the nouns in *ti* may become concrete in meaning, approaching the meaning of the participles Besides these cases, we find suffixal forms in *na ni* (the latter sometimes influenced by feminine stems), and *ra·ri*, patronymics in *ka ki*, heteroclitic stems in *a(an)* ɪ, stems in *ana in(a)*, stems in *in* (in composition ɪ) *a(n)*, stems in *a-ka ikā*; and a remnant of unclassifiable *a* ɪ forms

§586. We begin with the suffixes *ta ti*, and first with those in which the participles stay close to their original meaning, see also §599 below: *yam akṣitam* (ŚŚ N °*tim*) *akṣitayah pibanti* TS ŚŚ N : *yam akṣitam akṣitā bhakṣayanti* AV *yathākṣitam akṣitayah pibanti* (KS °*yo madanti*) MS KS 'Which imperishable one (imperishableness) the imperishablenesses (AV imperishable ones) drink (or the like)'

*akṣitam asi mā pūṭnām* (with variants) *kṣeṣṭhā* . ApG ApMB HG. BDh *akṣitam asi mā me kṣeṣṭhāh* TS : *akṣitam asy akṣitam me bhūyāh* MS . *akṣitur asi mā me kṣeṣṭhā* . . VSK AŚ ŚŚ KŚ And other variations

*apā vṛdhi parvṛtam* (TB Conc °*vṛtim*, Poona ed. text and comm °*vṛtim*) *na rādhaḥ* RV. TB 'Open up as it were hidden treasure': 'open up treasure, as it were a fence'

*bradhnaś cid atra* (SV *yasya*) *vāto na jūtaḥ* (SV. *jūtim*) RV. SV. *jūtaḥ* 'speedy', adj with *vāto*, *jūtim* 'speed', with change of construction.

*pra samrājo* (SV °jam) *asurasya prakastim* (SV. °tam) RV SV KB  
*atirātram varṣan pūrtr āvrt* (MS *vavarṣvān pūrta rīvaṣ*, KS *vavṣvān*  
*pūta rūvat*) *svāhā* TS MS KS.

§587. These are supported by other cases in which the participle is used as a noun, practically equivalent to the noun in *ti*  
*puṣṭapate cakṣuṣe* MS *puṣṭipataye* (AŚ °pate) *puṣṭis* AŚ. ApŚ  
*pro ayāsīd indur indrasya niṣṭritam* RV SV PB. ° *pra vā elindur indrasya*  
*niṣṭritam* AV

*nyañ* (AV *ni yan*) *ni yanty uparasya niṣṭritam* (AV. °tim) RV. AV KS.  
*ākūtim* (MS MŚ MG °tam) *agnim prayujam svāhā* VS TS MS KS  
 ŚB MŚ MG

*vāco vidhritim* (MS °tam) *agnim prayujam svāhā* VS TS MS KS ŚB  
 In same passage with prec

*sviṣṭam* (MŚ v 1 °tim) *no 'bhi vasyo nayantu* KS MŚ *sviṣṭim no abhi*  
 (KŚ 'bhi) *vasīyo* (AV. *vasyo*) *nayantu* AV. TS KŚ

*kṛnūtam nah sviṣṭim* (MS KS °tam) VS TS MS KS

*mayi puṣṭim* (AV °tam) *†puṣṭipatir* (AV *puṣṭa*°, KS \**puṣṭipatnī*)  
*dadhātu* (AG †*dadātu*) AV MS KS. (four times) TAA MahānU  
 ApŚ AG SMB.

*kuyavam ca me 'kṣitś* (VS 'kṣitam) *ca me* VS MS KS : *akṣitś ca me*  
*kūyavāś ca me* TS

[*ādityās te citim* (KS Conc wrongly *citam*) *āpūrayantu* KS ApŚ]

*punar brahmāṇo* (AV. *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV. °nīth, KS \*°dhītam,  
 v 1 °dhītim, KS \* [38 12b] †°nītha, KapS °dhītam or °tim, MS  
 °dhīte) *yajñāh* (AV MS KS \* *agne*) AV VS TS MS. KS ŚB  
 °nītha is a variant for °nīla, see §93.

§588. Coming to variants between *na* and *ni*, we find in several cases that the *i* is apparently due to influence of the feminine ending *ī*

*asapalnā sapatnaghnī* (ApMB °*gnhī*) RV ApMB ApG Cf *sapatnī*,  
 for which *sapatni* is recorded in the Rāmāyana (BR)

*gandharvāya janavide* (ApMB *janī*°) *svāhā* ApMB MG Cf the stems  
*janu* and *janī* Here, strictly speaking, the *i* and the *n* are both  
 radical, not suffixal (dissyllabic root *jan*)

*somāya januvide* (MG *jana*°) *svāhā* ApMB MG In same passage as prec  
*teṣām yo ayyānam* (PG 'jyānum) *ajūm āvahāt* (SMB Conc *ajūm*  
*āvahāh*, but Jorgensen text and comm as others) TS SMB PG  
 BDh *teṣām ayyānam* (MŚ °*nam*) *yatamo vahāt* (KS MŚ *na*  
*āvahāt*) AV KS MŚ *a-jyā-ni*, 'non-oppression' *a-jyā-na* id, not  
 recorded lexically, contains properly the suffix *ana*, which appears  
 as *na* after *ā* ,

*hiranyapakṣaḥ śakunih* HG.: *hiranyaparna śakune* PG : *hiranyavarnah śakunah* MU

*pururūpam suretasam maghonam* (TB °*nm*) VS TB *maghonam* may be taken either as an irregular acc sing of *maghavan* (cf. RV *maghonas*, nom plur) or as from an *a*-extension of the weak stem, *maghonam* (masc) can only be from an *i*-extension of the same TB comm *annavanam*; VS comm *maghavanam dhanavanam*

§589. Of the suffixes *ra ri* we have only noted one variant, of the word *tittiri* °*ra* The usual form is °*ri*, but °*ra* occurs elsewhere; however in this passage the MS p p reads *tittirih*.

*mandūko mūṣikā tittiris* (MS °*ras*) *te sarpanām* VS. MS Cf. §598, *varṣābhyas*.

§590. The suffixes *ka* and *li* exchange in patronymics; really the exchange is doubtless between *a* and *i*, since probably in all cases the primary noun contained *k*; all occur in the same passage.

*śaunakam* (ŚG °*kim*) AG ŚG.

*kaholam kauṣitakam* (ŚG °*kim*) AG ŚG

*mahākauṣitakam* (ŚG °*kim*) AG †ŚG

§591. Next, *a* and *i* as finals in inflexion or composition of heteroclitic stems in *an* (weak grade *a*, always used in compounds, and tending to pass into the *a*-declension) and *i*, of the type *asthan asthi*.

*asthabhyah* (KSA *asthi*°) *svāhā* VS TS KSA.

*ut tiṣṭha puruṣa harita pṛṇḡala lohitaḥ* (MahānU *puruṣāharitapṛṇḡala lohitaḥ*) *dehi dehi dadāpayitā me śudhyantām* TA TAA MahānU

And extensions of such stems in suffixal *ka* (in compounds).

*anakṣikāya* (KSA °*akāya*) *svāhā* TS KSA.

*anasthikāya* (KSA °*akāya*) *svāhā* TS KSA

§592. A few cases of interchange between adjectives in *i* and participles (or quasi-participles, *mahat*) in *at*

*dhruvas tiṣṭhāncācalh* (AV MS KS °*calat*) RV AV VS TS MS KS

· ŚB TB

*parvata wāncācalh* (AV MS KS °*calat*) RV AV VS TS MS KS

ŚB TB

*dadhr* (SV *dadhad*) *yo dhāyi sa te* (SV. *sute*) *vayānsi* RV SV.

*enoś cakṛvān mahi baddha eṣām* TS : *eno mahac cakṛvān baddha ṣeṣa* MS

§593. Variations between suffixal *ana* and *in* (*ina*)

*tan nau samvananam kṛtam* MG : *tena samvanīnau svake* HG *samvanana* 'concord': *samvanin* 'concordant'.

*manyoh krodhasya nāṣanī* PG : *manyor mṛddhasya* (ApMB *mṛdhrasya*) *nāṣinī* ApMB HG *Feminines of nāṣana nāṣin*



*mā no vīdad* (KS *vīdhad*) *vījīnā* (KS TB ApŚ. °*anā*) *dveṣyā jīyā* AV  
KS TB. ApŚ Both words mean 'deceit', and seem to be otherwise unknown

*śunām agram suvīranah* (ApMB *subīranah*) ApMB. HG Cf next  
*subīrana sṛja-sṛja śunaka* ApMB · *suvīranah sṛja-sṛja* HG Epithets of dogs, of unknown origin and meaning

§594. Variations between stems in *in* (in composition 1) and stems in *a* or *an* (once *an* by sandhi for *at*)

*tasya te vājīpīlasyopahūlasyopahūlo* (Vait *vājīpīlasyopahūlo*, LŚ *vājapīlasyopahūla* [text °*hata*] *upahūlasya*) *bhakṣayāmi* AŚ LŚ  
Vait · *tasya te vājībhīr bhakṣamkṛtasya vājībhīr sūlasya vājīpīlasya vājīnasyopahūlasyopahūlo bhakṣayāmi* ApŚ · *vājy aham vājīnasyopahūla upahūlasya bhakṣayāmi* VSK KŚ

*vājam tvāgne* Vait : *vāji tvā* . ApŚ MŚ *vājīnam tvā vājīn*  
KS : *vājīnam tvā vājedyāyāi* (*sapatnasāham*) VS VSK TS  
ŚB

*ava jīyām* (HG *dyām*) *va dhanvanah* (HG *dhanvnanah*) AV ApMB HG  
See §159.

*matsvā suśīpra* (SV. °*prin*) *harīvas tad* (SV. *īam*) *īmahe* RV. SV.

*bodhinmanā* (SV. *bodhan*°) *id astu nah* R.V. SV. In SV. pres pple, *bodhat*

§595. Before feminine forms of the suffix *ka*, most commonly *i* replaces *a*, see Edgerton, JAOS 31 95 f :

*vidyutam kanīnakābhyām* (VS *kanīna*°) VS MS. KSA. *vidyutau kanānakābhyām* TS

*vṛtrasyāsi* (KS *mitrasya*°) *kanīnikā* (VS ŚB °*akah*) VS MS KS ŚB.

MŚ MG : *vṛtrasya kanīnikāsi* (VSK °*akāsi*) VSK TS ApŚ  
*agner akṣnah kanīnakam* (VSK °*kām*, TS MS KS °*ikām*) VS VSK TS.  
MS. KS. ŚB.

*ni galgalīti dhārakā* VS. ŚB · *ni jalgalīti* (KSA ms *jījalgalīti*, em °*īti*) *dhānikā* TS. KSA

*vājīhvaka nījīhvaka* ApMB · *avājīhva nījīhvika* HG Here, in a masculine form, the *i* before *ka* is anomalous, it may be corrupt, or may be based on thought of a form \**jīhvīn*, with suffixal *in*

§596. The rest are miscellaneous cases of *a* · *i* in suffixes and endings  
*tasmīn ma indro rucīm ā dadhātu* AV. : *tasmīn somo rucām ā dadhātu*  
HG. ApMB Stems *ruci* and *ruc* Cf next

*hīrīśmaśrum nārvaṇam dhanarcam* RV *hīrīśmaśrum na varmanā dhanarcīm* SV. Stems *rc* and *rc-i* (possibly with confused thought of *arcis*?).

- kuwayah* (KSA °yih, VS TS *kvayih*) *kuṭarur dātyauhas te vājnām* (TS. KSA *smāvālyai*) VS TS MS KSA. A name of an unknown animal, p p of MS also *kuwayih*
- mdrah* (ŚŚ °as) *patis tuvṣṭamo* (AA ŚŚ *tavastamo*) *janeṣv ā* (ŚŚ. *janeṣu*) AV AA ŚŚ Stems *tavas* and *tuvṣ-* (the latter not used as a separate word)
- tilvlāstām* (ed misprinted *tilva*°, see Stenzler's Transl. p 83 n) *urāvatīm* AG : *tilvlā sthājṛavatī* ŚG · *tilvalā sthīrāvatī* MG † 2 11 12b *tilvlā syād urāvatī* ApMB The word is otherwise *tilvula*, probably MG is to be emended
- vi śloka etu* (AV. *eti*, TS ŚvetU *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS. *patheva*) *sūreh* (AV. MS † *sūrih*, TS. ŚvetU. *sūrāh*, KS †*sūrah*) RV AV. VS TS. MS KS ŚB ŚvetU.
- agne varcasvin* (VSK °van) *varcasvāns* (ŚŚ °vī) *tvam deveṣv asī varcasvān* (ŚŚ °vy) *aham manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsam* VS VSK ŚB ŚŚ
- pradākṣinīn* (AV. °nam) *marutām stomam ṛdhyām* (MS *aśyām*) RV. AV. MS TB The old adverb *pradākṣinī*, of anomalous appearance, is replaced by a more ordinary form in AV.
- mānasya patnī śaranā syonā* AV · *mā nah sapatnah śaranah syonā* HG *harṣamānāso dhṛṣṭā* (TB °atā) *marutvah* RV TB N. See §122 and VV I §86
- kṛkalāsah* (KSA *kṛki*°) *pippakā śakunis* (TS KSA *śak*° *pi*°) *te śaravyā-yai* VS. TS MS KSA. Of uncertain origin; simulates a compound of a stem *kṛka-* or *kṛki-*.

## 2 Long ā and ī

§597. These variants are few The most interesting group concerns *ā* varying with *ī* as ending of the first part of a compound or seeming compound We seem justified in thinking of the parallel feminine stem-endings *ī* and *ā* in this connexion These feminine endings exchange themselves a number of times, as we shall see in our volume on Noun Inflection, which we may anticipate here by quoting the following examples.

- samhitāsi viśvarūpā* (VS ŚB ŚŚ °pī, TS ApŚ \*°pīh) VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ (his)
- upasthāvarābhyo dāsam* VS *upasthāvarābhyo †barindam* (so Poona ed. text and comm) TB
- sulhā saptapadī* (ApMB °padā) *bhava* AG. ŚG. Kauś SMB ApMB MG

*śivā rulasya* (TS. and v. L. of MS. *rudrasya*, VSK. *śiva rlasya*) *bheṣaṣi* (MS. °jā) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. See §684.

The compounds in question are, however, so obscure that it is hardly ever possible to be sure that they contain such feminine stems, or indeed even that they are really compounds (the last one certainly is not):

*grḍhrah śitkakṣi vārdhrāṇasas te divyāḥ* (KSA. *vārhi°*, ed. em. *vārdhri°*, te 'dityāḥ) TS. KSA. The word (otherwise spelled with *ṛ*) seems at least to be felt as a compound; cf. *vārdhra*?

*uṣīro ghr̥nūvān vārdhrīnasas* (MS. *ghr̥nāvān vārdhrā°*) te *matyai* VS. MS. Cf. prec.; p.p. of MS. *vārdhri°*. In *ghr̥°* we have another animal name, of unknown meaning and apparently found only here

*ākhuḥ kaśo mānīhālas* (MS. °hālavas, VSK. *māndhōlas*) te *pīṭṇām* VS. VSK. MS : *pānīktrah* (KSA. *ṭpānīktah*; mss. of both *pāmītra-*) *kaśo mānīhālavas* (KSA. *ṭman°*) te *pīṭṇām* (KSA. *ṭpīṭṇ°*) TS. KSA. See §77.

*yā te agne harīśayā* (VSK. *harī°*, MS. MS̃ *harā°*) *tanūr*... VS. VSK. ŚB. (Pratīkas MS. MS̃) *harāśaya* is doubtless influenced by *haras*

*vidyutam kanīnīkābhyām* (VS. *kanīna°*) VS. MS. KSA. : *vidyutau kanānakābhyām* TS. Certainly not a compound, but seems to belong psychologically here.

§598. The other variations of *ā* and *ī* are very miscellaneous; mostly they concern inflexional endings of some sort

*agne tejasvin tejasvī tvam deveṣu bhūyāḥ* TS : *agna āyuhkārāyusmāns tvam tejasvān deveṣv edhi* MS. See also *agne varcasvin* etc., §596. *indrasyāham devayajyayendriyāvi* (KS. °yāvān, MS̃ °yavān) ... TS. KS.

MS̃

*śivā viśtvāha* (VS. °hā) *bheṣaṣi* (TS. °habheṣaṣi; MS. °jā) VS. TS. MS. KS. *viśtvacarāṇiḥ sahurīḥ sahāvān* (AV. *sahiyān*) RV. AV. MS̃ *śilpā vaiśvadevīḥ* (VS. °vyah) VS. MS : *śilpās trayo vaiśvadevāḥ* TS. KSA.

Fem and masc forms, nom plur.

*samānī va ākūtīḥ* RV. AV. TB. AG : *samānā vā* (KS. *va*) *ākūtāni* MS.

KS. MG. *ī* of fem. sing : *ā* of neut. plur.

*varṣābhyas tuttīrīn* (MS. °rān) VS. MS. KSA. ŚB. ApŚ. Acc plur of the words which vary in §589

*dhyā manotā prathamo manīṣi* (SV. °mā manīṣā) RV. SV. 'The foremost; intelligent one': ... intelligence'.

*sā śamtāti* (SV. °tā, TB. ApŚ. °cī) *mayas karad apa sridhah* RV. SV. TB. ApŚ. *śamtāti* acc neut, and *śamtātā* loc sing, from *śamtāti*; on *śantācī* see §156

*aṅgāni ca me 'sthāni* (VS and v. l. of MS *'sthāni*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS.  
Stems *asthan' asth.*

*teṣām sam hanmo akṣāni* (AV *sam dadhmo akṣāni*) RV. AV. (Ppp has *akṣāni*) Stems *akṣan' akṣ.*

*bahu ha vā ayam avarṣād* ... MS : *bahu hāyam avṛṣād* (KS. °ṣad) ..  
TS. KS. See VV I p. 129

*tisro ha prajā alyūyam āyan* (JB *īyuh*) AV. JB. Imperfect and perfect of *i*

In VV I p. 185 are collected some variations between strong and weak verb stems in (n)ā. (n)ī, which we shall not repeat here Add the following:

*śṛnāhi viśvataḥ prati* RV.: †*śṛnāhi viśvatas pari* SV.

§598a. There are a number of cases of interchange between gerunds in *tvā* and *tvī* As was to be expected, the form in *tvī* is regularly the older: *avād dhavyāni surabhīni kṛtvā* (RV. VS *kṛtvī*) RV. AV. VS TS. ApŚ. SMB.

*kṛtyaṣā padvatī bhūtvā* (RV. °*tvī*) RV. AV. ApMB.

*kṛtvī* (AV. *kṛtvā*) *devair nikūḍḥam* RV. AV.

*kṛtvī* (AV. *kṛtvā*) *savarnām adadur* (AV *adadhur*) *ivasvate* RV. AV. N. *pūtvī* (SV. TS *pūtvā*) *śipre avepayah* RV. SV AV. VS TS. ŚB.

*vayo ye bhūtvī* (AV. °*tvā*) *patayanti naktabhiḥ* RV. AV.

*svinnah snātū* (AV. °*tvā*, VS. ŚB *snāto*) *malād va* AV. VS. MS. KS ŚB. TB

*hntī* (SV. *hītvā*) *śiro jīhvaya vāvadac* (SV. *rārapac*) *carat* RV. SV.

*apālām indra* (MG. °*ras*) *triṣ* (trih) *pūtvī* (AV *pūtvā*, ApMB. *pūrtvī*, MG. *pūrti a-*) RV AV. JB ApMB MG

### 3. *a* and *i* with shift of quantity

§599. Here are found only a few stray variants: too few to classify. Some of the variants in the preceding sections show shift of quantity as well as quality, these will not be repeated We begin with variants of *ā* and *i*, the first two belong with those of *a* and *i* in §586:

*prācīm jīvātum akṣītām* (ŚŚ. ŚG °*um*) AV. TS. MS AŚ ŚŚ ŚG. AG † (Stenzler's Translation, p 36 n) ApMB. N

*vyacasvatīṣayanī subhūtiḥ* AŚ MS : *viśvavyacā ṣayanī subhūtiḥ* (KS °*tā*) TS KS. In the latter *subhūti* is an adjective going with *adur* in the next pāda

*tan no durgā* (TA °*gā*) *pracodayāt* TA MahānU. Durgi for Durgā seems to occur only here

*śṛyo* (AV. TB. °*yam*) *vasānaś carati svarocih* (TB °*cāh*) RV. AV. VS. KS. TB.

*āṅgūṣānām* (SV *aṅgoṣnam*) *avāvaśanta vānīh* RV SV. Different case-forms of *a* and *in* stems

*adhī kṣamā vṣurūpam* (ArS *kṣamā vṣva*°) *yad asti* (ArS *asya*, MS † *āsta*) RV AV ArS MS TB

*kara ād* (SV *id*) *arthayāsa it* RV. SV.

*anādhṛṣṭā* .. VS MS KS ŚB *anībhrṣṭā* .. TS See §176

§600. Between *a* and *ī* the cases are even fewer and equally sporadic. *sīrāh* (TS MS KS *sarāh*, AV *sarā*) *patatrīnī* (TS MS KS °*nīh*) *sthana* (KS *stha*, AV. *bhūtvā*) RV AV VS TS MS KS Besides the synonymous *sarā* and *sīrā*, *sīrā* is also found (RV) All are from root *sr*, cf §§570, 573

*amṛtenāvṛtām puram* (TA *purīm*) AV. TA Equivalent stems *pur* and (later) *pūrī*

*yātudhānebhyaḥ kaṇṭakikārim* (TB *kaṇṭakakāram*) VS TB Both the stem of the first member, and the entire cpd, show shift in gender *nayanto garbham vanām dhīyam dhuḥ* RV : *nayantam gīrbhir vanā dhīyam dhāh* SV Lexical

*āsmīnn* (KS *ā sīm*) *ugrā* (MS *ā samudrā*) *acucyavuh* TS MS KS ApŚ Lexical

*virenyah kratur indrah suśastih* RV. *varenyakratūr* (AV °*tur*, ApŚ *īdenya*°) *aham* RVKh AV. ApŚ See §§383, 554

#### 4 Interchange of short *a* and *u*

§601. Under this head we find a clearly defined group of cases, which seems to have no parallel among the *a i* variants, in which *a* varies with *u* before a following *v*, the influence of which must be partly concerned in the shift To be sure both forms can as a rule be explained historically, the *av* forms as full ablaut grade, the *uv* as weak grade forms, representing *ū* before a vowel, or—in the few forms concerning roots in short *u*—epenthesis of *v* between *u* and following vowel Phonetic and morphological matters are no doubt blended here But the occurrence of some forms which are morphologically anomalous confirms us in the belief that phonetics cannot be entirely excluded The great majority of the forms concern roots in *ū* There is to be observed a striking tendency to prefer the *u* forms in SV, and the like seems to be largely true of MS

§602. In VV I §23 we have already collected most of the verb forms which show this variation The following are those from *ū* roots.

*acīkradat svapā iha bhuvat* (Ppp *bhavat*, Barret, JAOS 30 244) AV.

Ppp Add to VV I l c

*tasmai devā adhī bravan* (MS. KS TB † [Poona ed. text and comm ]

ApŚ. *bruvan*) VS. TS MS KS TB. ApŚ

*tasmai somo adhī bravat* (KS *bruvat*) RV AV KS

*yatra* (SV *yatrā*) *devā uti bravan* (SV *bruvan*) RV. SV

*pra bravāma* (MS *bruvāma*, v 1 *bra*°) *śaradah śatam* VS. MS. TA ApMB.

ApG HG. MG.

*sammiślo aruṣo bhava* (SV. *bhuvah*) RV. SV.

*uta trātā śivo bhavā* (SV. *bhuvo*) *varūthyah* RV. SV. VS TS MS KS

Kauś

*nemiś cakram nābhavat* (SV MS °*bhuvat*) RV SV. TS MS

*yat some-soma ābhavah* (SV. *ābhuvah*) RV SV.

*yad dūre sann ihābhavah* (SV. °*bhuvah*) RV. SV MŚ N.

*tatra pūṣābhavat* (SV. °*bhuvat*) *sacā* RV SV. KS

*asapatnā kilābhuvam* (ApMB. °*bhavam*) RV. ApMB : *asapatnah kilābhuvam* RV.

*samprīyah* (TA °*yam prajayā*) *paśubhir bhava* (TB TA ApŚ. *bhuvat*) MS TB TA. ApŚ

*marulvantam sakhyāya havāmahe* (SV. †*huvemahi*) RV. †1 101 1-7, SV. [śāveśo anamīvo bhavā (Conc wrongly *bhuvā* for ApMB) *nah* RV TS.

MS SMB PG. ApMB ]

§603. From roots in short *u* the cases are much fewer:

*abhi pra nonuvur* (SV. *nonavur*) *gīrah* RV. SV. (It is not quite clear whether this is originally a short or long *u* root) Here SV. goes counter to its usual tendency, with *av* for RV. *uv*.

*upa śravat* (MS *śruvat*, p p. *śra*°) *subhagā yajñe asmin* RV. MS. On the anomalous and doubtful MS form cf. VV I p. 106

*tad aham nuhnave* (ŚŚ °*nuve*) *tubhyam* AB ŚŚ To be added to VV I §193, since it is a case of 1st and 2d class presents; the latter (*hnute*) is more regular.

*nedīya it sṛnyah pakvam ā yavan* (Ppp *yuvan*, Barret, JAOS 30 207) AV Ppp (Others, see Conc) Add to VV I l c

§604. The same shift is found in noun formation and declension, both *ū* stems (placed first in the list) and short *u* stems-

*abhiḍhuve* (MS °*bhve*, KS °*bhave*) *svāhā* MS VS KS TB ApŚ And, in same passage:

*vibhuve* (MS. *vibhve*, KS †*vibhave*) *svāhā*, same texts

*samudram na suhavam* (*suhavam*, *subhuvas*) , *mahīṣam nah subhvam* (*subhavaṣ*) . . . , see §119

*indrāh* (ŚŚ. °*as*) *patis tuvīṣtamo* (AA ŚŚ *tavastamo*) *janeṣu ā* (ŚŚ *janeṣu*) AV AA ŚŚ Cf. §596

*śubhhravo* (MS. °*bhruvo*) *vasūnām* VS. MS

*punsavanam punsavanam* AG. *punsuvanam asī* ApMB The form in *av* is regular in the earlier language, but that in *uv* occurs first (in AV.)

*tad viprāso vipanyavah* (SV. °*yuvah*) RV. SV VS. NṛpU VasuU SkandaU ArunU MuktaU.

*tā vām gīrbhir vipanyavah* (SV °*yuvah*) RV SV

*sumnāyuvah* (KS °*yavas*) *sumnyāya sumnam* (KS *sumnyam*) *dhātta* MS KS. MŚ

*stasya prajā apsaraso bhīruvāh* (MS *bhīravo nāma*) TS MS

§605. Of other variations in radical syllables between *a* and *u*, analogous to the variations between *a* and *i* treated in §§570 ff, we have noted surprisingly little. We might have expected to find a number of cases especially before *r* (cf §573, and Wackernagel I §21), as in the two forms of the present stem *karo kuru*. The chief cases we have noted, however, concern adverbs and adjectives in *par-* *pur-*, which we shall list below in §615, along with other variations in adverbs and particles. Otherwise the only case we have noted—the first in the following list—is of very dubious character. In it and practically all the others in this section assimilation or dissimilation seems to have been at work.

*sukarīrā svopaśā* (v 1 *svau*°) MS. *sukurīrā svaupaśā* VS TS KS ŚB

The usual form is *kurīra*, the etymology is unknown. If MS is correct, it may have dissimilation to the preceding *u* (*su*)

*avabhṛtha nūcumpuna* (TS TB ApŚ *nūcāṅkuna*, MS KS MŚ *nūcūṅkuna*) VS TS MS KS ŚB. TB LŚ MŚ ApŚ N. See §150

Here dissimilation seems highly likely as an explanation of the *a* form, despite the obscurity of the words.

*nīcerur asī nūcumpunah* (TS TB *nūcāṅkuna*, MS KS *nūcūṅkunah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB. TB. LŚ Cf prec

*samlasuko vikasukah* AV. MS. *samkusuko vikusulah* TA ApŚ The root is *las* and the *kus* forms are certainly secondary, and apparently assimilated to the suffixal *u* which follows. Cf next

*asmin vāyam samlasuke* (ApŚ °*kusule*) AV ApŚ Cf prec

*nī nūvartana vartayendra nardabuda* (KS *nandabala*) TS KS ApMB

See §273. Note that the variant vowel is preceded by *b*, a labial consonant.

*etām samkṛṣya* (MS MŚ °*kaṣya*, v 1 °*kuṣya*) *juhudhi* MS ApŚ MŚ

Here the original form was neither *d* nor *u*, but *r*, see §631

*tuce tanāya* (SV Svidh *tunāya*) *tai su nah* RV SV Svidh The SV form is isolated, and probably due to the adjoining and synonymous *tuce*

Benfey tries to explain it independently, which seems to us highly improbable

§606. Next comes a rather interesting, if somewhat heterogeneous, group in which the *a u* is found in the second syllable of a word, yet is not clearly suffixal, assimilation or dissimilation may again explain some of the changes, but in one or two, at least, it seems that we are dealing with dissyllabic roots, or root-determinatives, in *u*, of the type *laro-*, *karu-* (VV I p 116 f, and references there quoted). Most of the other words are obscure; often one is inclined to suspect that the variations in spelling point to a real uncertainty or ambiguity in the pronunciation of an unaccented vowel:

*karanam* (TS *karunam*) *asī* TS AŚ ŚŚ Both words occur in the sense of 'religious work'; but *karanam* is much commoner, and is secondarily substituted for the rarer but original *karunam* in this variant. *varano vārayālar* (and, *vārayiṣyatī*) AV. *varuno vārayāt* TA The root *vr*, like *lr*, has dissyllabic forms in *u*. It is unnecessary here to consider the old question whether *Varuna* is derived from it; the god's name (if the reading is correct, Poona ed. has *varano* with *v l varuno*) is here used obviously with punning intent.

So with the verb-forms *vanate vanute* and the like, on which see VV I p 121; whatever their grammatical classification (discussed l c), they seem ultimately to have a sort of root determinative *u*.

*agnir no vanate* (VSK *vanute*, SV. TS KS *vansate*) *rayim* RV. SV. VS. VSK. TS MS KS

*tad agnir devo devebhyo vanate* (MS ŚB ŚŚ *vanutām*) TS MS ŚB TB. AŚ ŚŚ

§607. The rest are more dubious in character:

*pilvo* (VS MS *pīdvo*, KSA *bīdvo*) *nyañkuḥ kakkaṭas* (MS *kakuṭhas*, TS KSA *kaṣas*) *te 'numatyai* (KSA *°yāh*) VS TS MS KSA There may be assimilation in VS or dissimilation in MS, but the forms are wholly obscure

*tad vo astu sucetanam* (JB *°tunam*, ŚŚ *saḥṣanam*) AV. AB GB JB ŚŚ Here both *a* and *u* may perhaps be called suffixal; yet the var' nt seems to belong in feeling to this group. No uncompounded *cetuna* is found, but *sucetuna* is recorded later, and cf. RV *celu*

*somasya rājñāḥ kulūṅgaḥ* TS *· somāya kulūṅgaḥ* (MS *kulaṅgaḥ*) VS MS : *somāya rājñe kulūṅgaḥ* KSA The usual form is *kuraṅga*, and the medial *u* is apparently due to assimilation to *u* of the first syllable. In both this and the next variant MS p p has *kulu°*; contrariwise VS comm. reads in both *kula°*, glossing *kuraṅga*.

*sādhyebhyah kulūṅgān* (MS *kulaṅgān*) VS MS Cf. prec.



*yādase śābalyām* (TB *śābulyām*) VS TB . *parā dehi śāmulyam* (ApMB *śābalyam*) RV AV. ApMB Popular etymology has confused two originally distinct words, *śāmulya* means a kind of woolen garment, and is not connected with *śabala* 'spotted' A derivative of the latter is concerned in VS TB, whose comms. interpret 'a woman with spotted skin', the *u* of TB. is either due to vague reminiscence of *śāmulya*, or to phonetic influence of the labial consonant *b*. ApMB is clearly thinking of *śabala*, and intends the meaning 'spotted garment', in RV AV ApMB reference is made to the bridal garment, spotted and impure after the wedding night. Cf §241

§608. Next we come to cases in which the variant vowels are more definitely suffixal, and matters of noun formation First a group in which the common synonyms *caḥṣas* and *caḥṣus* interchange Note the misreading *caḥṣaṣi sāmavedasya* in GB Bibl Ind ed, which is a mere misprint for *caḥṣuṣi* as shown by the following §, Gaastra reads correctly *caḥṣuṣi* *Caḥṣas* is an older form, which later texts tend to replace by *caḥṣus*

*namah samudrasya caḥṣase* (PB *caḥṣuṣe*) TS MS KS JB PB LŚ  
*apo mahi vyayahi caḥṣase tamah* RV. *apo mahi vṛnule caḥṣuṣā tamah* SV  
*āyus ca prāyus ca caḥṣas ca vicaḥṣas* (ApŚ *caḥṣus ca vicaḥṣus*) ca  
 MS ApŚ

§609. Other, miscellaneous cases of noun formation

*tarakṣuh* (KSA †*\*kṣah*) *kṛṣṇah* TS KSA Both forms otherwise recorded; original unknown

*sādhu* (SV *sādhah*) *kṛṇvantam avase* RV SV As the accent of *sā'dhu* shows (see Wackernagel II 1 p 20), it is a noun, not an adjective or adverb It occurs only here, and is replaced in SV by the equally unknown *sā'dhas*

*tā mandasānā manuṣo durona ā* RV ApMB *sā mandasānā manasā śivena* AV Really a lexical variant, even tho the words may be related prehistorically, but resembles the case of *caḥṣas caḥṣus*, §608, superficially

*davyā minānā manasā* (VS *manuṣah*) *purutrā* VS MS KS TB  
*sugantuh larma karanah kariṣyan* JB : *sugam twah larmah karanah*  
*larah karasyuh* LŚ Cf. §573

*ārdrāh prathasnur* (MŚ †*pr̥thusnur*, v 1 *prathasnur*) *bhūwanasya gopāh*  
 TB ApŚ MŚ Knauer, note on MŚ, would understand *prathasnu*  
 (TB comm. *prathanasilo*) as dialectic by-form of *pr̥thusnu*

*samsṛṣṭam ubhayam kṛtam* (KŚ. *abhayam kratum*) KS TB KŚ ApŚ  
Note metathesis of *a: u* in KŚ, which is poor and secondary; and  
cf next

*puñjikasthalā* (KS † *puñjiga°*) *ca kṛtasthalā* (VS ŚB *kratu°*) *cāpsarasau*  
VS TS MS KS ŚB Proper names, compounded of *kṛta* *kratu*,  
cf prec Really lexical, since the words are radically not related.  
*dhanasṛtam* (MS. *dhanu°*, but p p *dhana°*) *śūśuvānsam sudakṣam* RV  
MS *dhanu°* could only mean 'winning by the bow', instead of  
'wealth-winning', it is doubtless a blunder, perhaps helped by  
assimilation to the *u* vowels of the following

§610. We have noted only one case concerning noun inflection, a  
shift between the genitive and vocative forms of the stem *savitār-*  
*ghṛtaviṭi savitar* (MS KS °*tur*) *ādhipatyē* (TS. °*tyaḥ*) TS MS KS AŚ  
'In Savitar's overlordship' or 'in (thru) thy overlordship, O Savitar'

§611. In verb inflexion, morphological change between *a* and *u* vowels  
is fairly common in shifts between imperative and injunctive (imperfect  
indicative) endings, (n)*tu* (n)*ta*. The instances are gathered in VV I,  
mainly in §§136, 156, 159, and need not be repeated here, since phonetics  
are hardly concerned We add a few other stray cases

*adārasṛd bhavata* (AV. °*tu*) *deva soma* AV. TB ApŚ. *bhavata* seems  
uninterpretable and may be a mechanical form-assimilation, see  
VV I p 283

*ā pīṭaram vaiśvānaram avase kah* (PB *kuh'* comm *akah*, glossed *kuru*)  
PB KŚ ApŚ MŚ *kuh* is impossible and, if not a misprint, must be a  
gross corruption for *kah* ('*kah*'), VV I p 283

§612. The remaining cases of *a: u* are purely lexical A large group  
concerns the prefix *sa* and the particle *su*, which are practically synonyms  
as used in composition, and which exchange often with each other,  
also the pronoun *sa*, and other exchanges of the syllables *sa: su*, of  
various character, are included here

*ye saṣṭāḥ samanasaḥ* (Kauś *su°*) TB ApŚ Kauś : *ye samānāḥ samana-*  
*saḥ* VS MS KS ŚB. TB ApŚ MŚ

*śatam jivema śaradaḥ sarvavīrah* (TB. *savīrah*, ApŚ *suwīrah*) AV. TB  
ApŚ

*ā tvā vahantu harayah sucetasah* (ApMB *sa°*) MS ApMB HG

*ādityāsah sumahasah* (SV *sa°*) *kṛnotana* RV. SV

*agnih sudakṣah sultanur ha bhūtvā* MŚ *agne sadakṣah satanur* (KS †  
°*nūr*) *hi bhūtvā* TS KS

*namo vṛddhāya ca savṛdhe* (TS *savṛdhvane*, KS *savṛdhvane*, MS  
*suvṛdhvane*) *ca* VS TS MS KS

*sajātānām braiṣṭhya ā dhehy enam* AV TS.: *sa° madhye braiṣṭhyā ā dhehi mā* MS : *suajātānām braiṣṭhya ā dhehy enam* KS  
*tad vo astu sucelanam* (JB. °*lunam*, ŚŚ. *sajoṣanam*) AV. AB GB.  
 JB ŚŚ

*marutvān astu ganavān saajātavān* (AŚ *suajātan*) TB AŚ  
*akah su* (TS *sa*) *lokam suktam prthivyāh* (VS ŚB °*vyām*) VS TS MS  
 KS ŚB Here and in the next the pronoun *sa* exchanges with *su*  
*ayam sa* (ŚŚ *su*) *vām aśvinā bhāga ā galam* AV. AŚ ŚŚ  
*pra sumartyam* (*su mṛtyum*) *yuyotana* SMB ApMB. *pra sa mṛtyum*  
*yuyotana* HG Here *sa* seems uninterpretable; Conc would  
 read *su*

*dadhād yo dhāyi sute vayānsi* SV *dadhīr yo dhāyi sa te vayānsi* RV  
 Here and in the next the pronoun *sa* varies with a syllable *su* of  
 different character, involving false divisions of words.  
*samsraṣṭā sa yudha indro ganena* RV. AV SV VS. TS KS : *samsrṣṭāsu*  
*yulso indro ganeṣu* MS

*nṛcakṣāh* (MŚ. *sucakṣāh*) *soma uta suśrug* (comm and Poona ed *śuśrug*,  
 MŚ. *sasrud*) *astu* TB MŚ If Poona ed is right, TB has *śu-*, the  
 reduplicating syllable See §145

§613. Similarly, the particle *u* varies with *a-* of the augment, or  
 with other *a-*

*yajñah pratyasṭhāt* (*v* 1 *praty u ṣṭhāt*) KS *yajñah praty u ṣṭhāt sumatau*  
*matinām* MŚ

*tam ahve* (SV. *u huve*) *vājasālaye* RV. SV. In VV I p 26 we have  
 suggested here possible influence of the following *v*, separated  
 from the vowel only by the aspirate

*irām u ha* (AV *aha*) *praśansati* AV ŚŚ AG.

§614. The particle *nu* varies with the negative *na*, or with other  
*na*, sometimes involving false division of words

*tam te vṛ syāmy āyuso na madhyāt* (MS KS *nu madhye*) VS MS KS

ŚB. *idam te tad vṛ syāmy āyuso na madhyāt* TS

*yajñāyate vā paśuso na* (MS *nu*) *vājān* RV MS KB

*upānasah saparyan* RV † *upo nu sa saparyan* SV

*avasyuvātā bṛhatī* (TS °*tīr*) *na* (TS *nu*, AŚ *tu*) *śakvarī* (TS °*rih*) TS  
 MS KS AŚ

*mahān indrah paraś ca nu* (SV *puraś ca nah*) RV AV SV Metathesis  
 of *a·u*

§615. Various adverbs and adjectives in *pur-*, *par-* interchange,  
 this goes back to the same prehistoric phonetic relations dealt with in  
 §605, q v Besides the last variant in §614, the following occur.

*pari pūṣā parastāt* (AV *pu°*) RV AV

*yasmāj jāta na parā naua kim canāsa* TA.: *yasmāj jātam na purā kim canaiva* VS · *yasmāj jāto na paro 'nyo* (ŚŚ *anyo*) *asti* JB ŚŚ : *yasmāt param nāparam asti kimcit* TA. MahānU. N.: *yasmād anyan na param kim canāsti* Vait. *yasmād anyo na paro asti jālah* PB.: *yasmān na jālah paro anyo asti* (NṛpU. 'sti) VS. TB. ApŚ. MahānU. NṛpU

[*ye devāḥ purahsado* . . TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ BDh : *ye devā agni-netrāḥ purahsadas* . VS. ŚB Conc quotes *parahsado* for TS]

§616. Miscellaneous variations involving other particles, adverbs, and light words, sometimes with false division of words

*pra na* (SV *na*) *indo mahe tane* (SV. *tu nah*) RV. SV.

*sarve rādhyāḥ stha* (ŚŚ °*yās tu*) *putrāḥ* AB ŚŚ

*devāṅso yasmai tvede tat satyām upariprutā* (ApŚ *apariprutā*) *bhañgena* (ApŚ *bhañgyena*) VS ŚB. ApŚ.

*ugro* (MG *agne*, HG *ūrdhvo*) *vrājann* (MG *vrājam*) *apa* (MG. *upa-*) *sedha* (AV *vrñkṣva*) *śatrūn* (MG. *śakram*) AV. ApMB. HG MG *upaśṛuvate* (ŚŚ *apa*°, corrupt?) *tvā* AŚ ŚŚ

*apa snehitā* etc RV AV. SV KS *upa stuh* etc TA. See §110.

*tām brahmā tu* (AV ApMB *brahmota*) *śundhat* (AV. *śumbhat*, ApMB *śansati*) RV AV ApMB

§617. The same change occurs in other lexical variants, in words still fairly close in meaning to one another.

*mitro yatra* (AV *no atra*) *varuno ayyamānah* (AV *yuyya*°) RV. AV.

*devebhur aklam* (VS TS *yuktam*) *aditih sajoṣāḥ* VS TS MS KSA

*vācā cit prayatam* (AŚ *ca prayutī*) *devahedanam* TB AŚ ApŚ

*pramade* (TB °*mude*) *kumārīputram* VS TB

*anu slomam mudimahi* (PB *mademahi*) RV. AV. PB

*asmin goṣṭhe kariṣnīḥ* (Kauś °*nah*, MS *purīṣnīḥ*) AV. MS Kauś.

See §152, note p before u

*sā sannaddhā sanuḥ vījam emam* (MŚ *sunuḥ bhāgadheyam*) AV MG

(Others, §52) ā-san: *su*, near-synonyms

*añjanti suprayasam* (Ppp *yujñanti suprajāsam*) *pañca janāḥ* RV AV Ppp

MS See §192

*vāyosānitra* (MS *vāyusavitrībhyām*) *āgomugbhyām caruh* (MS *payah*) TS MS KSA.

*pratnāso agna rītam āśuśānāḥ* (AV *āśaśānāḥ*) RV AV. VS TS

*aśimahi* (MS *uś*°) *tvā* MS TA

*ā rāsmīn* (RV °*mim*) *deva yamase* (TB *yuvase*) *svaśvān* (RV TB °*vah*) RV VS ŚB TB

*na jalgalūti dhārakā* VS ŚB · *na jalgalūti* (KSA *ms tjalgalūti*, ed *em* °*lūti*) *dhāmikā* TS KSA Onomatopoeic forms?

*ye pūrvāso ya uparāsa* (AV *ye apa°*, some mss *ya upa°*, comm *u. parāsaḥ*) *īyuh* RV AV VS TS MS

[*yaje samrāḍhanīm aham* ŚB BrhU AŚ SMB ApMB *yūje* (but read *yaje* with most mss, Hillebrandt, p 250) †*samardham im aham* ŚŚ · *agnau samrāḍhanīm yaje* HG.]

§618. And finally, in words that are psychologically more remote *pratīpam prātisutvanam* (AB °*satvanam*) AV AB ŚŚ Boettlingk regards the reading °*sutv°* as a corruption of the other. But the word is probably a proper name, and may as well contain *sutvan* as *satvan*.

*svastī nah putrakṛtheṣu* (MG *pathyākr̥teṣu*, v. 1 as RV) *yonīṣu* RV AB MG

*vasiṣṭhahanuh śiṅgīni kośyābhyām* VS *oṣiṣṭhahanam śiṅgīnikośyābhyām* (TA °*kośā°*) TS TA

*yamasya loke adhiraṇjur āyat* (TA *āya*, MS *loke nādhira ājarāya*) AV MS TA See §401

*adha syāma* (MS *athā syāta*) *surabhayo* (ApŚ *syām asur ubhayor*) *gr̥heṣu* AV. MS KS ApŚ See §840.

*pratīśruṭkāyā artanam* (TB *ṛtulam*) VS TB See §651.

*śumbhānas (stambh°)* . . , see §287

*in no rāṣṭram unattu* . . TB *nam te rāṣṭram anaktu* AV See §139  
*bhakṣimahi* (TS MS. KS *Vaiṣ dhukṣ°*) *prajāṃ iṣam* RV SV TS MS  
KS PB Vait

*rajanī* . . , *rajjunī* . . , see §107

*īde agnīm svavasam* (AV *svāvasum*) *namobhuk* RV AV MS TB AŚ  
See §466

*īmau stām anupakṣītau* (ApMB *anapekṣ°*) AV ApMB

*āśum jayantam anu* (KS *yā samjayantam adhi*) *yāsu vardhase* RV VS  
TS. MS KS ŚB

*abhi spr̥dha usro vedim tatarda* ŚŚ *vy usridho asro adrir bibheda* TB

The TB looks generally secondary. Comm *asro nirasanakusalo priyāny aṅgāni svadhītā parūṇsi* (Vait *aṅgā sukṛtā purūṇi*) TB Vait [hotā yakṣat iwaṣṭāram acīṣtum (TB Conc °*īam*, Poona ed °*īum*, which certainly read) MS KS TB]

[*haviṣ haviṣṣu* (SV *haviṣṣu*) *vandyah* (SV. Conc wrongly °*yuh*) RV. SV] [asmākam anśum maghavan puruṣpr̥ham SV Conc 'read anśam' for anśum; but cf. Benfey's Glossary, perhaps anśum is correct]

[*upa drava payasā godhug oṣam* (ŚŚ † *oṣum*, AŚ † *payasā goṣam*) AV AB AŚ ŚŚ Both AŚ and ŚŚ probably contain misprints, as suggested by Whitney on AV]

5. Other interchange of *a* and *u* vowels

§619. The variations between long *ā* and *ū*, and between *a* and *u* with shift of quantity, are negligibly few and scattering. We have noted only the following of *ā* and *ū*.

*dwyo gandharvah ketapūh* (VSK °*pāh*) *ketam nah* (MS KS omit *nah*)  
*punātu* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB SMB, 'Purifying (protecting)  
 the will', the verb *punātu* is cognate with -*pūh* of the original  
 reading

*pitā devānām janitā vibhūvasuh* (ApŚ MŚ *vibhā*°) RV SV ApŚ MŚ  
*drapsaś caskanda prthwīm anu dyām* (RV. *prathamān anu dyūn*) RV  
 AV VS. TS MS KS ŚB

*aghadvīṣṭā devajātā* AV Kauś *atharvyuṣṭā devajūtāh* ApŚ  
*yad annam admi* (PrānāgU *agnir*) *bahudhā virūpam* (PrānāgU *vrād-*  
*dham*, vv II *virājam*, *viruddham*) AV. TA PrānāgU

§620. Besides the last, which also includes a form with short *u*, we find short *u* and *ā* varying in

*sakhā suśevo advayāh* (Mahānāmnyah °*yuh*) RV. KS AA Mahānām-  
 nyah Nom sing masc of *as u* stems

*yo nah* (AV *mā*) *kadācid abhidāsati druḥā* (AV. *druhuḥ*) RV AV. *druḥā*,  
 instr sing of stem *druḥ*, *druhuḥ*, nom sing of adj *druhu*

*sā prasūr* (ŚG *suprasūr*) *dhenukā* (HG °*gā*) *bhava* AV ŚG ApMB HG  
 Pronoun *sā* prefix *su*

*pumānsam u* (ŚG *ā*) *dadhad* (ŚG †*dadhād*) *iha* AV. ŚG Add to VV I  
 §§167, 193

§621. Variants of *a* and *ū*

*yad adya hotrvarye* (ŚŚ °*vūrye*) ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ °*vūrya* is Rigvedic, its  
 long *ū* seems anomalous For the *u*-vocalism cf *vrūta* etc (VV I  
 §10)

*nahih* (RV *nū cit*) *sa dabhyate janah* RV SV *nū = nu*

*druḥah pāśān* (TS KS *pāśam*) *pratī sa* (KS. *ṣū*) *mucīṣṭa* RV TS MS  
 KS See §612

*utsam juṣasva madhumanṭam ūrva* (KS MŚ *ūrmim*, VS *arvan*, VSK  
 °*sva śatadhāram arvan*) VS VSK TS KS ApŚ MŚ See §228

6 Interchanges of short *i* and *u*

§622. These variants are not numerous, and chiefly morphological or lexical Of phonetic interest is, however, a small but striking group of cases in which texts of the Taittiriya school show a tendency to substitute *u* for *i*, in various formative syllables These are to be considered in connexion with the tendency of the same school to substitute suffixal

*v* for *y* (§§247-8) The tendency seems to us undeniable, even tho in nearly every case one or another special consideration may have contributed to the change, so in

*parey-wānsam* (TA ApŚ *pareyu*°) *pravato mahir anu* (AV *iti*) RV AV MS TA AŚ N (Pratikas, ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś Rvidh) This form of the perfect active participle of *parā* + *z* is certainly anomalous enough in appearance, possibly the *u* may be partly due to assimilation to the following *v*

*hlādike hlādikāvati* (TA *hlāduke hlādu*°) RV AV TA Here, too, another motive is discernible The word is felt as a kind of primary derivative of root *hlād*, 'cooling' This meaning in the Brāhmaṇa language is expressed by the suffix *uka*, cf Edgerton, *JAOS* 31 104 ff But again the form appears only in a Tait text

*goṣv aśveṣu śubhriṣu* (TB °*uṣu*) RV AV KS TB The stem *śubhru* occurs only here, the surrounding *u* vowels may have assisted (assimilation)

*made-made hi no dadāh* (TB *daduh*) RV AV MS KS TB AŚ *daduh* can only be a noun form equal to *dadāh*, and otherwise unknown (a 3d plural verb is not construable) The saṃhitā mss of MS have a different phonetic corruption, *dadṛk*, ed follows p p

§623. In other texts *z* and *u* occasionally interchange in formative elements of the same type, but in these the *u* forms are less anomalous *acety aghnś cikūtuk* (SV KS °*uk*) RV SV KS Perhaps assimilation in SV KS

*davyā* (AV *daivā*) *holdro* (TS °*rā*, AV °*rah*) *vanuṣanta* (TS *vanuṣ*°, KS † *vanuṣan na*, AV *sanuṣan na*) *pūrve* (AV KS *etat*) RV AV TS KS The ancient aorist *vanuṣanta* is based on *vanu-*, the same element mentioned above in §606, end It is historically quite as justified as *vanuṣanta*, which is substituted for it in later texts (TS, contrary to its general trend!) to bring it into a commoner type of aorist formation

§624. In two other rather obscure words assimilation or dissimilation may be concerned

*ṛkṣo jatūh suṣulūkā* (MS *śuśulūkā*) *ta itaraṇanām* VS MS (p p of MS *suṣulūketi suṣulūkā*) See §279

*dr̥ṣe ca* (MS *dr̥śā ca*, RV *abhikhyā*) *bhāsā brhatā suṣukvanh* (RV *śuśu*°, KS °*vabhuk*, MS *suśikmanā*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB See §240

§625. In verb inflexion there are many cases of variation between indicative endings in *z* and imperatives in *u* They need not be listed here, see VV I, e g §116 Otherwise the remaining variants seem to be

sporadic and purely lexical, so far as not corrupt, unless one make an exception of the following which shows two mere interjections, *hum* and (commoner) *hum*·

*paśānām tvā himkādenābhūyāghrāmy* (GG °mī, HG *hum*°) *asau* .

SMB GG ApMB HG

§626. In several variants forms of root *śri* exchange with *śru* or *sru*:  
*agne tram sūktavāg asy upaśruti* (ŚB AŚ ŚŚ °tī, TB *upaśrito*) *divas*  
 (TB *divah*) *prthivyoh* MS. ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ *upaśrito divah prthivyoh*  
 TS

*śavasā hy asi śrutah* (AV *śritah*) RV. AV But SPP *srutah* for AV,  
 with many mss (other mss *śritah*), and so Whitney's Transl

*ā tvā parisrutah* (MG. °sritah, mss °tam; AG °śritah) *kumbhah* (ApMB †  
 °āh) AG PG ApMB MG And others; see §275

§627. The rest are sporadic

*prajāvatīh sūyavasam* (AV. °se) *ruśantīh* (RV. TB comm *riś*°) RV AV.  
 TB See Whitney's note on AV *ruś*° 'shining', tho no doubt  
 secondary to *riś*° 'grazing', is not impossible of interpretation and is  
 clearly the reading of AV. tradition

*priyo me hṛdo* (MŚ *hito*, v. 1 *huto*) 'sī (MŚ †bhava) TS MŚ Thus, as  
 between *i* and *u*, concerns of course only a textual corruption in the  
 mss of MŚ

*svarūdo abhi gā adrim uṣnan* (SV *uṣnan*) RV SV. See §401

*pāhi priyam ripo* (and, *rupo*) *agram padam veh* RV (both) *pāty agnir*  
*vipo agram padam veh* ApŚ Read *rupo* in both RV passages, cf.  
 Ludwig ad loc, Bloomfield, JAOS 27 75, and RVRep 184

*apām tvā sadhrīṣi* (MS † *sadhrīṣu*) *sādayāmi* VS MS KS ŚB See  
 §353 The MS is mangled, is its ending felt as loc plur? (*sadhrīṣi*  
 loc sing)

*upa yajñam asthita* (MŚ *astu no*, AV comm *astṛita*) *varīśvadevī* RV. Kh.  
 AV ApŚ MŚ

*ā śuse* (SV *āśiṣe*) *rādhasa mahe* RV SV. The RV has a verb form from  
*ā-śvas* 'I fan (instigate) you unto great bounty' In SV. we have  
 an interesting case of assimilation in sense to outward form The  
 ending *e* suggests a dative matching the following *rādhasa*, hence  
*āśiṣe* 'unto blessing', which leaves the sentence without a verb  
 Benfey supplies 'we summon'

*ṛtasyarlena mām ula* (TA *ita*) TB TA *ṛtasya tv enam āmutah* (p p  
*tū*, *enam*, *mā'm*, *uttām ma'*) MS (corrupt in both forms) TA  
 comm takes *ita* as a verb form (= *prāpnuta*)

*mandāna ud vr̥ṣāyate* (SV *id vr̥ṣāyase*) RV SV



ṣad id yamā (TA udyamā) ṛṣayo devajā it RV AV. TA N  
 ud it te vasuvillamāh ApŚ ud u tye (MS MŚ ud-ut te) madhumattamāh  
 RV AV SV MS GB PB AŚ ŚŚ Vait MŚ  
 sarvān it tān anu vidur vasīṣṭhāh RV sarvam ukṣam anuvīdur vasīṣṭhāh  
 JB  
 viśvair devai rātibhiḥ samrarānah (MG devair ṛtubhiḥ samvidānah)  
 ApMB MG  
 sugandhum (subandhum) , see §152  
 lokam (RV ulokam) u (ApŚ id) dve upa jāmi (RV jāmiṁ) iyatuh  
 RV MS ApŚ  
 [vātāpe pīva id bhava RV KS †—Conc ud for KS id]  
 nādya satrum nanu (ŚB † na nu) purā vivitse (ŚB yuyitse) RV SV  
 See §255, and other interchanges of vi yu in §805  
 alvāndāya svāhā KSA ulvārdāya svāhā TB ApŚ See §579  
 achidā uśyah padānu takṣuh TS achidrośyah kavayah padānutakṣiṣuh  
 (so text, em by Caland, ms † padānutakṣiṣvat) KS  
 vratāni (MS TB ApŚ vratā nu) bibhrad vratapā adabdhah (TB ŚŚ ApŚ  
 ŚG adābhyah) MS AB TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ ŚG

### 7 Interchanges of long ī and ū (u)

§628. Here are found only a few stray variants  
 ūrjam samsūdena (KSA °sīdena) TS KSA Parts of a horse's body,  
 wholly obscure TS comm samsudam samtataḥśarano nāsikādih  
 viṣṇur āprītapā āpyāyāmānah VS . apūtapā ādhūyamānah TS The  
 passages are rather low bathos  
 ahir na jīrnām (TB ahir ha jīrnām) atī sa. pati tvacam RV SV TB  
 Both participles of the dissyllabic root jī The ī form is regular in  
 Sanskrit, but the Vedic ū form survives in Prakrit (Edgerton,  
*Ind Stud C R Lanman* 27)  
 ṛkṣo jatuh suśūkā (śuśūkā) , see §624  
 sam īm (SV u) rebhāso asvaran RV AV SV  
 dhūmrā babhrunīkāśāh . VS pitrbhyo barkṣadbhyo dhūmrān babhr-  
 vanūkāśān ApŚ See §742

## CHAPTER XIV VOCALIC LIQUIDS AND OTHER VOWELS

§629. With this chapter we once more enter definitely into the sphere of Prakritism. In a considerable number of cases the variations seem to be, in fact, strictly Prakritic. That is, *a*, *i*, or *u* vowels are historically secondary, and are derived from *r* (*l*) by phonetic changes as in the Prakrit dialects. These are flanked by cases of hyper-Sanskritism, in which an older *a*, *i*, or *u*, which is conceived (perhaps wrongly) as Prakritic, is replaced by *r* in a secondary text. These are not less interesting than the other cases from the phonetic standpoint, as helping to show the wide spread of Prakritism in Vedic times.

§630. We also find not a few variations between vocalic *r* and consonantal *r* with another vowel, especially when that other vowel is *i* or *u*, we are reminded of the later pronunciation of *r* as *ri* or *ru*. On the other hand the not infrequent variations between *r* and *ra* or *ar* are mainly matters of ablaut, in so far as they are not lexical. Perhaps the majority of variants in the entire chapter are indeed in some sense lexical, that is they concern, or at least may concern, lexically independent forms. But even then it is still perfectly possible, and indeed highly likely, that Prakritic influences have been influential in the shift, even tho the exact extent of that influence cannot be determined. Cf. our remarks in §20.

### 1 *r* and *a* (one anomalous case of *ā*)

§631. We shall quote first the cases which can with most confidence be classed as purely phonetic (Prakritic), beginning with one in the R̥gveda itself.

*ava sma durhanāyatah* (SV. *durhṛn*°) RV SV. The SV. has (secondarily, of course) restored Sanskritic vocalism in the Prakritized form of the RV. The root is originally *hṛn*, and this form continued to flourish by the side of the early Prakritism *han*.

*īṣām khṛgalyam śavam* (ApŚ *khagalyam śapham*) MS ApŚ. An uncertain part of a wagon is meant. The natural presumption of Prakritism arising from the juxtaposition of the two forms is supported by the form *khṛgala*, RV, if that word (of uncertain meaning) may be assumed to be related.

*paṣṭhavād* (MS *prṣṭhavād*, p p *paṣṭavād*) *gaur vayo dadhuh* VS MS KS

TB The p p form of MS suggests that its samhitā form may be a hyper-Sanskritism, in any case it is hardly to be doubted that it gives the original form of the word

*elām samkṛṣya* (MS MŚ °*kaṣya* or °*kuṣya*) *juhudhi* MS ApŚ. MŚ The MS. MŚ. forms are not incapable of interpretation as lexically independent words, Boehtlingk chooses the form °*kuṣya* But they are probably Prakritic after all

*achalābhīh* (KSA °*rābhīh*, MS [m]atsarābhīh, VS ṛkṣalābhīh) *kapiñjalān* VS TS MS KSA. See §184. The AV. knows ṛcharā, probably ṛ is older than a

§632. The following cases seem more or less clearly to contain hyper-Sanskritism in the forms with ṛ.

*sarvam tam masmasā* (VS *bhas*°) *kuru* VS TS ŚB *sarvāns tām maṣmaṣā* (MS ṛmṛsmṛsā) *kuru* MS KS TA *sarvān nī maṣmaṣākaram* AV In this onomatopoeic word (cf Eng mash) there is no doubt that the a vowel is original, MS. pedantically tries to make it sound Sanskritic and 'hifalutin'

*atirātram varṣan pūrtir āvṛt* (MS *vavarṣvān pūrtā rāvat*, KS *vavṛṣvān pūrtā rāvat*) TS MS KS And various other formulas in the same passages, all containing the same exclamations Despite the lingual ṛ in MS *rāvat*, which might be argued to point to an original ṛ, we believe with Keith that *āvṛt* is a mere hyper-Sanskritism, without real standing Cf §168

*vanasade* (MS *vanarṣade*, KS *vanṛṣade*) *vet* (TS MS *vat*) VS TS MS KS ŚB See §650

*vasūni cārur* (SMB *cārye*, ApMB *cāryo*, HG *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB *bhṛj*°, HG *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV SMB ApMB HG The SMB form is certainly a hyper-Sanskritism if it is not corrupt, one ms *bhajāsi*, Stonner 'geniessen' (as if *bhaj*)

*yagyryuktam sāmabhr āktakham tvā* (MS *ṛktakham tā*, p p *ṛktakham it* *ṛkta-khām*, *tā* [unaccented]) MS TA This is the only case of a varying with ṛ, it is highly problematic See §365

§633. The remaining cases are more clearly lexical in character In the first we have probably a mere textual error

*jīvasūr devakāmā* (HG *vīrasūh*) *syonā* ApMB HG *prajāvatī* *ṛvīrasūr devṛkāmā* AV *vīrasūr devakāmā* (AV *devr*°, SMB °*sūr jīvasūr deva*°, GG °*sūr jīvasūr*) *syonā* (AV omits, GG *jīvatatnī*) RV AV SMB. GG PG MG Most mss of AV read *deva*° both times, and this is doubtless the true AV reading, as Whitney observes Either reading would however make sense

*ndro nāma śruto gr̥ne* (TB ApŚ *gane*) SV TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ *gr̥ne* is dubious, Benfey suggests taking it as 3d sing passive, *gane* is simple enough but may be a lect fac

*jālena jātam aṭi sa pra sarsṛte* (TB *aṭi sṛt pra sṛnsate*) RV MS TB Comm on TB *sṛt prasṛtam*, *aṭi piasṛnsate* 'līṣayena prasṛnsayaty *adhah karoti* TB is evidently secondary

§634. In the other lexical changes the two forms are less close to each other in form, the vowel change being accompanied by other changes in the words We omit cases of *br̥hat* and *mahat*, cf §241.

*vadhūr jagāna* (AV *jigāya*, MS KS *mimāya*) *navagaṇ* (ŚG. *navahṛj*) *jantrī* AV TS MS KS ŚG ApMB See §46

*jagdhā vīṛṣṭir* (HG *vicaṣṭir*) ApMB HG. *jagdho maśako jagdhā vīṛṣṭir* (HG *vicaṣṭir*) ApMB HG. *jagdho vyadhvaro jagdho maśako jagdhā vīṛṣṭi svāhā* ApMB *jagdho vyadhvaro jagdhā vicaṣṭir jagdho maśakah* HG See §156.

*ud usṛiyāh sṛjate* (TB *sacate*) *sūryah sacā* RV SV TB See §3  
*dadhṛg* (TA *dadhad*) *vidhakṣyan* (AV °*kṣan*) *paryanīkhayāte* (TA °*taṭ*, AV. *parīnīkhayātar*) RV AV TA See §145

*ajānti* (SV *mṛjanti*) *vahnīm sadanāny* (SV °*neṣv*) *acha* RV. SV  
*savitā bhṛtyām* (KS †*manyām*) TS KS So ms of KS, ed em *bhṛtyām*  
*yad adya dugdham pṛthvīm asṛpta* (TB ApŚ *asakta*, MŚ *abhakta*) AB.  
TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ See §152

*satyanujasā dr̥ghanā* (MS *durhṛnā*, KS †*dr̥hanā*) *yam nudethe* TS MS  
KS. *sacelasau druḥvano yau nudethe* AV See §305

*somah sūtah pūyate ajyamānah* (SV *sula ṛcyate pūyamānah*) RV SV.  
See §57.

*rasena sam asṛkṣmahī* (RV *agasmahī*, KS LŚ *aganmahī*, AV. JB. *apṛkṣmahī*) RV AV. VS TS MS KS JB. ŚB TB LŚ ApMB

*yāv* (MS. KS *yā*) *ātmanvad bibhṛto* (KS † °*tho*, AV *viśato*) *yau ca rak-satah* (AV KS † °*thah*) AV TS MS KS

*deva puraścara saghyāsam* (MS *devapuraś carasa ṛdhyāsam*) *tvā* MS TA. ApŚ MŚ But cf §838, it is doubtful if this belongs here.

*ye bhakṣayanto na vasūny ānṛdhuh* (TS *ānṛhuh*, MS *ānaśuh*) AV TS MS

*āsannmūn hṛtvaso mayobhūn* RV AV TS MS KSA N *āsann esām apsuṣvāho mayobhūn* SV See §820

## 2 ṛ and ɪ (once ī)

§635. Here most of the variants can be justified lexically in either form Perhaps the clearest cases of Prakritism are the two following

The first is striking because of the persistence with which the Prakritic form occurs, in three out of four texts, and even in the fourth a v l has it

*tejo yaśasn sthāvīram samaddham* (ŚG *saṃddham*, v l *samī*°) ŚG PG. ApMB HG See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 34, *samaddham* is pretty clearly for *saṃddham*

*dadhīṣa ehi* ApŚ *dadhīṣy ehi* MS The forms are voc sing fern, and the first can hardly be anything but a Prakritic form of root *dhr̥ṣ*, so apparently Caland, who renders 'Kuhne'

To these may be appended another, in which however *ṛ* for *ṛ* seems to be a textual corruption

*ayam śatrūn jayatu jarhṣānah* (AŚ † *jarhṣ*°) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ But elsewhere AŚ has the *vikāra aḥam śa*° *jayāmi jarhṣānah*, indicating that *jarhṣ*° is corrupt

§636. An interesting case, with a sort of lexical hyper-Sanskritism, is the next, *gotrabhṛd* is probably felt sophistically as 'supporting the gens', but is fundamentally hyper-Sanskritic (the true epithet of Indra can only be the familiar *gotrabhū*), cf Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 34

*puramdaro gotrabhṛd* (MS °*bhr̥d*, all mss, TB. *maghavān*) *vajrabāhuh* VS MS KS TB

§637. In words closely related in meaning, when the only or chief difference of form is the shift between *ṛ* and *ṛ*, it is fair to assume some degree of Prakritic influence, even if the forms are both historically correct.

*jānum ṛtvā māva patsi lokāt* AV *jānum itvā mā vivitsi lokān* TA The roots *ṛ* and *ṛ* are synonyms But Poona ed of TA *jāmi mitvā ādityānām prasītar* (MS °*sītar*) *hetir ugrā* MS TB TA 'Extension' 'progress' Cf. next two

*prayatīs ca me prasūtīs* (MS. KS °*sūtīs*) *ca me* VS TS MS KS Cf prec and next

*dīrghām anu prusūtm* (KS *saṃṛtm*) *āyuse dhām* (KS *tvā*) VS TS KS ŚB TB. *dīrghām anu prasūtm samspr̥sthām* MS Cf prec two *tām dhīrāso anudīśya* (VSK °*dīśya*) *yajante* (KS. †*anudīśyāyajanta kavayah*) VSK TS KS TB *tām dhīrāsah kavayo 'nudiśyāyajanta* MS *tām u dhīrāso anudīśya yajante* VS ŚB *anu-dīś* 'assign'. *anu-dīś* 'survey'.

*tam ghed* (MS. *hed*) *agnir vṛdhāvati* (MS *vidh*°) RV TS MS In the original there are two words, *vṛdhā avati* MS. is obscure and probably corrupt, p p *vadhā* (sic'), *avati*

§638. To this same group belongs the single case involving long ī; it is of doubtful validity, since most MŚ mss read °mr̥te with the rest, and probably this should be adopted in the text. But the form as printed can be interpreted as a negative past participle of root mī 'change, alter'

*tasmin sīdām̐te pratīṣṭha* (MŚ text *sīdām̐te pratīṣṭhan*) TB ApŚ.

MŚ Add to VV I §250

§639. Still pretty close to each other in meaning are the variants between *hūta* (or *dhūta*), participle of *dhā*, in compounds, and *bhṛta* (once *hṛta*), from *bhr̥* (*hr̥*)

*sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtam bībhartu* (Ppp *pīpartu*) AV. · *sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhutam dadhātu* TB

*gandharvo dhāma vibhṛtam guhā sat* VS *ga° nāma nahitam guhāsu* TA

MahānU And others; §855

*devair devīḥ samāhūtāḥ* RVKh (but Scheftelowitz °hṛtāḥ) · *devīr devāḥ samāhṛtāḥ* (TB °bhṛtāḥ) SV TB

*yad agne pūrvam prabhṛtam* (AŚ *prahutam*, MŚ *nihutam*) *padam hi te* TB AŚ ApŚ. MŚ

*hiranye 'smin samāhūtāḥ* (RVKh Scheftelowitz °hṛtāḥ, HG °bhṛtāḥ) RVKh ApMB HG

*garbha va* (SV KU. [Poley's ed ] *vet*) *subhṛto garbhiniḥbhiḥ* (RV *sudhuto garbhiniṣu*) RV SV KU

*sūryarāśmīm samābhṛtam* TS TB *sūryān̐* (p p °yāt) *śukram samābhṛtam* MS. *sūrye santam* (KS TA *śukram*) *samāhutam* (KS TA. *samābhṛtam*) VS KS ŚB. TA

§640. Rather remoter are the remaining lexical variants

*priyo ma hṛdo* (MŚ *huto*, v l *huto*) 'sī (MŚ ṭbhava) TS MŚ.

*imā* (MS *idam*) *brahma pīpīhi* (MS *pīpīhi*, v. l *pīpīhi*) *saubhagāya* VS MS KS ŚB

*vṛṣaṅgūṭr no 'vṛtah* (SV. 'vītā) RV. SV. *a-vṛ-tah* *av-i-tā* (nom. ag, root *av*). *hoṭrāndah* (RV °vīda, TB °vṛdha) *stomataṣṭāso arkarḥ* RV AV. MS TB *mā no vīdad* (KS *vṛdhad*) *vṛjīnā* (KS TB ApŚ °anā) *dveṣyā* † *yā* AV. KS TB ApŚ

*indrartubhir brahmanā vāvṛdhānah* TB ApŚ *indra ṛbhubhir brahmaṇā samvīdānah* ŚŚ

*āñjanena serpiṣā sam vīśantu* (AV *spṛśantām*, TA. *mṛśantām*) RV. AV TA

*atrāha tad urugāyasya viṣṇoh* (RV. N *vṛṣnah*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N 'Viṣṇu is meant even in RV, later texts substitute the name for the epithet

*prāntar ṛṣaya sthāvūr* (SV *prāntarīkṣāt sthāvūrīs te*) *asṛkṣala* RV SV  
*vācaspatē hr̥dvīdhe nōman* (MS MŚ *hīrvīdhe*) MS TA ŚŚ MŚ All  
 mss and p p of MS agree on the strange form Even *hr̥dvīdhe*  
 is none too clear (TA comm *hr̥dayasya vīdhātah cīlāprerakety*  
*arthah*)

*vṛtrasyāsi* (*mitra*°) see §235.

*made-made hi no dadāh* (TB *daduh*, MS samh mss *dadṛk*) RV AV  
 MS KS TB AŚ See §622

*adṛnhatīhāh śarkarābhīs trivṛṣṭapī* (MŚ *trībhṛṣṭībhīh*) KS ApŚ MŚ  
 See §222

*īśāno vi śyā* (= *śiyā*, TS *srjā*) *dṛtīm* AV TS MS KS

*upa yajñam asthuta* (AV comm *astṛta*, MŚ *astu no*) *vaiśvadevī* RV. Kh.  
 AV ApŚ MŚ

*dame-dame suśṛutyā* (TS °*tīr*, MS ° *tī*, AŚ ŚŚ °*tīr*) *vōṛdhānā* (AV  
 °*nau*, AŚ ŚŚ *vām yānā*) AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ See §236

[*eṣa iṣāya* (AV Berlin ed *ṛṣaye*, emendation) *māmahe* AV ŚŚ Keep  
*iṣāya* with AV mss]

### 3 *r* (ṛ) and *u* (ū)

§641. The not very numerous variants under this head seem to be  
 prevailingly Prakritic in character We should expect *u* for *r* especially  
 in the vicinity of labial consonants, but except in the first variant  
 (before *m*), we hardly find this to be the case, the only other instances  
 with labials (e g *bṛṛ* and *bṛū*) are lexical The most clearly Prakritic  
 cases are

*tvaṣṭrīmantas* (MS MŚ *tvaṣṭrī*°, ApŚ *tvaṣṭu*°) *tvā sapema* VS MS KS  
 ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ Cf *tvaṣṭrīmatī* (TS ApŚ and TA Poona ed  
*tvaṣṭī*°) *te sapeya* TS TA ApŚ The Taittirīya form is feminized  
*ut* (Vait *adhāma*) *sakthyā* (ŚŚ Vait °*yor*) *ava gūdam* (TS KSA ApŚ  
*sakthyor gūdam*) *dhehī* VS TS KSA ŚB ŚŚ Vait ApŚ Altho  
*gūda* seems not to be recorded elsewhere, it may be presumed to be  
 the original form of *gūda*

*etām samkṛṣya* (MS MŚ °*kaṣya* or °*kuṣya*) *juhūdhi* MS ApŚ MŚ See  
 §631

*ṛtāprajātā* (MŚ *uta pra*°) *bhaga id vah syāma* TS MŚ This may be  
 called a lexical variant, since MŚ makes sense, but it is doubtless  
 fundamentally Prakritic

§642. Some variants are on their face hyper-Sanskritic, but probably  
 both are mere textual errors or corruptions

sa nirudhyā nahuṣo (TB Conc *nahr̥ṣo*) *yahvo agnih* RV TB But Poona ed of TB text and comm *nahuṣo*, the only possible reading  
*devam manah kulo* (AV *kṛto*) *adhī prajātam* RV AV Altho all mss of AV apparently agree on *kṛto* (if we understand Whitney's meaning), it seems that we must read *kulo*, with Whitney.

*made-made hi no dadūh* (*daduh*, *dadṛk*), see §§622, 640

§643. More purely lexical variants are

*prīyo me hṛdo* (MŚ *hito* or *kuto*) 'si (MŚ *†bhava*) TS MŚ See §640  
*agner* (ApŚ *devā*) *akṛnvan* (RV *apunann*) *uśījo amṛtyave* (RV. °*vah*, ApŚ *amartyave*) RV MS. ApŚ

*vanīṣhor hṛdayād* (AV \* *udarād*) *adhī* RV AV (both) ApMB.

*upa yajñam asthita* (*astṛta*, *astu no*) . . , see §640

*anīmuktacakra* (°*rā*) *āsīran* PG *uvṛttacakrā āsīnāh* HG ApMB.

Note labial consonants preceding *r* *u*

*āyurdā deva* (AV. *agne*) *jarasam vṛnānah* (ApMB. ApG HG *grn°*) AV MS KS MŚ ApMB HG ApG *āyurdā* (VS ŚB. *āyusmān*)  
*agne haviṣo juṣānah* (VS ŚB ŚG *haviṣā vṛdhānah*) VS TS ŚB TB TA AŚ ApŚ ŚG

§644. The only cases of long *ū* and *r* concern compounds of the roots *bhū* and *bhr*, which are practically synonyms here

*adbhyah sambhṛtah* (TA MahānU ApŚ *sambhūtah*) *prthivyaḥ* (MS KS *†vyā*) *rasāc ca* (KS *rasah*) VS MS KS TA MahānU KŚ ApŚ PG

*samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatriyaḥ* (PB ŚŚ KŚ also *trīṣṭubhe* and *jagatryaḥ*; TS ApŚ *gāyatriyās trīṣṭubho jagatyā anuṣṭubhah pañktyā*) *chandase* (TS ApŚ omit) *'bhībhūlaye* (TS ApŚ *abhībhūtyaḥ*, ŚŚ *'bhībhṛtyaḥ*, KŚ *'bhībhūtyaḥ*) *svāhā* TS PB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ *· arīṣṭyā avyathyaḥ samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatriyā* (also *trīṣṭubho*, *jagatyā*, *anuṣṭubho*, *pañktyā*) *abhībhūtyaḥ svāhā* ApŚ

Once *ṛ* is corruptly written *ū* in a single ms .

*tāsām svasṛ ajanayat* (MS *svar ajanan*, KS ms *† svasūr* [ed em *svasṛ*] *ajanan*) *pañca-pañca* TS MS KS

#### 4 *l* and *u*

§645. There are two cases, both concerning the same very interesting form A perfect middle participle of root *klp* appears twice in ApŚ with *u* for *l* There is no doubt whatever of the correct interpretation of the form, which is established by the KS variant, with correct Sanskrit vocalism It is the clearest kind of Prakritism, but seems not to be recorded in any grammar or lexicon, nor in Whitney's Roots





§649. In various participles and gerundives.

*atirātram varṣan pūrtir āvṛt* (MS *vavarṣvān pūrtā rāvaṭ*, KS *vavṛṣvān pūta rāvaṭ*) *svāhā* TS MS KS See VV I p 147.

*jāgaritāya* (KSA *jāgritāya*) *svāhā* TS KSA Both equivalent participles  
*adhā te viṣṇo viduṣā cid ardhyah* (TB *rdhyah*) RV TB Gerundives, cf  
Whitney §963b, 4

*dāma grīvāsv avimokṣyam yat* (TS *avicartiyam*) AV TS *pāsam grīvāsv avicartiyam* (VS ŚB °*crtiyam*) VS MS KS ŚB Cf. prec AV Ppp according to Whitney has °*crtiyam*

§650. In other noun and adjective formations

*śam methir* (ApMB *śam te methī*) *bhavadu śam yugasya tardma* (ApMB *tṛdma*) AV ApMB No stem *tṛdman* is otherwise known  
*alandrāso yuvalayo vibhṛtram* (TB *vibhartram*) RV TB Poona ed of TB text and comm *bibhartram* Agni is referred to, TB comm *poṣakam*

*aprajastām putramṛtyum* ApMB HG *aprajasyam putramartiyam* SMB Comm on SMB repeats the form, glossing *putrasam-bandhīmaranam*

*pra sa* (tead *su*?) *mṛtyum yuyotana* HG · *pra sumartiyam* (ApMB *su mṛtyum*) *yuyotana* ApMB. SMB *prathamam artim yuyotu nah* MG.

*agner* (ApŚ *devā*) *akṛnvann* (RV *apunann*) *uṣṇo amṛtyave* (RV. °*vah*, ApŚ *amartyave*) RV MS ApŚ In ApŚ a blended stem *-mṛtyu* (fused from *marta*, *martya*, and *mṛtyu*), cf prec

*jīvātave na mṛtyave* (PB *marlave*) RV PB Infinitive in PB

*sarūpavarṣā ehi* MS . *sarūpa vṛṣann ā gahī* SV JB

*vanasade* (MS. *vanarṣade*, KS *vanṛṣade*) *veṭ* (TS MS *vaṭ*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The stem *vanar*, equivalent to *vana*, is found in RV. in compounds It does not occur independently, and *vanṛ* is not recorded even in compounds except here The next preceding phrase in KS is *nṛṣade veṭ*, the *r* of *nṛ* has perhaps been responsible for *vanṛ*°

*devāh pāntu yajamānam nyarthāt* (AV. *nirṛthāt*) RV. AV TS. Synonyms, both meaning 'perdition', *nirṛtha* also Rigvedic

[*niṣkarta* (RV KŚ 13°, ApMB Conc wrongly *niṣkṛtā*) *vikṛtam* (PB TA. ApMB. *vikṛtam*) *punah* RV AV. SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB]

§651. Miscellaneous and apparently unrelated words

*prathrutkāyā artanam* (TB *ṛtulam*) VS TB *artanam*, comm. *duhkhinam*, BR. 'reviler', *ṛtulam*, comm *deśarājavārtākathanasīlam*

*sarnīkāya tvā TS sṛdīkāya tvā MS* Both words wholly obscure, said to mean 'water'

*dviṣas taradhyā (ApŚ ° yai) ṛnayā na īyase (SV. īrase) RV. SV KB AB ApŚ dviṣas tad adhy arnaveneyase AV.*

### 7 *r* and *ār*

§652. Here we find only a few cases, in most of which *ār* shows the *vriḍhi* of secondary derivation, varying with the primary word with *r* Once a form with prefixed preposition *ā* varies with the same form without *ā*

*aprajāstvam mārtavatsam AV aprajastām pautramṛtyum ApMB HG Others, §650*

*ārtavā (MS KS ṛtavo) adhīpataya (MS KS 'dhi°) āsan VS MS KS ŚB ārtavo 'dhīpatir āsū TS*

*ṛtavo 'srjyanta VS TS ŚB ārtavā asrjyanta MS KS*

*agnir grhapatīnām (MS KS gārhapatyānām) VS TS MS KS ŚB*

*ārtayai (TB ṛtyai) janavādīnam VS TB Stem ṛti, from *r* ārti, from *ā* + *r**

### 8 *r* and *ir*, *ur*, *ūr*

§653. Here are found only a handful of cases, almost all of which seem highly questionable or certainly corrupt Even corruptions are interesting in such a case, however, as signs of phonetic tendencies in later times at least As to *r ir*, we find just two cases in which the *samhitā* mss of MS (the same text each time!) read *r* for proper *ir* In both cases the p p points to the reading *ir* Von Schroeder inconsistently retains *r* in one case and emends to *ir* in the other, there is as much, or as little, justification in one as the other

*nama ānirhatebhyah (MS ānr°, p p ānir°) VS TS MS KS ŚB*

*anullam ā te maghavan nahir nu (MS mss nakṛnu, ed em nahir nu, p p nakṛs, tu) RV VS MS KS*

§654. Under *r. ur* we also find only a couple of cases, equally dubious *agnir dvārā vy ṛvati RV TB* Conc quotes *urnvati* for TB ; but Poona ed text and comm *ṛn°* without *v l*

*satyaugasā dṛghanā (MS durhrnā, KS ṛdṛghanā) yam nudethe TS MS KS* And others. see §305

*nābhimṛśc (MS KS nābhīdhṛṣe) tantā (TS tanurā) jarbhurānah (TS MS KS jarhṛṣānah) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB* Might also be classed in §643

§655. Of  $r$ :  $\bar{u}r$  we find only the following, in which the root  $r$  varies with the so-called 'root'  $\bar{u}rnu$ , really a form of  $vr$ :  
*tveṣas te dhūma rnvati* (AV  $\bar{u}rnotu$ ) RV AV SV. LŚ KŚ MŚ

### 9. $r$ and $ra$ , $rā$

§656. In so far as this variation is properly phonetic, it is mainly a matter of that form of ablaut which is called by modern westerners 'Samprasāraṇa', with a misapplication of a term used differently in Hindu grammar. On this see Wackernagel I pp 69-71, and cf. the similar variations of  $i$  and  $u$  with  $ya$  and  $va$  in the next chapter. There is one case, also, of  $r$  varying with  $ra$  which stands for  $ar$  before  $s$  plus consonant, by the phonetic law formulated in Wackernagel I p 212 f. There are likewise a few variants which concern morphology (verb inflexion, and noun formation) and a few that are purely lexical, with some border-line cases which seem to be half-lexical, half-morphological.

§657. The cases of so-called Samprasāraṇa concern to some extent roots which are familiarly known in both forms (such as *grah*, *grabh*), to some extent rarer and more doubtful cases which are not recorded in Wackernagel's excellent treatment of the subject. They thus supplement our previous knowledge on the point. We begin with several variations of *grabh*, *grbh*, on which see especially VV I §281

*agrbhāt* VSK . *agrabhāt* VS AŚ ŚŚ

*agrbhāṣata* VS . *agrabhāṣata* KS

*udgrabhenod agrabhāt* (MS *ajugrabhat*, KS *ajigrabham*, and *ajigrbham*)  
 VS TS MS KS ŚB

*agnaye tvā mahyam pratigrahāt* (ŚŚ °*grhnate*) VS VSK MS ŚB ŚŚ

*prāno dātra edhi pratigrahāt* (ŚŚ °*grhnate*) VS VSK ŚB ŚŚ The  
 same with *haya dātra* .

Similarly ablaut grades of another root, in various verb forms.

*vīṣe vīṣam aprīthāh (aprāg api)* AV (both)

§658. In radical syllables of various noun formations the same change is familiarly known. Most of the following cases are sporadic and are not recorded in Wackernagel I c, some of the forms are so obscure that no theory of historic origin can be regarded as certain, and the phonetic shift may perhaps be secondary and analogical.

*hradam* (MS *hṛdam*) *na hi tvā nyrṣanti ūrmayaḥ* RV MS 'Like streams to a pool, flow down to thee (the hymns, *brahmāni*)' The ultimate etymology of *hrada* is not clear, but surely *hṛda* can be nothing but a phonetic variant for it, presumably *samprasāraṇa*. Cf next

- namo nīveṣyāya* (p p *ni°*) *ca hṛdyāya ca* MS · *namo hradayyāya* (VS. *hrdayyāya*, KS *hradavyāya*) *ca nīveṣyāya* (TS °ṣyāya) *ca* VS TS KS See §248 The MS and VS forms simulate derivatives of *hṛd* and *hṛdaya*, but these can hardly be in place here; the adjoining word means 'whirlpool' and apparently we must think of the same form *hṛda* = *hrada* found in MS in the preceding variant
- prkṣasya* (ArS *prakṣ°*) *vṛṣṇo aruṣasya nū sahaḥ* (ArS *mahaḥ*) RV ArS AB KB AŚ ŚŚ Svidh *prkṣa* is a name or epithet of a horse, its etymology is obscure, and *prakṣa* has not been recorded elsewhere
- nīmrado* (ApŚ *nīmṛdo*) 'sī MS KS ApŚ MŚ Apparently different grades of root *mṛd*, Wackernagel p 71
- avātīratam bṛṣayasya* (TB *prathayasya*) *śeṣaḥ* RV TB See §69.
- bhṛjaś chandah* MS *bhṛjaś chandah* VS TS ŚB *bhṛjaś chandah* KS † (but v l *bhra°*) The word is said to mean 'fire', and apparently comes from the root *bhṛāj*, which is not mentioned as such by Wackernagel l c but may be related to *blajj*, Wackernagel p 69, cf also *bhargas* etc There is much confusion in the forms of this root or these roots Cf next
- kṣuro bhṛjaś* (TS *bhṛjvāñ*, MS *bhṛjaś*, VS. *bhṛjaś*, stigmatized by Conc as erroneous, hardly with justice) *chandah* VS TS MS KS ŚB Cf prec
- ārdrāḥ prathasnur* (MŚ †*prthasnur*, v l *pratha°*) *bhuvanasya gopāḥ* TB ApŚ MŚ See §609, and Wackernagel p. 71
- svasty apsu vṛjane svarvatī* (MG †*vṛjane svarvatāḥ*) RV AB MG Really a lexical variant, *vṛjana* 'way' is suggested by *pathyāsu* of the preceding pāda But some MG mss read with RV
- [*digbhyaś cakravālāḥ* (KSA Conc *calrv°* with the sole ms. ed em *calrav°*) TS KSA This is probably a mere corruption, if genuine it would have to be a purely phonetic variant, for the meaning is certainly the same]
- §659. The roots *rādh* and *ṛdh*, tho separated in the history of the language, and tho often regarded as unrelated, are at least quite possibly of identical origin, and certainly the repeated variation between them belongs phonetically with this group Cf also §806
- ṛdhyāsam adya makhasya śirah* MS TA. ApŚ · *makhasya te 'dya śiro rādhyāsam devayajane pṛthivyāḥ* VS ŚB [The references to MS MŚ in Conc seem to be erroneous]
- tan me rādhyatām* VS TS ŚB TB TA ŚŚ MŚ Kauś SMB *tan me samṛdhyatām* (Kauś *samṛddham*) TB SMB Kauś

*harivato graham ṛdhyāsam* KS : *harivato hariyojanasya harivantam graham rūdhyāsam* MS

§660. The single case noted of *r* varying with *ra* for *ar* before *ṣ* plus consonant (Wackernagel I p 212 f) is.

*samsṛṣṣāsu yutsu indro ganeṣu* MS : *samsraṣṣā* (AV. v 1 *samsṛṣṣā*) *sa yudha indro ganena* RV AV SV VS TS. KS

§661. From the root *śr*, also quoted as *śrā* 'boil', are found the two participles *śṛta* and *śrāta*, which exchange in the following, in which *śṛta* happens to be secondary, but it is equally old otherwise.

*suśrātam* (AV *suśṛtam*) *manyē tad ṛtam navīyah* RV AV.

§662. The remaining variants cannot be called purely phonetic. In verb inflection forms in *r* vary repeatedly with other forms in which a morphological *a* (thematic vowel, or part of a different personal ending) is added, producing *ra*.

*āpo grheṣu jāgrata* HG : *āpo jāgrta* MS KS MŚ *āpo haviṣṣu jāgrta*

ApŚ *āpo deveṣu jāgratha* PG See VV I p 123

*ye ca bhūteṣu jāgrati* (KS *jāgrtha*) AV. KS See VV I p 221

*yajamānāya jāgrta* ApŚ : *saputrikāyām jāgratha* PG See VV I p 96

*te na ātmasu jāgrati* (KS † *jāgrta*) AV KS

*yat paśur māyum akrta* TS ŚŚ. KŚ ApŚ. MŚ SMB GG : *yad vaśā māyum akrata* Kauś See VV I p 257.

*yatra-yatra vibhṛto* (KS *bibhṛato*) *jātavedāh* AV KS Both forms are textually uncertain (for variants see VV I p 158), and obscure as to interpretation

§663. Similarly in noun formation, a stem in *r* varies with a derivative in suffixal *a*

*hotrakānām* (MŚ *hotrk°*, v. 1 *hotrak°*) *camasādhvaryavah*. ApŚ MŚ

The words *hotrka* 'secondary *hotr*' and *hotraka* 'pertaining to the sacrifice (*hotra*)' are finally synonymous names for a certain priest

See Caland on ApŚ 12 23 4

§664. Finally, we find similar shifts in words which are lexically quite unrelated, notably three between the stem *kratu* and forms of the root *kṛ*. Both are important in the ritual, and the repeated interchange may well signify an association of them in the minds of the Vedic poets, by popular etymology

*puṇyikasthalā* (KS † *puṇyiga°*) *ca kṛtasthalā* (VS ŚB *kratu°*) *cāpsarasau*

VS TS MS KS ŚB Proper names, and so naturally flexible

*samsṛṣṣam ubhayaṁ kṛtam* (KŚ *abhayam kratum*) KS TB ApŚ KŚ.

*indra kratvā* (MS *indrakṛtvā*) *maruto yad vaśāma* RV MS KS The MS, which is certainly secondary and poor in *indrakṛ*, reads the

gerund *kṛtvā* for *kratvā* by a phonetically easy slip, which is banal to the point of senselessness

*mainā arvā renukakā*{*ah prnak* (MS † [v l *prnak*] KS *pranak*) MS. KS TB *pra-nak*, from *naś*, 'attain', with *pra*; *prnak* from *pre* *indrāya tvā sṛmo* 'dadāt' (ŚG *śramo dadat*) MS MŚ ŚG SMB See §277

§665. The other lexical variants are more remote from each other in sound, and the resemblance becomes very vague.

*drapsaś caskunda pṛthivīm anu dyām* (RV *prathamān anu dyūn*) RV.

AV VS TS MS. KS ŚB Vague assonance only

*tam tvam viśvebhya devebhyaḥ kratūn* (KS °*bhya ṛtūn*) *kalpaya* KS ApŚ *sā* (read *sa?*) *nah prajāṃ paśūn pāhy aranīyamānah* (p p *ahāh, ānī, yāmānah*) MS. *sa no rucam dhehy ahṛnīyamānah* TA The MS is hopelessly corrupt, probably read *ahṛnīyamānah*

*atrā te bhadrā raśanā apaśyam* (KS *bhadrā vṛṣanā agrbhnām*) RV VS TS KS.

*idāsmān anu vastām ghṛtena* ApŚ MŚ : *idawāsmān* (RVKh *ilawa vām*) *anu vastām vṛatena* RVKh AV Scheffelowitz reads *ghṛtena* in RVKh

*idam aham sarpānām . . grathnāmi* (MŚ *mss kṛtsnāmi*) TS ApŚ MŚ. See §47, MŚ perhaps corruption for *grath*°

*nadayor vṛatayoh śūra indrah* RV *na devo vṛtah śūra indrah* SV See §828

*viśvair devai rātībhiḥ samrārānah* (MG *devair ṛtubhiḥ samvīdānah*) ApMB MG.

*āvīte dyāvāpṛthivī ṛtāvṛdhau* MS KS *āvinne dyāvāpṛthivī dhṛtavrate* TS TB. In this and the next, TS has interchanged the two old adjectives *ṛtāvṛdh* and *dhṛtavrata* (both RV)

*āvītāu* (TS *āvinnaū*) *mitrāvarunau dhṛtavratau* (TS °*nāv ṛtāvṛdhau*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Cf prec

#### 10 *r* and *ri*, *ṛi*

§666. Since *r* and *ri* have been pronounced alike for centuries by most Hindus, it follows on the one hand that such variations are especially open to the suspicion of corruption, and on the other that genuine variations of this sort may be expected to occur fairly early, as forerunners of the later change of *r* to *ri* (which occurs, sporadically but not seldom, in the middle Indic dialects) On the whole subject see provisionally Wackernagel I pp 31 ff It is a well-known fact that Hindu mss, including those of Vedic works, show much fluctuation in this regard As a single instance, which might be multiplied indefinitely,

we call attention to Whitney's note on AV. 5 14 3, apropos of the *pāda-rīśasyeva pariśūsam*. So the Berlin ed prints it. But Whitney informs us that most mss read *rīśasyeva*, and observes that this is a common phenomenon in them. In this case Whitney advises adopting their reading into the text; we agree with him. Against most mss, but with some of them and with the comm, Whitney would also read *rīśyapadīm vṛṣadatīm* in AV. 1 18 4a, where both editions have *rīśya*°.

§667. These AV cases do not differ in principle in the slightest degree from the following readings of MS, which presents *trīṣu* for *trīṣu* (adverb 'eagerly', from root *trīṣ*) and *tvaṣṭri* for the god-name *tvaṣṭṛ*. We agree with Von Schroeder's judgment in keeping the readings of his mss, despite the unquestionable meaning of the words. In short, we believe that the Maitrāyaṇīyas pronounced the words in this way, and that we are dealing with real phonetic (dialectic) variants, not 'corruptions' in any proper sense of that word:

*trīṣu* (MS *trīṣu*) *yad annā veriṣad vitiṣṭhase* RV SV. MS ApŚ

*trīṣucyavaso* (MS *trīṣu*°) *juhvo nāgneḥ* RV. MS

*tvaṣṭṛmantas* (MS MŚ *tvaṣṭri*°, ApŚ. *tvaṣṭu*°) *tvā sapema* VS. MS. KS

ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ Others, see §641

§668. Similarly, but in a very much more wide-spread and insistent fashion, the word for 'worm' is frequently and in many texts written *kṛmī*, altho its original form seems to have been *kṛm* (Wackernagel I p 33, Uhlenbeck, *Etym Wbch*, s v) Several variants show both forms of this common word:

*hataś te atrinā kṛmih* (GG *kṛ*°) SMB. GG *atrinā tvā kṛme hanmī* TA

ApŚ *atṛwad vah kṛmayo hanmī* AV.

*halāḥ kṛmayah* (but Jørgensen text and comm *kṛ*°) *sāsātikāḥ sanīla-makṣikāḥ* SMB · *āsātikāḥ kṛmaya* (but Poona ed. *kṛi*°, v. 1 *kṛ*°)

va TA Note that different editions differ on both texts!

*nīlamgoh* (MS °*gave*) *kṛmih* (TS *kṛi*°) VS. TS MS KSA.

§669. So far we have mentioned only cases in which it appears that the regular or original form had *r*, not *ri*. But the opposite is also not uncommon. It may be regarded as a kind of hyper-Sanskritism, or at least, it presupposes a tendency to pronounce *r* and *ri* in a similar manner, at any rate in certain linguistic spheres. In some cases, to be sure, as in the preceding group, the tradition of the mss is confused and we may be confronted with late corruptions. But it would be very rash to make this assumption as a general explanation of the most of such cases. The fact seems to be that this pronunciation of *r* as *ri* is much more ancient than has often been supposed, and must have had some



sort of existence in Vedic times, however limited geographically or socially

§670. Take for instance the proper name *Trīta*, which is quite definitely established in that form as prehistoric (Avestan *Thrita*) Yet thrice in a single hymn of AV (6 113 1 and 3) it is spelled *Trīta*, according to all mss known to both editions In such cases we should not emend, as Shankar Pandit does, even tho the TB parallel for two of the pādas (the third is not recorded elsewhere) gives the usual and proper form *Trīta* In short, we feel no right to assume that the Atharvan tradition had any other form than that presented by all mss  
*trīta enam* (read *enan*, TB *trīta etan*) *manuṣyeṣu mamṛje* (TB *mā°*)  
 AV TB

*trīte* (TB *trīte*) *devā amṛjatatad enah* AV TB

§671. There is little doubt that the MS form *āpapṛvān*, which evidently gave Whitney considerable trouble in his *Roots*, is simply a phonetic variant for *āpapṛvān* (perfect active participle to *prā*) instead of an independent participle of *pr*, as Whitney questioningly suggests The MS *p p* has °*pri*°

*āpapṛvān* (MS *āpapṛvān*) *rodasī antarikṣam* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

§672. The verb *sṛdhah* makes it clear that *sṛdh* is the proper form of the stem found in the next variant In fact many AV mss read *sṛdhah*, which Whitney regards as the true AV reading  
*atī nīho atī sṛdhah* (AV MS *sṛdhah*) AV VS TS MS KS

§673. In the next *krīm* is the only form known to RV, and so may perhaps be assumed as the original, both etymology and meaning of the word are unknown

*ā va indram krīm* (SV *Svidh krīm*) *yathā* RV. SV ŚŚ *Svidh*  
*adha tvīṣmān abhy ojasā krīm* (SV *krīm*, v 1 *krīm*) *yudhābhavat*  
 RV SV

§674. According to Wackernagel I §180b, *r* was regularly replaced by *ri* before *y*, by phonetic law, when *r* appears before *y*, as in the majority of texts in the next variant, it would then be due to analogy In the second variant the original (AV) reading was pronounced *pitṛyāc*, and for this TA *pitṛyāc* is merely a phonetic variant, with *r* for proper *ri*  
*vayam rāṣtre jāgryāma* (MS † KS † °*mā*, TS and *p p* of MS *jāgryāma*)  
*purohitāh* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

*dyaus nah pitā pitṛyāc* (TA *pitṛyāc*) *cham bhavāti* (TA *bhavāsi*) AV TA

Cf the next where the RVKh reading is doubtful.

*āvyaṣam jāgrtād aham* AV *āvyaṣam jāgryād aham* RVKh Aufrecht:

but Scheftelowitz *avyuṣam jāgryām* (em, for ms °yāmy) *aham*  
Cf VVI p. 102.

§675. The epithet of Rudra concerned in the next is of wholly obscure origin and meaning, presumably MS is secondary  
*vikṛida* (KS °da, VS °dra, MS *vyakṛda*) *vilohita* VS TS MS KS.

§676. Finally a few corruptions and false readings  
*ya rīe* (TA ApŚ ApMB *yad rīe*, PB *†yakṣate*) *cīd abhiṣṛiṣaḥ* RV AV  
SV PB TA KŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś GG ApMB *jarī celid* (mss  
*celid*, p p *cya itī itī*) *abhiṣṛiṣaḥ* MS (grossly corrupt, cf §193)  
*sam tvā rinanti* (Vait *rinanti*) LŚ KŚ Vait Note the anomalous sandhi  
in Vait, *sam-r* and *sam-rī* would be virtual synonyms, but a 9th  
class present from *r* is 'anomalous' (allowed by the Dhātup, but not  
known in literature according to Whitney's *Roots*). The Vait  
reading is therefore doubly suspicious See §992

[*īmau te pakṣāv* (°sā) *ajarāu patatrīnau* (VSK TS KS °nah, Conc  
wrongly quotes TS as *patatrīnah*) VS VSK TS MS. KS ŚB

§677. Twice *r* varies with *rī*, both forms are morphologically justifi-  
fiable in both cases

*śrītas tvam śrīto* 'ham ApŚ *śrītas tvam śrīto* 'ham KS Participles of  
the root which appears somewhat confusedly as *śr*, *śrā*, *śrī* 'cook,  
mature'

*adbhīr viśvasya bhartṛbhiḥ* ApMB *adbhīh sarvasya bhartṛbhiḥ* ŚG  
In ApMB a distinctively feminine stem *bhartṛī* is used, to agree  
with *adbhīh*, ŚG uses the stem *bhartṛ* as of common gender

# 11 *r* and *ru*

§678. The shift between *r* and *ru* is only slightly less frequent than  
that between *r* and *rī*. There is equally good reason to regard it as  
having genuine phonetic bearings. In standard modern Marāṭhī the *r*  
of Sanskrit is regularly pronounced with an *u* coloring (practically *ru*,  
instead of *rī* as in most other vernaculars). That this tendency is very  
ancient is proved by RPr 14 12 (796), which states that some erro-  
neously 'make the *r*-vowels like the labial vowels' (*svarau kurvanti*  
*oṣṭhyanibhau sarephau*). There are, to be sure, not so many variants  
that seem to be purely phonetic in character as was found to be the case  
with *rī*. They seem to tend to associate with neighboring labial  
consonants, and perhaps justify an assumption that the vocalic *r* in  
conjunction with labials was apt to have *u* coloring

§679. Among the clearest phonetic variants are

*bhṛmim* (TB. *bhṛumim*) *dhamanto apa gū avṛnata* RV TB Note that the sound occurs between two labial consonants. The original *bhṛmi* is not very clear, one of Sāyana's theories is that it means 'cloud', which is the meaning assigned to *bhṛumi* by TB comm, who derives it from root *bhram*

*drvāsi* VS. *dṛbāsi* KŚ *drubāsi* VSK An obscure word, note the following *b*. There is no way of determining the original form

§680. A clear case of hyper-Sanskritic *r* for original *ru* is the stem *prṣvā*, found several times in Tait texts for regular *pruṣvā*, note the preceding *p*. BR call *prṣvā* a 'false Form', but it is too persistent to be thus lightly dismissed. TA comm explains by *jalabinduh*. It seems clear that it was the established Tait school form of *pruṣvā*, tho there has been much confusion about it among interpreters, see e.g. Keith on TS 7 4 13 1

*pruṣvā aśrubhāh* VS MS *aśrubhāh* *pruṣvām* (TS *prṣ*) TS KSA  
*pruṣvābhyah* (TS *prṣ*°, KSA ed *pruṣtābhyas*, ms *praṣtā*°, read probably *pruṣvā*°) *svāhā* VS TS KSA

*śam u prṣthāva* (read with Poona ed text and comm *prṣvāva*) *śiyatām* TA *śam te prṣvāva śiyatām* AV

§681. Hyper-Sanskritic, again, is the *r* in the following cases; we do not venture to say whether the following labial *bh* (part of an inflexional ending) is concerned in the change. At least the *r* form seems quite well established in the Tait school, the MS is more seriously corrupt *purā jatrubhya* (TA ApMB *jatrbhya*, MS *cakrbhyā*, p p *vakrbhyah*!) *ātṛdah* (MS °*da*) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB

§682 The remaining variants contain at least a semblance of independent lexical interchange. Thus, the roots *sr* and *śru* are virtual synonyms, and their derivatives *sṛti* and *śruti* both mean 'course, way' *dve śruti* (VS KS ŚB BrhU KŚ *sṛti*, and so TB Conc, but Poona ed *śruti*) *aśṛnavam pūrṇām* RV VS MS KS ŚB TB BrhU ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ. (Von Schroeder needlessly emends KS 38 2 to *śruti*)

*namah śrutyāya* (KS *sṛ*°) *ca pathyāya ca* VS TS KS *namah pathyāya ca śrutyāya ca* MS Derivatives of the words concerned in the prec *ā tvā parisrutah* (AG °*śrutah*, MG °*sṛtah*) *kumbhah* (ApMB † °*āh*) AG PG ApMB MG *enam parisrutah kumbhyā* ŚG *emām parisrutah kumbhah* AV *pūrṇān parisrutah kumbhān* ŚB No form *parisṛti* is otherwise recorded, despite the equivalence of the two roots, it is probable that MG (all mss) has a phonetic variant or corruption for *parisrutah*

*hṛanyam asṛtām* (SB BrhU. GP *asṛutam*) *bhava* ŚB. BrhU KBU  
AG SMB PG ApMB HG MG Here *sru* varies with *sṛ*;  
'indestructible' or 'unmolten' (gold)

Cf *mṛgasya sṛtām* (HG *ṣṛtām*, ApMB vv. II *sṛutam*, *ṣṛutam*) *akṣṇayā*  
ApMB HG See §278

§683. Similarly *hṛ* with *vi* becomes a synonym of *hru* with *vi*, the  
participles of both, exchanging twice, mean 'confounded, gone astray' or  
the like A third variation between *hṛ* and *hru* is merely a textual  
corruption

*avinaṣṭān avihṛutān* (AŚ °*hṛtān*) MS KS AŚ ApŚ ŚG

*īṣkartā vihrutam punah* RV KŚ · *nīṣkartā* (Conc wrongly °*kṛtā* for  
ApMB) *vihrutam* (PB TA ApMB *vihrutam*) *punah* AV. SV. MS  
PB TA ApMB In TA there is a *v* *l* *vihrutam*, adopted in the  
text in Poona ed, but the comm even there reads *vihrutam*, and  
glosses *vīṣeṣena bhagnam*

*aślonā* (comm *aśronāh*) *aṅgair ahrutāh svarge* AV. *aślonāṅgair ahrtā*  
*svarge* TA But Poona ed text and comm *ahrutāh*, v. I °*tā*,  
for TA, and this is the only possible reading. The simple *hṛ* is  
not a synonym of *hru*, *ahrtā* would make no sense, comm *kauṣṭh-*  
*yarahitāh* (= *ahrutāh*).

§684. Miscellaneous cases, largely suspicious.

*ruvad dhokṣā* (TB *nṛvadbhyo 'lṣā*) *paprathānebhīr evaṁ* RV MS KB  
TB The original has *ruvad dha-ukṣā* 'the bull roared' This is  
misunderstood and corrupted in TB

*śivā rutasya* (VSK *śiva ṛtasya*, TS and v 1 of MS *śivā rudrasya*) *bheṣajī*  
(MS °*jā*) VS VSK TS MS KS. Original is certainly *rutasya*.  
'healer of what is injured' *Rudrasya*, 'Rudra's healer', is an  
obvious lect fac, and *ṛtasya*, 'healer of the rta' or 'the rta's healer',  
while formally intelligible, is clearly a stupid change conditioned by  
the phonetic relations between *r* and *ru*

*satyaṇṇasā dṛṇhanā* (MS *durhṛnā*, KS *ḍṛṇhanā*) *yam nudethe* TS  
MS KS.. *sacetasau dṛuhvano yau nudethe* AV Multiple con-  
fusion, see §305, etc

*mayobhūh śamīamā yad dhrudo* (comm *dhṛdo*) 'sī TB So Conc, but  
Poona ed text with comm *dhṛdo*.

## CHAPTER XV. THE I AND U DIPHTHONGS AND SAMPRASĀRANA

§685. In most of the variants collected in this chapter, phonetics can be said to be only an ancillary motive in the shift. That is, nearly all of them present interchanges between forms both of which can be justified by recognized principles of morphology or lexicography. They mostly concern ablaut, in radical or suffixal or inflectional syllables, or various details of the inflection of nouns, pronouns, or verbs, with a sprinkling of purely lexical variants. Yet in some parts of the chapter, dialectic (Prakritic) phonology is certainly suggested as a contributing factor. This is especially true as regards the exchanges of the short and long diphthongs, *e ai* and *o au*, and the interchange between *e* and *aya*, *o* and *ava*, and the like. Altho some sort of independent interpretation of both the forms is regularly possible, their number is too large to make it reasonable to ignore the corresponding (tho purely phonetic) shifts between Sanskrit and the Middle Indic dialects, in view of the now well established fact that Prakritic phonology played a large rôle in the speech of Vedic times.

### 1. *e*

§686. The not very numerous cases collected here are mostly matters of ablaut in the radical syllables of nouns and verbs, or of different case-endings of the same or related noun stems, with a residuum of lexical variants. We begin with those which present different ablaut grades in the radical syllables of the same or related nouns and adjectives.

*atra* (ŚB *atrā*) *jahāmo* 'śivā *ye asan* VS ŚB *atrā jahāma* (AV *jahāta*) *ye asann aśevāh* (AV \**aśvāh*, \**asan durevāh*) RV AV. TA. The meter properly requires *aśevāh* if the word be final (VS ŚB trans-  
pose)

*yā sarasvatī viśobhagīnā* (MS ApŚ \**veśa*°, KS *veśabhagīnā*) . . . MS KS  
ApŚ *viśo-* is gen. sing. of *viś*

*dīvyah lośah samukṣītah* MS *dāvvyah kośah* (AV ŚirasU. *devahkośah*)  
*samubhytah* AV TS KS ŚirasU

*dīvo jyōte* (KS \**jyōtir*) *vivasva* (MS *devajūte vivasvann*) . . MS KS  
*vivasvān adītir devajūtis* TS

*devya* (ApŚ *dīvyā*, v 1 *devyā*) *āpo nannamyadhvam* . . PB KŚ ApŚ

*sūryo dīvo* (TS KS \* *devo*) *diviṣadbhyah* (TS KS. °*bhyo*...) TS. KS \*  
MŚ

*punse putrāya vttarai* (ŚB BrhU *vittaye*) ŚB TB BrhU ApMB  
ApŚ HG.

*pra survānāso* (SV. *svā*°) *brhaddiveṣu* (SV. °*deveṣu*) *harayah* RV SV.

*lelah salekah* .. TS *salilah saligah* . MS KS See §49

§687. Of different origin and only superficially resembling these cases is the numeral adverb *tredhā*, which is originally trissyllabic and therefore probably to be regarded as representing a contraction of something like \**trayadhā* (cf. §§744 ff below, Wackernagel I p. 53, III p. 347).

*tridhā* (MS *tredhā*) *baddho vṛṣabho roravīti* RV VS MS KS GB TA  
ApŚ. MahānU. N

§688. In the stem-syllable of verbal forms

*maiṣām uc cheṣi kim cana* AV : *maiṣām kam canoc chiṣah* TS TB ApŚ .  
*māmīṣām kam canoc chiṣah* RV. SV VS.

*yah prānato nīmiṣataḥ* (v 1 KS *nīmeṣ*°) *ca rājā* MS KS *yah prānato*  
*nīmiṣato* (VS. *nīmeṣ*°) *mahitvā* RV. AV VS TS KSA Present  
participles for 6th and 1st class present stems of *ni-miṣ*, the 1st  
class stem seems not to be otherwise recorded Add to VV I §197.

*vāmī te samdṛṣi viśvam reto dhiṣṭiya* (MS *dhe*°) .. MS KS . *viśvasya*  
*te vāmīr anu samdṛṣi viśvā retānsi dhiṣṭiya* TS Cf next The  
form *dheṣṭiya* seems to be established in the Maitr school It can  
hardly be interpreted except as an aorist of *dhā* 'place', yet is highly  
anomalous if so understood (as if the root were *dhi*, with guna *dhe*!  
perhaps by confusion with root *dhī*?) See VV I p. 186

*somasyaḥam devayajyayā suretā* (MŚ *viśvam*) *reto dhiṣṭiya* (MŚ *dhe*°)  
TS ApŚ MŚ

§689. In inflectional endings of verbs *i* and *e* exchange very commonly  
as between active and middle-passive forms and elsewhere See VV I  
§§39-79 and 82 *et pāssim*.

§690. Coming to noun case forms, we find first a little group of dat -  
abl plur forms in *ibhyas* *ebhyas*, from stems in *i(n)* *a*  
*dwācarebhyo* (MG. °*cāribhyo*) *bhūtebhyah* (sc *namah*) MG. ViDh .  
*ahaścārebhyah* (sc *namah*) ŚG

*naktamcarebhyah* ŚG ViDh : *naktamcāribhyo bhūtebhyah* MG

*marudbhyo grhamedhībhyo* (MŚ °*dhebhyo*) *nubrihi* ŚB. MŚ

*marudbhyo grhamedhībhyo* (MS °*dhebhyo*) *baṣkīhān* (MS. *vaṣ*°, ApŚ  
*baṣkān*) VS MS ApŚ

*svāheṣṭibhyah* (Kauś °*iebhyaḥ svāhā*) KS Kauś *iṣṭebhyah svāhā vaṣad*  
*aniṣṭebhyah svāhā* TB ApŚ

§691. The others are miscellaneous case-forms, since they are of slight interest here we shall content ourselves with a few examples, referring to our volume on Noun Inflection for full lists

*pūṣne śarase* (MS † °si) *svāhā* MS TA ApŚ . *svāhā pūṣne śarase* VS.

ŚB KŚ The majority reading (dat) is certainly not easily intelligible (labored and worthless explanations in the comms.); but the loc of MS is also difficult and may be only an attempt to rationalize an unintelligent passage

*hiranyapakṣah śakunih* HG *hiranyaparna śakune* PG. Nom : voc  
*pra vo mahe mahiṛdhe* (SV PB *maheṛdhe*) *bharadhwam* RV SV AV.

PB AŚ ŚŚ The SV seems to have a mechanical form-assimilation to the surrounding datives (note especially the identical form *mahe* preceding)

*vi śloka etu* (AV. *eti*, TS ŚvetU *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*)  
*sūreh* (AV MS.† *sūrih*, TS ŚvetU *sūrah*, KS † *sūrah*) RV. AV VS  
TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU Nom gen.

*agnir hotā vetu agnir* (AŚ *agner*) *hotram vetu* (*vettu*) . TB. AŚ ŚŚ :  
*agnir hotā vettu agner hotram vettu* . ŚB Nom gen.

*kratvā varīṣṭham vara āmurim uta* RV AV : *kratve vare sthemany āmurim*  
*uta* SV

§692. Oddities of noun stems

*agner agneyāny* (KS *agni*°) *asī* (MS v. 1 and p p *agner agner yāny asī*)

MS KS *devānām agneyāny asī* TS *agner yāny asī* TS MS. KS  
ApŚ MŚ See §357, and cf *vāyosāvitra* ., §716

*śrudhi śruta śraddhivam* (AV *śraddheyam*) *te vadāmi* RV AV See  
§248, both forms have the force of gerundives

§693. The remaining variants are lexical, but in the first we have a shift which simulates ablaut, as in §688

*sa idhāno* (KS *edh*°) *vasuṣ* (MS *vasuh*) *kaviḥ* RV SV. VS TS MS KS

The roots *idh* and *edh* are quite independent, but superficially the change looks like a change from nil-grade to guna

*ā yāhi* (and, *ā no yāhi*) *tapasā janeṣu* (ŚŚ °ṣv ā, MS *janiṣva*) MS  
AB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ The MS form could be interpreted as a 2d  
sing impv from *jan* but for the accent (*janiṣva*), which seems to  
call for emendation

*ino* (AV *enā*) *viśvasya bhūwanasya gopāh* RV. AV N *ino*, nom of stem  
*ina*, *enā*, adverbial pronominal form.

*utem* (SV *ūtīm*) *arbhe havāmahe* RV AV SV MS *uta-īm* acc sing  
of *ūti*

*kṛdī ca śākī corjṣī* (ApŚ *sālī* † *corjṣī* ca) VS VSK ApŚ See §407.

*āsannuṣṭin hṛtsvaso mayobhūn* RV. AV. TS MS. KSA. N : *āsann eṣām apsuwāho mayobhūn* SV. See §820

[*vācā mendriyāviṣa* TS. KS MŚ. Conc. *vācam indr°* for KS., so ed. reads at 4 14, but at 31. 15 (p 18, n 1) it is corrected]

§694. Several times a word beginning in *i* varies with the same word preceded by *ā*:

*indram* (SV. *endram*) *agnim ca vodhave* RV SV

*iha* (MS AŚ ŚŚ *eha*) *gatir vāmasya* TS MS TB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ †1 14 19 *tve iṣah* (KS. *viṣve*; MS. *tva eṣah*) *samdadhur bhūrvarpasah* (TS † *bhūrvrelasah*) RV. SV VS TS MS KS ŚB See Von Schroeder's note If correct, MS must intend *tve, ā, iṣah*, but the *p p* reads *tve it tve, iṣah*.

*tāv (tā) ehi (eha, eva, AV. iha)* . . , see §§578, 888

*ṛnān no narnam erlsamānah* AV *nen na ṛnān ṛnava it samānah* TA See §180

*ādityānām patvānv* (PB °*mānv*) *ihī* (KSA †*ehī*) VS. TS. MS KSA PB ŚB TB MŚ ApMB.

## 2 ī: e

§695. Here the variants are few and scattering, except for a considerable group concerning case-endings of the same or related nouns and adjectives. Often the stems presupposed by the case-forms involved are slightly different.

*viśo yantre* (KS *yantri*) *nudamāne arātīm* KS TB ApŚ Duals from stems *yantrā* and *yantri*

*śamgayī* (MS. ŚB °*gavī*, TB °*gaye*) *jīradānū* (ŚB. *jīva°*) MS ŚB TB. AŚ ŚŚ. Also feminine duals.

*vairājī* (KSA † °*je*) *puruṣī* (so KSA †) TS KSA. Also fem duals; there seems no reason to emend KSA as von Schroeder would do. *rātri* (TB. °*rī*, KS v l °*rih*) *stomam na jigyuse* (KS † TB °*ṣī*) RV. KS. TB

*mahī viśpatnī sadane* (KS °*nī*) *ṛtasya* KS. TB ApŚ MŚ Here *sadane* is loc sing. '(come) to the seat of the *ṛta*' KS makes *sadanī* fem dual, 'as two seats of the *ṛta*' (addressed to the *aratis*), the other reading is simpler and most likely original

*varṣānarāya mātṛ navyasī* (ArS °*se*) *śucih* RV ArS Nom. sing fem. dat sing masc (with *agnaye* in next pāda).

*nābhā samdāyṇ navyasī* (SV. °*dāya navyase*) RV SV. As prec.

*rāyas poṣam cakṛtuse* (AV °*ṣī*) *dadhātu* (ŚŚ *dadātu*) AV. TS MS KS ŚŚ As prec





*lālāya* (MahānU *lāle*°) *dhīmahn* TAA † (not TA.) MahānU. Names of Agni, of unknown origin. Hardly to be classed as ablaut. The two comms have different and equally ridiculous explanations. *aṣṭdhāya sahamānūya vedhase* (TB. *mīdhuṣe*) RV. TB. N. Lexical

In the reduplicating syllable

*aṇdrah prāno aṅge-aṅge nī dīdhyat* (TS *nī dedhyat*, VSK *nīdhītah*) VS. VSK TS MS KS ŚB. The reduplicating syllable with *e* should mark an intensive, and probably the isolated form of TS is felt as such, cf. VV I pp. 149, 160

§697. Cases concerning verb inflection. An aor. ind. varies with a present opt. But the KS ed. reads as ApŚ, with *v* 1 as Conc.. *grāvāvādīd* (ApŚ *grāvā vaded*). KS ApŚ VV I p. 86

*anu stomam mudīmahi* (PB *made*°) RV AV PB. Optatives of different verbs

*mā tvāgnir dhvanayīd* (TS °*yīd*, KSA. °*yed*, MS *dhanayīd*) . . . RV VS. TS. MS KSA

§698. Twice the presence or absence of the preposition *ā* is responsible for the variant, cf. §694.

*vāmam pitrbhyo ya idam samerire* (AV *samī*°) RV. AV. ApMB.

*ṛnān no narnam ertsamānah* AV *nem na ṛnān ṛnavān īpsamānah* MS.

See §180

### 3 2. a2

§699. Nearly all the variants noted here concern derivative noun and adjective stems with the *vriddhi* of secondary derivation, varying with primary or secondary formations without the *vriddhi*

*vaśvānara uta viśvadāvyaḥ* AV KS : *yo vaśvānara uta viśvadāvyaḥ* (ApŚ *vaśvadevyah*) MS ApŚ. Whitney's Transl. adopts for AV *viśvadavyah*, which he states is the reading of Ppp, but this is an error, Ppp (Barret, JAOS 32 358) has °*davyah*, intending °*dāvyaḥ*. Only ApŚ has a derivative of *viśvadeva*.

*davyah kośaḥ samukṣitah* MS. *daivyaḥ kośaḥ* (AV ŚirasU *devakośaḥ*) *samubjītah* AV TS KS ŚirasU.

*achunno divyas* (KS ApŚ *davyas*) *tantur mā mānuṣaś* (KS ApŚ. *manuṣyaś*) *chedi* MS KS ApŚ

*bṛhanto davāḥ* (VS *divyāḥ*) VS MS ApŚ

*nṛbādhyena* (AV *nair*°, Ppp *nir*° according to Whitney) *haviṣā* AV TB ApŚ

*bṛhatā tvā rathamtarena triṣṭubhyā* (KS *triṣṭubhā*) *varṭanyā* . . . MS KS : *bṛhadrathamtarayos tvā stomena triṣṭubho varṭanyā* TS.

*aghorena cakṣuṣā mitriyena* (ApMB. *maitreya*, KS ApŚ. *cal-ṣuṣāham* *ṣivena*) AV KS ApŚ ApMB

*indrasya vimṛdhasyāham* (KS *indrasyāham vimṛdhasya*) *devayajyayā-sapatno* (ApŚ. but not †MŚ adds *vīryavān*) *bhūyāsam* KS ApŚ MŚ

*lapota* (MS °*tā*) *ulūkah śaśas te nirṛtyai* (TS. KSA. *nairṛtāh*) VS TS MS KSA.

*nirṛtyai svāhā* MŚ : *nairṛtyai* (sc *dīśe*) *svāhā* VāDh

*vihāyaso* (PG. *vaiḥ*°) 'dhi *bhūmyām* HG. PG *vi*°, abl of *vihāyas*, *vai*°, nom of adj *vaihāyasa*.

*indrasya śuṣmam īrayann apasyubhiḥ* RV. SV.: *aindraḥ śuṣmo viśvarūpo na āgan* AV.

*vaivasvato* (AV *vivasvān*) *no abhayam kṛnotu* Aṽ. TB TAA ŚŚ ApŚ SMB. PG HG *vai*°, of course, means *Manu*

*havyanyānbhah* (ŚŚ. *hṛ*°) *lausatyah* ŚB ŚŚ

*indropānasyakehamanaso* (MŚ *aandro*°) . ApŚ MŚ The formula is so obscure, that emendation of MŚ to *indro*°, while tempting, is hardly safe

§700. Otherwise we find only miscellaneous cases, two concerning noun inflection

*indrādhīpatih* (MS KS °*patyāh*) *pṛptād ato nah* TS MS KS AŚ 'O Indra, as overlord (by overlordships)' etc

*tam* (MS. *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhāyai* (MS °*yi*) TS MS TA The form in *yai* is dat of stem *śobhā*, 'unto splendor' The *yi* form would seem to be acc neut. of a stem *śobhāyin* (cf §247), perhaps used adverbially

Two concerning aorist verb forms

*āpo malam va prānākṣīt* (ApŚ *prānījan*) AV ApŚ See VV I p 129

*pītur va nāmāgrabhiṣam* (ApMB °*bhaiṣam*) ApMB HG See VV I pp 139, 186

And one in which *ai* contains the augment

*yam aichāma* (ApŚ *ichāmi*) *manasā so 'yam āgāt* RV ApŚ

#### 4 ī ai

§701. Most of the few variants noted here concern interchange between instr plur. and nom-acc plur (fem) forms.

*indrena devīr* (MŚ *devair*) *vīrudhah samvidānāh* TS MŚ

*devīr devīr* (ApŚ *devair*) *abhi mā nīvartadhvam* MS ApŚ MŚ

*sapta ca rūrunīr* (PG °*nair*) *imāh* AG PG ŚG MG *sapta ca mānuṣīr* *imāh* ApMB HG Followed in all by

*tisraś ca rājabandhavāḥ* (HG °*vah*) HG ApMB *prajāḥ* (this word belongs to prec pāda) *sarvāś ca rājabāndhavarāḥ* (MG °*vyah*) PG. MG *sarvāś ca rājabāndhavāḥ* (ŚG † °*bāndhavarāḥ*) AG ŚG  
*ā dadhnaḥ kalaśair* (ApMB °*śtr*, MG °*śam*) *aguh* (AG ApMB *ayan*, ŚG. *gaman*, PG *upa*, HG *ayann wa*, MG *arrayam*) AV AG ŚG  
 PG ApMB HG MG

§702. There are three cases of *vṛddhi* of the first syllable, the first two (especially the second) anomalous, and one aorist verb form, also anomalous

*straiśūyam anyatra dadhat* AV. *strīśūyam anyān sv* (read *anyāsv*) *ā dadhat* ŚG

*madhvā yajñam nakṣatr* (VS TS *nakṣase*) *prīnānah* (AV *prai*°) AV VS. TS MS. KS In the pres mid pple the *vṛddhi* is quite out of place, 'blundering corruption', Whitney

*yad adīvyann* (MS *daivyam*) *ṛnam aham babhūva* (AV. *ṛnomi*) AV. MS. TA BDh *adīvyann ṛnam yad aham cakāra* TB The original is *adīvyan* 'not gambling', MS has a stupid lect fac Add to VV I §231

*indra enam* (TB ApŚ *enam*) *parāśarīt* AV TB ApŚ cf. *indro vo 'dya parāśarāt* AV. But for the last SPP. with most mss and Ppp. °*śarīt*, the regular form See VV I p 186

### 5 *e: ai*

§703. Altho both forms can be defended morphologically in most of these variants, it seems to us very clear that the Prakritic change of *ai* to *e* must be largely concerned in them They are fairly numerous, the great majority fall into three classes, to wit: dative (or locative) forms in *e ai*, forms with *e ai* in the root syllable, in which *ai* is generally the *vṛddhi* of secondary derivation, and verb forms, chiefly indicative and subjunctive endings

§704. First, there is a large group of interchanges between the pronominal forms *asme* (dat or loc) 'for, to, in us', and *asmai* 'for him, it'. *asmai* (TB *asme*) *dyāṁprthivī bhūri vāmam* (Conc divides AV before *vāmam*) AV TB *asme* is secondary

*asme devāso vapuṣe cikṛtsata* TS ApŚ : *śrad asmai naro vacase dadhā'ana* VS KŚ Keith assumes that TS intends *asmai*

*asmai* (MS *asme*) *rāstrāya mahi śarma yachatam* TS. MS AŚ *asmai* is certainly simpler

*supippalā oṣadhīḥ kartanāśme* (AV *kartam asmai*, VSK *kartam asme*) AV VS VSK MS 'For him' 'for us', equally possible

*savitṛā prasavitṛā* . *īndrenāśme* (VSK °*smāi*) . VS VSK As prec  
asme (AV. *asmai*) *dhārayatam* (MŚ °*tām*) *rayim* RV AV. MŚ Different  
contexts, both possible

asme (AV. *asmai*) *dhatla vasavo vasūni* AV VS TS MS KS SB N  
Equally possible

asme (KBU *asmai*) *prayandhi maghavann rjīśin* RV KBU AG PG N  
asme *rāṣṭrāni dhāraya* (KS *rāṣṭram adhīśraya*) MS KS asme *kṣatrāni*  
*dhāraye anu dyūn* RV TS MS KS *asmīn rāṣṭram adhī śraya*  
TS · *asmai kṣatrāni dhārayantam agne* AV. Kauś Different  
contexts

*asmai* (MS asme) *karmane jātah* MS ApŚ 'For our rite' 'for this  
rite'. Probably lect fac in ApŚ

asme (AŚ *asmai*) *īndrābṛhaspatī* RV. TS MS KS AŚ Probably  
misprint in AŚ.

§705. Other dative forms in *e* *ai*, including infinitives

*tā* (VS ŚB *yā*, TS *te*) *te* (RV KS N *vām*) *dhāmāny* (RV. KS N  
*vāstūny*) *uśmasi gamadhyai* (TS °*ye*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N  
The TS form is anomalous, cf Keth's note and Whitney, *Gram-*  
*mar* §976a Infinitives

*havyāyāsmāi vodhave* (KS °*vai*) *jālavedah* TS MS KS Kauś Infini-  
tives

*sugam meṣāya meṣyai* (RV °*ye*) RV VSK TS MS KS LŚ · *sukham*  
*meṣāya meṣyai* VS ŚB

*agne samrād iṣe rāye* (ApŚ *rayyai*) AŚ ApŚ *iṣe rāye* . VS MS  
ŚB TB Cf §396

*ābhīṣ (vāham . . sūtave* (HG °*vai*) HG ApMB

*kuhvai* (KSA *kuhve*, ed em °*vai*) *trayo 'runantāh* TS KSA

*punse putrāya vettavai* (ŚB BṛhU *vittaye*, KS *ṭkartave*, MG *kartavai*,  
v l °*ve*) KS ŚB TB BṛhU. ApŚ ApMB HG MG

*śakrāya sunavai* (JB °*ve*) *tvā* RV JB

*śriyai* (MG *śriye*) *putrāya vettavai* (MG *vedhavai*) ApMB MG

*śam tokāya tanuve* (SMB *tanvai*) *syonah* TS TB ApŚ SMB PG

*paridhāsyai yāśodhāsyai* PG *paridhāsyē yāśo dhāsyē* MG · cf *paridam*  
*vāso adhithāh* (HG °*dhāh*, ApMB *adhī dhā*) *svastaye* AV. ApMB  
HG These forms are taken as datives by the PG comm, followed  
by Stenzler and Oldenberg It is uncertain whether this is cor-  
rect, or whether they are verb forms, see VV I p 112

§706. Another stray case or two concerning noun endings (loc sing  
and instr pl) ·

*ghṛtavatī savitar* (MS KS °*tur*) *ādhipatyē* (TS °*yath*) TS MS KS AŚ

*avyo* (SV *avyā*) *vāre* (SV. \**vāraḥ*) *pari priyah* (and, *priyam*) RV SV.  
*punar brahmāno* (*brahmā*) . . *yaṣṇāḥ* (*agne*), see §339

§707. When *e* and *ai* vary in radical syllables of nouns, it is generally a matter of secondary formations with *vṛddhi* varying with other related forms without *vṛddhi*.

*davīm* (VS *devīm*) *nāvam svaritṛām anāgasam* (AV. °*sah*) RV. AV. VS.  
 TS MS KS

*devīh* (AV *daī°*) *ṣad urvīr uru nah* (TS ApMB *nah*, and so Whitney for AV with most mss) *kṛnota* RV. AV. TS ApMB

*davībhyas* (KS. *devebhyas*) *tanūbhyah* (KS °*yas*) *svāhā* KS TB. ApŚ.  
 Kauś

*bṛhaspatir devānām* (ŚŚ *dawo*) *brahmāham manuṣyānām* (ŚŚ *mānuṣah*)  
 VSK TB ŚŚ KS ApŚ MŚ

*devān mā bhayād itī* SMB *davān mā bhayāt pāhi* ŚŚ.

*imā yā devīh pradīśas catasrah* AV *yā dawīs catasrah pradīśah* TB.  
 ApMB HG

*saṁ devena savitrā* TA : *saṁ daivena* (and, *dawiyena*) *savitṛā* VS ŚB  
*davyah kośah samuḥṣitah* MS · *dawyah kośah* (AV. ŚirasU. *devakośah*)  
*samubṛjtaḥ* AV TS KS ŚirasU

*vācā tvā hotrā pañcabhir dawyar* (MŚ *devair*) *ṛtvigbhir uddharāmi*  
 ApŚ MŚ

*mā devānām* (TA *dawyas*) *tantuṣ chedī mā manuṣyānām* (TA *manuṣyah*) MS KS TA ŚŚ

*indro jyēsthānām* (MS KS *jyaīṣṭhyānām*, VS ŚB *jyaīṣṭhyāya*) VS. TS.  
 MS KS ŚB PG

*vaīśvānaram kṣatratyāya* (TB *kṣetra°*) *devāh* VS TB

*somaindrā* (KSA *ṛsaumendrā*) *babhrulālāmās tūparāh* TS. KSA

*adhvanām adhvapate śreṣṭhah svastyasyādhvanah* (ApMB *śreṣṭhasyādhva-*  
*nah*, MG *śraīṣṭhyasya svastasyādhvanah*, read *svastyā°* with most  
 mss) *pāram aśīya* AŚ ApMB MG

*meghyā* (VS. *maṅghīr*) *vidyuto vācaḥ* VS TS MS KSA

§708. A couple of cases with *e ai* in the first syllable of nouns seem to differ from the preceding, it is very questionable whether the *ai* form has secondary *vṛddhi* or is in any morphological way different from the form with *e*. In short, it is at least likely that these are pure phonetic variants

*avārāya kevaritam* VS *pāryāya kavartam* TB. The usual form is *kar°*, evidently of non-Aryan origin, and it is, to say the least, very possible that *ke°* is a Prakritism

*veśantābhyo dāśam* TB *vaīśantābhyo baṁdam* VS Here again we have

a word probably of foreign origin, but this time the usual form is *ve*° Perhaps hyper-Sanskritism in VS

§709. Several cases are complicated by the possibility that the form *e*, where *a* seems to be expected, may be due to elision instead of contraction of final *a* (Wackernagel I §269e) The same phenomenon occurs with *o* for *au*, §731 Wackernagel, I c (small print), thinks of the possibility of influence of the Prakritic change of *a*, *au* to *e*, *o*, besides this, it should be remembered that in Pāli and Prakrit any final vowel may be elided before any initial vowel, without regard to the quality of either Thus there are two different tendencies of Middle Indic phonology which may possibly have been at work here But furthermore, in some of the cases independent lexical or morphological explanations are conceivable for the *e* form

*adhī na indraiṣām* (VS *indreṣām*) RV VS Here there can be no doubt that the intention of VS is *indra-eṣām* This is the most certain case

*neva mānse na pībaṣi* AV *naiva mānsena pīvari* PG The AV p p reads *na*, *iva*, according to Barret JAOS 26 205, Ppp also reads *neva* (contrary to Whitney's note) Yet it is possible that AV really intended *naiva*, which certainly is a more natural reading *jagatyānam* (AŚ °*tyenam*) *vikṣv ā veṣayāmah* (MS KS °*m*, AŚ °*ni*) TS MS KS AŚ In VV I p 75 we have stigmatized *jagatyenam* as erroneous, which is unnecessarily harsh, to be sure the edition of AŚ inspires little confidence But it may be a phonetic variant of the sort here considered, or even—possibly—a real morphological change (voc *jagaty* instead of instr *jagatyā*)

*enāhnedam ahaṣi aṣṭya svāhā* KS (prec by *-mānā*, actual text, *-māna-nāhne*°) the MŚ version quoted in Conc as *idāhna id āharam aṣṭya* is Knauer's emend of corrupt mss which begin [*-mān*]-*enāhned*-, doubtless intending the same as KS

See also *anāmayaḍhi* etc , §344

§710. In verb inflection there are a number of cases in which indicative or subjunctive endings in *e* vary with subjunctives in *a*, see VV I p 28

*vi sakhyāni sṛjāmahe* (ŚŚ °*ha*, MŚ *visṛjāvahaḥ*) AŚ ŚŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ PG

*yam jīvam aśnavāmahaḥ* (MS °*he*) RV AV VS TS MS KS

*devān yaṣṭiṣyān iha yān yaṣṭmahaḥ* (TS *havāmaha*) TS MS KS

*rayim yena vanāmahaḥ* (SV °*he*) RV SV

*sacāvahe* (MS °*ha*, p p °*he*) *yad avṛkam purā cit* RV MS

*brahmāham antaram kṛṇve* (KŚ. *karave*, read *\*vaz*) AV. KŚ. (? the proper subjunctive form would be *\*vaz*, *\*ve* either corruption or purely phonetic variant).

*anu nau śūra mansate* (TS. *\*tar*) RV TS. KSA.

*yā na ūrū uśatī viśrayāte* (AV *\*ti*, ApMB. HG. *viśrayātai*) RV AV. ApMB HG

*pari śvajāte* (AV. *\*tar*) *libujeva iṛksam* RV AV. N'

*pra yaḥ satrācā* (TB. *sa vācā*) *manasā yajāte* (TB *\*tar*, text and comm. in Poona ed.) RV TB.

*dadhad vidhaksyan paryañkhayātai* TA. *dadhrg vidhaksyan paryañkhayāte* (AV. *vidhaksan parīñkhayātai*) RV. AV.

*manai* (MS *manve*) *nu babhrūnām aham* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. N *yayā gā ākarāmahe* (SV. *\*hai*) RV. SV.

*varuneti śapāmahe* (MS † *\*hai*; AV. *yad ūcīma*, LŚ † *ayāmahe*) AV. VS. TS MS KS. ŚB. TB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ.

§711. There are a few cases in which the *ai* is due to the preposition *ā* preceding *e*, cf. §§694, 698; or, in the first two cases, to the augment: *mṛtyoh padam* (MG. *padāni*) *yopayanto* (AV *\*ta*, MG. *lopayante*) *yad* (AV. omits) *eta* (RV. *aīta*, TA. *aiṃa*) RV. AV. TA. MG.

*vācaspate 'chudrayā . . . hotrām airayat* (KŚ. *\*yanti*, TA. *erayasya*, ŚŚ. *airayasva*) *svāhā* ŚB TA. KŚ. ŚŚ Augmented forms in ŚB. KŚ.; the ŚŚ. is uninterpretable.

*ā te garbho yonim etu* (AG. *aitu*) AG. ApMB. HG : *ā te yonim garbha etu* AV ŚG. *ā yonim garbha etu te* AV : *ā garbha yonim etu te* ApMB HG. The preceding *ā* proves AG. secondary *arṣu* (AŚ *eṣu*) *dyumnam svar yamāi* AV AŚ. ŚŚ Perhaps misprint in AŚ, as Whitney on AV. suggests.

*etat te agne rādha aiti* (MS. KS. *eti*) *somacyutam* TS. MS KS.

*grhān aima* (LŚ. HG *emi*) . . AV. VS. LŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG.

*abhyaiḥ* (SV. *abhyeti*) *na ojasā spardhamānā* RVKh. SV. VS

§712. Miscellaneous cases:

*he 'lavo he 'lavo* ŚB. : *haiḥ haiḥ* ŚBK. Interjections.

*mā bheh* VS. TS. ŚB. TB KŚ. ApŚ. *mā bhair* MS KS. MŚ. Aorist verb forms, see VV I p 129, and next.

*mā bher mā* . . VS. VSK. TS. ŚB : *mā bhair mā* . . . MS KS. See prec. *uṣṇeṇa vāya* (ApMB. *vāyav*) *udakenehi* (SMB. GG *\*nandhi*, MG. *vāyur udakenet*) AV. AG. SMB GG. PG. ApMB. MG. See §122; and on the MG. form, VV I p 87.

*uttamam nākam* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB *uttame nāke*) *adhi rohayemam* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *\*yainam*, TA. *\*rohēnam*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. Pronouns *īmam*: *enam*



*tatra rayiṣṭhām anu sambharatām* (MŚ °retām, AŚ. °bhavatām) TB  
AŚ ApŚ MŚ. In TB ApŚ fusion of *sambhara* and *etam*, in the  
others dual verb forms

*śatruhanam amīrahanam* (KS *śatru° asī śatruhanam*) *bhrātṛvyahanam*  
*asurahanam tvandram* (ApŚ text *tvendram*) *vajram sādāyām*  
KS ApŚ Here *tvendram*, if not a corruption or misprint, can  
only be a phonetic reduction of *tvandram* (*tvā + andram*)

[*endram* (TB. *andram*, but comm and Poona ed text *endram*) *acu-*  
*cyavuh* TB ApŚ]

## 6 u o

- §713. The variants under this head are relatively not numerous, and  
quite miscellaneous in character. A fair number have to do with  
ablaut in stem syllables, thus, in nouns and adjectives

*namo vah pitarah śuṣmāya* (VS ŚŚ *śoṣāya*, SMB GG KhG *śūṣāya*)  
VS VSK TS MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ SMB GG KhG See §720

*matyaḥ śrutāya* (*mahe śrotāya*) *caḥṣase* AV (both)

*ā mā stutasya stutam gamyāt* (Vait *gamet*) TS Vait *ā mā stotrasya*  
*stotram gamyāt* PB

*duṣcyavanah pṛtanāśād* (°śāl) *ayudhyah* (AV MS *ayodhyah*) RV AV  
†19 13 7c, SV VS VSK TS MS KS Gerundives

*deva gharma rucitas tvam deveṣv ā* MS *rocitas tvam deva gharma deveṣv*  
*aśi* TA Causative and simple participles Cf next

*rūcito gharmaḥ* MS KB ŚB TA etc *rocito gharma rūciya* TA Cf  
prec

*ānandā modāḥ pramudah* AV.: *ānando modah pramodah* TB *modah*  
*pramoda ānandah* TB. *mudah pramuda āsate* RV Stems (pra)mud  
and (pra)moda

*drunā* (SV *drone*) *sadhasṭham aśnuṣe* (and *āsadat*) RV SV Stems  
*dru* and *drona*

714. With these may be grouped certain other cases which are  
really lexical, and partly involve different word divisions, but which  
in their external form simulate ablaut relations

*dyumnā śloktī* (KS *śuklī*) *sa somyah* (TB *sau°*) RV AV SV MŚ KS TB  
*suṣevam somapitsaru* (TS. *sumatitsaru*) VS TS MS KS ŚB VāDh  
*suṣimam somasatsaru* AV See §180

*sumutrah soma no* (Kauś *sumano*) *bhava* RV TS MS KS ŚB KŚ  
Kauś An obvious lect fac in Kauś

§715. Ablaut relations also occur in the inflection of the verb. Variations  
between *no* and *nu* as strong and weak stems of 5th and 8th class

presents have been collected in VV I p. 185, and need not be repeated. In the radical syllable different Ablaut grades are found in perfects, and are especially frequent in aorists

*yan me mātā pralulubhe* (ApMB HG *pralulobha*) ŚG ApMB. HG. MDh

*sūryasya cakṣur āruham* (VS *āroha*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ. MŚ. Aorist and present, see VV I p. 82.

*āditya* (AV also *sūrya*) *nāvam āruḥṣah* (SMB. *ārokṣam*) AV SMB. See VV I p. 130

*amoci* (AV *amukthā*) *yakṣmād duritād avarityai* (AV. *avadyāt*) AV. TB. ApMB

*mā bher mā roṇ* (VSK *mo rōṇ*, TS *māro*) *mo ca nah* (TS. *mo eṣām*) *kim canāmamat* VS VSK TS ŚB : *mā bhair mā ruṇ mo ca* (KS. *rauṇ mā*) *nah kim canāmamat* MS KS. See VV I p. 129.

*mā dyāvāpṛthivī abhi śocīh* (TS *śūsucāh*, KS *śucāh*, MS. *hunsīh*) VS. TS MS KS ŚB. See *ibid* p. 128

*devasya* (*\*syāham*) *sanituh* . . *ruheyam* (GB. *roh*<sup>o</sup>) VS. VSK. TS. MS KS ŚB. TB GB Vait MŚ ApŚ. LŚ. See *ibid* p. 132

*sa yathā tvāṇ rucyā ruciṣṭya* (MS *rociṣṭya*) AV MS. See VV I p. 186

On the following form see VV I p. 281, the MG form is quite uninterpretable by regular grammar, and must be understood as a phonetic variant or corruption for *tiṣṭhatu*.

*antas tiṣṭhatu* (MG *\*to*) *me mano 'mṛtasya ketuh* SMB. HG. MG.

§716. In several cases, the *o* pertains to the genitive ending of noun stems in *u*, either as independent words or in composition.

*vasuh* (TS ApMB *vasoh*) *sūnuh sahaso apsu rājā* RV. VS TS MS. KS ApMB. Nom and gen forms, the former an adjective, the latter a noun ('son of Vasu, of Strength' etc.)

*dyumattamā supratikasya sūnoh* (AV *\*tīkah sasūnuh*) AV. VS. TS. MS KS ŚB. See §189

*āyuskrte* (ApŚ *āyoṣ*<sup>o</sup>) *svāhā* KS. ApŚ. Both 'maker of life'.

*vāyosāntra* (TS p p *\*trah*, MS *vāyusavitṛbhyām*) *āgomuḡbhyām caruh* (MS *payah*) TS MS KSA. TPr 6. 8 explains *vāyo*<sup>o</sup> by *vāyusavitṛbhyām*, it is a secondary adj. in suffix *a*, and evidently the *o* is due to influence of the genitive form *vāyos*, cf *agner agneyāny* etc., §692

*uror ā no* (VS ŚB LŚ *pururāvno*) *deva riṣas pāhi* VS TS MS KS. ŚB TB LŚ. See §371a

*mādhu reto* (TS *madhor ato*, KS † *madhur ato*) *mādhavaḥ pātv asmān* TS MS KS AŚ. See §837

§717 The stem *puru* in composition varies with *puro*, for *puras*, cf below, §721

*samdhātā samdhum* (MS °*dhur*) *maghavā purūvasuh* (TA ApMB MS p p *puro*°, MS text *puru*°) RV. AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB *puru viśvāni jūrvaṇ* RV *puro rakṣānsi nījūrvaṇ* AV

§718. Twice the *o* is due to a prefixed *ā*, cf §§694, 698, 711

*obhe prnāsi* (TS *ubhe prnalṣi*) *rodasī* RV TS MS . *prnalṣi rodasī* *ubhe* RV SV VS KS ŚB

*ā yā dyām* (MS *divam*) *bhāsy ā prthivīm orv* (KS *urv*) *antarikṣam* VS TS MS KS ŚB

§719. The remaining variants are miscellaneous, and certainly for the most part lexical. The first may be some sort of phonetic variant *sajūr devair vayoṇādhah* (MS MŚ *vayu*°) VS TS MS KS. ŚB MŚ *vayunā-dha* is certainly a compound of *vayuna*, *vayo*° is ordinarily taken as a cpd of *vayas* with a derivative of *nah*, which seems highly improbable. The form is difficult and may be based on *vayuna-* with a phonetic alteration, perhaps due to some obscure analogy

*ye devā manojātā* (MS KS MŚ *manu*°) *manoyujah* (KS *manu*°, ViDh *manuyujah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB BDh ViDh ApŚ Stems *manas* and *manu*

*agnir havyānumanyatām* (MŚ *havyā no man*°) TB ApŚ MŚ

*pra nu* (TA. ApMB HG *nu*, Kauś *no* with all mss but one, and the two paddhatis, but probably read *nu*) *vocam cikītuṣe janāya* RV TA SMB Kauś GG ApMB HG MG

*pra nu vocam* (ArŚ *no vaco*) *vidathā jātavedasah* (ArŚ °*se*) RV ArŚ *yas te stanah śaśayo* (AV ° *yur*) *yo mayobhūh* RV AV VS MS AB ŚB TA BrhU AŚ Equivalent stems, *śaśaya* °*yu*

*yā coditā yā ca noditā* (TA *yā cānuditā*) MS TA *na-uditā an-uditā yatheyam strī pautram agham na rodāt* SMB PG ApMB HG *yathedam strīpautram aganma rudriyāya* MG See §801

*agnaye tvā mahyam* . *āyur* (MS *mayo*) *dātra* VS VSK MS ŚB ŚŚ Near-synonyms

*rudrānām urvyāyām* (ApŚ *ūrmyāyām*, ŚŚ *omyāyām*) ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ See §228

*śidanto vanuṣo yathā* RV SV LŚ . *śidantu manuṣo yathā* RV See §227 *harma kṛvantu* (MŚ °*to*) *mānuṣāh* AV MŚ The MŚ form can only be construed as a participle hanging in the air, without finite verb. It is really a phonetic variation

[*ato* (TB *tato*) *no rudrā uta vā* †*nv* (Cone *no*, TB *nw*, Poona ed *'nu*, comm *anu*) *asṣa* RV TB]

## 7 ū o

§720. The majority of variants in this group concern forms which resemble shifts of ablaut, but only partially are the forms in question really related to each other in this way. Some, such as *jyotis* and *jūti*, are quite unrelated words but quasi-synonyms. Others are wholly obscure, and while the change of vowel is probably due to some sort of phonetic consideration, the precise nature of it is problematic. One is tempted to think of the fact that in some Prakrit dialects *u* is a phonetic shortening of *o*, implying that the relation of *o* to *u* is not far from the same as that of *ū* to *u* (cf Pischel, *Gram d Pkt Sprachen* §84).

*abhi tyam devam savitāram onyoh* (TS *ūnyoh*) *kavikratum* AV SV VS TS MS KS KB AB ŚB AdB AŚ ŚŚ. The isolated TS stem *ūni* must mean the same as the regular *oni*.

*namo vah pitarah śuśmāya* (VS ŚŚ *śośāya*, SMB GG KhG *śūśāya*) VS VSK TS MS KS T. AŚ. ŚŚ SMB GG KhG. Comm on SMB *śūśa rti balanāma*.

*sam pūṣā* (ApŚ. adds *sam dhātā*, MS.\* *poṣā*) *sam bṛhaspatih* (KS *dhātā*) AV MS (bis) KS ApŚ *poṣā* is either a textual corruption or due to the analogy of guna before of root *puṣ*. The mantra is repeated in fragments in a Brāhmaṇa passage immediately following its quotation with *poṣā*, and in the Brāhmaṇa *pūṣā* is read Cf next.

*api* (PG. *iha*) *pūṣa n śīdatu* (AV ŚŚ \**ti*) AV ŚŚ (bis) LŚ SMB PG HG *rāyas poṣo n śīdatu* ApMB ApŚ Cf prec; *rāyas poṣo* is here evidently secondary, but sensible.

*kukūnanānām* (KS *kūlanānām*, MS *pūtanānām*) *tvā*. VS MS KS ŚB *lotanāsu* TS. Wholly obscure words.

*yamasya pātūrah* (KSA *pālo*°) TS KSA. *yamyai pātūrah* TS *yamyāh pātūrah* KSA. Uncertain part of the horse's body.

*aṅgośinam* (RV *āṅgūśānām*) *avāvaśanta vānīh* RV SV Cf §490 and next.

*aṅgośinam* (RV *āṅgūśyam*) *pavamānam sakhāyah* RV SV Cf prec.

*mano jyotiṣ* (VS ŚB LŚ *jūtīṣ*) *juṣatām āgyasya* (TS TB Vait *āgyam*, AŚ *āgyam me*) VS VSK TS MS. KS ŚB TB AŚ Vait LŚ. KS ApŚ MŚ. Unrelated words but quasi-synonyms.

*dīvo jyotiṣ* (KS \**tiṣ*) *vivasva* (MS *devajūte vivasvann*) MS KS. *vivasvān aditī devajūtiṣ* TS.

§721. The stem *purū*, for *puru* in composition, varies with *puro* for *purās*, in the first variant quoted in §717, q v, and also in *tam sakhāyah purorucam* (SV *purū*°) RV SV.

§722. The *o* is due to a prefixed *ā*, cf. §718 etc.:

*yat kīm cānṛtam odima* (TA *ūdima*) MS TA

*yad vācānṛtam odima* (TB TA *ūdima*) MS TB TA

*devatrā haryam ūhiṣe* (RV *ohiṣe* and *ohire*) RV. SV. TB. A complicated case, on which see *RVRep* 131 f, VV I p 237 f.

§723. The rest are miscellaneous

*amo 'ham asmi sā* (AB *sa*) *tvam* AV KS AB. ŚB BrhU. JUB AG ŚG Kauś PG MG *amūham asmi sā tvam* TB ApŚ ApMB HG : *sā* (AB *sa*) *tvam asy amo 'ham* (ŚB BrhU. PG. *aham*, ApMB *amūham*, MG *asy āpy amo 'ham*) KS AB JUB ŚB BrhU. AG ŚG PG. ApMB MG. *amo*, for *amas*, stem *ama*; *amūham*, peculiar sandhi connecting some form of stem *amu* (*amū?* *amus*, *amūs?*) and *aham*; see Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB, p xxxii

*aṅghrinā viṣno* (KS *viṣnū*, twice; ms once *viṣnu*) *mā tvāra* (KS *vām ara*) *kramiṣam* VS KS ŚB : *agnāviṣnū mā vām ara kramiṣam* TS TB ApŚ See Von Schroeder on KS 1 12 and Keith on TS 1 1 12 1 *viṣno*, voc sing; *-viṣnū* in TS *devatādevandva*, in KS elliptic dual (note *vām* in KS.); but note also the phonetic resemblance between *aṅghrinā* and *agnā* of TS

*tapūṣy* (MS *tapobhir*) *agne juhvā palamgān* RV. VS TS MS. KS.

Different case forms of related stems *tapus* and *tapas*.

*tanūpā ye nas tanvas tanūjāḥ* AV.: *tanūpāvānas tanvas tapojāḥ* AB. AŚ *sa tū* (SV. *sato*) *dhanam kārinc na pra yansat* RV. SV.

*mā mā yūnarvā hāsīt* (JB *yono vām hārasīḥ*) PB JB. LŚ Both forms obscure

## 8. *u au*

§724. Nearly all the few variants recorded here seem to concern the *u*-*au* of secondary derivation as regards their *au* forms; but one or two of them are strange forms. (For the sornst forms *ruk*, *rok*, *rauk*, see §715, *mā bher* etc.)

*suślokyāya* (ApMB. *sau*°) *srastaye* ApMB. AG PG. MG.

*māham pautram* (KBU. *putryam*) *agham rudam* (AG. *niyām*, read *nigām*, with SMB \*; SMB \**nigām*, \**riṣam*) AG. SMB ApMB HG. KBU.

*ulūkhālā* (ApMB *au*°) *grāvāṇo ghoṣam akrata* (MG. *akurrata*) ApMB HG. MG : *aulūkhālāḥ sampravadanī grāvāṇaḥ* SMB.

*udbhinnam* (ApŚ *audbhidyam*) *rājñah* MS ApŚ

*āśir ṇa* (*nā*, *ma*) *ūrjam ula suprajāstram* (AV. *sau*°) AV. TS MS. KS KŚ Whitney rightly calls the AV. form 'anomalous'.

*kumbhīnasah* (KSA *laum*<sup>o</sup>) *puṣkarasādo lohītāḥ te tvāṣṭrāḥ* TS. KSA.

Here, as in the last, it is hard to account for the *vriddhi*, the meaning seems to be the same as that of the primary noun

*vāce krauñicah* (VS *kruñicah*) VS TS. MS KSA Again the two forms are apparently synonyms In this case the form with *vriddhi* is commoner, at least in the later language The origin and primary form of the word are unknown

*dyusamantasya ta ādityo 'nuhkyātā* BDh : *dyauh samā tasyāditya upadraṣṭā* . . HG See §833

*vyam eva sā yā prathamā vyarūchat* (ŚG *vyuchat*) AV TS. MS KS TB.

ApŚ ŚG HG ApMB Augmented and augmentless forms.

*vy uchā* (and, *aucho*) *duhitar divah* RV SV (both in each). As prec.

### 9 ū au

§725. Here we find, first, a number of cases concerning *vriddhi* of secondary derivation

*ṭandrasūrāḥ śyetalalāmās* (KSA *ṭandrasaurāḥ ṭśyāmalalāmās*) *tūparāḥ* TS KSA

*pauṣno* (VSK *pūṣā*) *viṣpandamāne* (sc *mahāvīrah*) VS VSK.

*svarmaurdhnyāya svāhā* KS . *svarmūrdhā vairyāṣano vyaśyann* . . MS.

*dhruvāya bhūmāya* (PG *bhau*<sup>o</sup>) *svāhā* TA MahānU. PG.

*ūrvaiḥ* ŚŚ Vait *aurvaiḥ* LŚ With both sc *pitṛbhiḥ*

§726. There are several variants of the participles *dhūta* and *dhautā*, from roots *dhu*(*dhū*) and *dhāv* 'rinse', which are no doubt related in origin tho they are kept distinct in the history of the language

*nṛbhir dhūtaḥ* (SV *dhautah*) *suto aśvaiḥ* RV SV.

*nṛbhir dhūto* (SV *dhautā*) *vicakṣanaḥ* RV SV.

*apsu dhautasya* (AŚ ŚŚ *dhū*<sup>o</sup>) TS MS KS PB AŚ ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*apsu dhūto* (SV *dhautam*) *nṛbhiḥ sutāḥ* (SV *sutam*) RV. SV

§727. In one case the *au* is due to prefixing of the augment.

*praty aukatām* (MS *ūh*<sup>o</sup>) *aśvinā mṛtyum asmāt* (AV. *asmāt*) AV. TS VS. MS. KS TAA.

### 10 o au

§728. Here again the largest group concerns the *vriddhi* of secondary derivation

*dyumnā śloki* (KS *śukli*) *sa somyah* (TB *sau*<sup>o</sup>) RV AV SV MS KS TB

*namo mauñjyāyormyāya vasuvindāya* GDh *namo mauñjyāyaur-myāya* Svidh

*yat somyasyāndhaso* (ApMB *sau*<sup>o</sup>) *bubodhati* RV. ApMB.

*juṣantām somyam* (TB *sau*<sup>o</sup>) *madhu* VS MS TB.

*somaindrā* (KSA *†saumendrā*) *babhrulālāmās tūparāh* TS KSA  
*somāpauṣṇāh* (KSA *sau°*) *śyāmalālāmās tūparāh* TS KSA  
*yadī somasyāsi rūññāh somāt* Kauś *yadī saumy asī somāt* AG  
 Rvidh *yady asī saumī somāya* GG  
*caurasyānnam* (TAA BDh *cor°*) *navāśrāddham* TAA MahānU VīDh.  
 BDh

[*tvam rauhinam* (AV misquoted *roh°* in Conc) *vyāsyah* AV ŚŚ]

§729. Several times the two diphthongs interchange in the radical syllable of aorist stems

*mā* (VS ŚB add *vayam*) *rūyaspoṣena vī yauṣma* VS MS ŚB *māham*  
*rāy° vī yoṣam* TS. KS TA ApŚ.

*iharva ślam mā vī yauṣṭam* (ApMB *yoṣṭam*) RV AV ApMB  
*mā bher mā* etc, see §715

§730. Once the *au* form is due to prefixed *ā*, cf §722 etc  
*ā no* (VS ŚB *mā*) *goṣu vīśatv ā tanūṣu* (TS *auṣadhīṣu*, MS *oṣadhīṣu*)  
 VS TS MS KS ŚB

§731. A few cases, not all textually certain, concern the elision of *a* before *o* instead of fusion. These are parallel to the similar cases of *e* at, §709, q v

*upayāmam adharenauṣṭhena* (TS *°noṣṭhena*, KSA *adharoṣṭhena*) VS TS  
 MS KSA See TPr 10 14

*sahc ojah* (VS *sahaujah*, VSK *sahojah*) VS VSK AB GB AŚ Vait  
 Adverb *saha* plus *ojah* in VS VSK, the latter with irregular  
*sandhi*, the other texts *sahas + ojah*

*ya āvveṣoṣadhīr* (MS *°lauṣadhīr*) *yo vanaspatīn* AV MS There is a  
 v 1 *°auṣadhīr* in AV, which Whitney adopts in the text

[*sukurīrā svaupaśā* VS TS KS ŚB *sukarīrā svopaśā* MS But several  
 mss and p p of MS *svaup°*, which should probably be read in the  
 text The second part of the cpd is certainly *opaśā*, and the first  
 probably *sva*, tho it is sometimes assumed to be *su*, doubtless this  
 was Von Schroeder's assumption when he printed *svopaśā* in MS]

§732. Miscellaneous

*asihūrī nau* (*nau*, *no*, *no*) etc, see §950 Dual and plural pronouns *nau*  
 and *no* (*nas*)

[*ye ke cobhayādātah* (TA *cau°*, Poona ed correctly *co°*) RV VS TA  
*ye ca ke cobhayādātah* AV]

*anupauhva* (ApMB *anu po 'hva*) *anupahvayet* (ApMB *anuhvayah*)  
 HG ApMB The ApMB surely means *po* for *vo*, comm says *p*  
 is 'chāndasa' for *v*, cf Winternitz, p xxi The HG seems to  
 intend a form containing *upa*, but it is corrupt and obscure

*devī dvārau* (Vait *devīr dvāro*) *mā mā samtāptam* TS AŚ Vait The dual verb shows that the plural of Vait is impossible

*sūryo rūpam kṛnute dyor* (MS *dyaur*) *upasthe* RV AV VS MS TB

Only a gen can be construed here On *dyauh* as abl-gen see Wackernagel, III p 224, *infra*

*yavādhi sūra udito vibhāhi* (TS *udītau vyeti*) RV VS VSK TS Others, §63

*mā tvā nī kran pūrvacito* (AV °*cittā*, MS °*cittau*) *nikārinah* AV VS TS MS KS See §399

*imau* (Kauś *yau*) *te pakṣāv* (VSK MS KS °*ṣā*) *ajarau palatrinau* (VSK TS † KS °*no*—so all texts, before following sonant) VS VSK. TS MS KS ŚB Kauś Nom dual gen sing

# 11 'Samprasārana', *i(ṛ)* *ya*, *yā*, and the like

§733. We have already referred in §§656 ff to the phenomena of so-called samprasārana as they concern *r* in variation with *ra*, *rā* Similar exchanges occur between *i* and *ya*, but in almost every case they concern morphologically or lexically independent forms There is hardly a trace among them of the genuine ablaut relations that exist in such roots as *yaṣ* *ij*, etc The phonetic importance of these variants is therefore secondary and contributory They show that fluctuation occurred between such sounds or sound-groups, and so tend to support the ablaut relations of *i* *yā* as a live factor in the language Indeed so live was this factor that it was capable of producing secondary and analogical developments where it did not belong historically, as in the following case, which is the most interesting of all these variants from the phonetic standpoint

*agne yat te tejas tena tam prāti titigdhī* (KS *tityagdhī*, AV *tam atejasam kṛnu*) AV MS KS ApŚ For the 'adventurous' *tityagdhī*, from root *tij* but apparently influenced in form by thought of *tyaj* or the like, see VV I p 191

§734. All our other variants are morphologically or lexically quite independent, except possibly the following

*prapīnam* (MŚ v 1 °*am*, TS ApŚ *prapyātām*) *agne sarīrasya* (MŚ *śakīlasya*) *madhye* VS TS KS ApŚ MŚ The 'roots' *pī* and *pyā* are ultimately one

*yatrāsate sukrīto yatra te yayuh* (AV *ta iyrūh*) RV AV VS ŚB TA 'Roots' *yā* and *i*, the latter form here metrically poor

*vikīrda* (KS. °*da*, VS °*dra*, MS *vyakṛda*) *vilohita* VS TS MS KS It is barely possible that the first syllable of this obscure epithet of



Rudra may show a variation which properly belongs here; but nothing is really known of the word

*agne devānām ava heda iyakṣva* (KS *ikṣva*) KS ApŚ *iyakṣva* is a desiderative from *yaj*; possibly for metrical reasons, KS presents a sort of contraction of it, which in VV I p 123 we have doubtfully classed as a root present

*dhanāni śakro dhanyah* (AŚ. *dhanīh*) *surūdhāh* TB AŚ The reduction of the commonplace adjective *dhanyah* to the monstrous *dhanīh* can only be a phonetic corruption or blunder (or should we read *dhanī*, from *dhanin*?).

§735. Of the lexical variants, several concern monosyllabic forms like *id*, *im*, varying with *yad*, *yam*; or the like.

*apām payasvad it* (KS *yat*) *payah* RV KS *-apām payaso yat payah* AV. TS. TB MŚ

*gomān id* (SV. *yad*) *indra te sakhā* RV SV

*muṣkāv id* (VSK °*kā id*, LŚ °*kau yad*) *asyā ejatah* AV. VS VSK ŚŚ LŚ

*matram na yam* (TB *im*) *śmyā goṣu gavyavah* (TB °*vat*) RV TB

*samyak* (TS MS TAA ApŚ \* MŚ *sam it*, KS \* *sarīt*, all mss) *śravanī sarito* (TAA. °*tā*, Poona ed °*to*) *na dhenāh* RV VS TS MS KS \* ŚB TAA KŚ ApŚ \* MŚ

*yadī tvam atra* (Vait *tvam tatra*) *manasā jagantha* VS AŚ ŚŚ Vait . *yad-yat tvam atra manasānuveltha* LŚ

*itī cid dhi* (AV. \**yadī cin nu*) *tvā dhanā jayantām* RV AV (both)

§736. In others the variation is accounted for by the presence or absence of the augment or a particle or the preposition *ā* before a verb form or derivative noun, and after a preposition ending in *i* :

*mā dhenur atyāsārīṇī* (HG *atīśā*) HG ApMB. The true reading is manifestly that of ApMB, HG has a phonetic reduction (it should mean 'having diarrhea')

*yajña pratīṣṭha sumatau suśevāh* TB ApŚ *yajñah pratyāṣṭhāt* (v 1 *praty u ṣṭhāt*) KS *yajñah praty u ṣṭhāt sumatau matinām* MŚ

*toyena jīvān jṛṣasārja* (TA. text *vya ca sarja*, comm v 1 *vyasasārja*) *bhūmyām* TA MahānU The only possible reading in TA is *vyasasārja*, which is itself anomalous enough, see VV I p 140

*abhyāṣikṣi rājābhām* (ApŚ °*bhūvam*) MS ApŚ *abhiṣikṣa rājābhuvam* (v 1 °*bhūvam*) MŚ

§737. Stems or endings in *i* varying with extensions in *(y)a*  
*agnir gṛhapatinām* (MS KS *gārhapatyānām*) VS TS MS KS ŚB  
*sūpasthā asī vānaspatyah* MŚ *sūpasthā devo vanaspatih* TS  
*ye 'gnayah purīṣyāh* (*purīṣinah*), and others, see §907

*antimitraś* (FS *antya*°) *dūre-amitraś* (MS 'mitraś) *ca ganah* VS. TS.

MS KS. Both probably mean 'having near friends', *anti* and adj *antya*. Weber and Keith follow the comm on TS in dividing *anti-amitraś*, 'with foes within,' which is less plausible

*agnir havyam* (RV KS. *havih*) *śamitā sūdayāti* (AV *svadayatu*) RV AV. VS. TS MS. KS

*ahāh śarīram* (TB *ahāc char*°) *payasā samehi* (TB °*tya*) TB Vait (also AVPpp) The correct reading is doubtless the gerund *samehya*; the 3d sing *samehi* may almost be considered a case of genuine 'Samprasāraṇa'. Cf VV I p 164

*kim it te viṣṇo paricakṣyam bhūt* (SV *paricakṣi nāma*) RV SV TS MS N. The SV form is scarcely interpretable (see Benfey's *Glossar* for two suggestions), and is probably a sort of phonetic corruption of the other.

*tāh prācyā* (°*yah*, *prācīr*) . ., see §387. Equivalent case-forms; others will be found in the volume on Noun Inflection

§738. Remoter lexical variants and corruptions

*satyam vadanty anv icha* (KS *anu yacha*) *elat* TS KS PG *anu-iṣ* 'seek after': *anu-yam* 'follow'

*yebhūr viśvam* (SV. *vy aśvam*) *arayaḥ* RV. SV *Vy aśvam* doubtless a corruption, favored by this sort of phonetic shift Benfey takes *aśva* as a proper name

*anyām icha pūrṣadam vyaktām* (ApMB *vittām*) RV ApMB. *jāmim icha pūrṣadam nyaktām* (read °*tām*) AV *vittām* is certainly secondary. Note that in *jāmim* *anyām* we also have a kind of samprasāraṇa in the final syllable

*acittapājā* (TA *acyuta*°) *agnūt* MS TA. ŚŚ. Also. *acittamanā* (TA *acyuta*°) *upavaktā*, same texts Here *yu:* *i* vary, cf the second variant in §736, and next

*bhujyuh* (MS. *bhujī*) *suparno yajño gandharvah* VS TS MS KS ŚB. *yu:* *i*, cf prec

*pāhi mā didyoh* (TS. TB *mādyā dwah*) VS. TS ŚB. TB.

*ayam yo 'si* (MŚ. *yo asya*) *yasya ta idam śirah* KS ApŚ MŚ. The latter certainly secondary

*yena bhūyaś ca rātryām* (ApMB. *carāty ayam*, MG *caraty ayam*, PG *bhūrīś carā divam*) AG PG. ApMB MG See §61

12 Samprasāraṇa. *u(ū)* *va*, *vā*, and the like.

§739. Here, as in the preceding division, there are very few purely phonetic variants, almost all of them involve lexical or morphological divergences The most clearly phonetic cases are

*svar* (KhG. *sur*) *abhivyakhyam* KS ApŚ GG KhG : *svar abhivyakhyam* (MS MŚ \**kśam*) *jyotir vaiśvānaram* MS KS MŚ *sur* is certainly for *sar*, cf. the Dhātupāṭha root *sur* 'shine'

*katī dhāmāni katī ye vivāsāh* MS . *Lo asyā dhāma katadhā vyūṣṭih* AV. Different ablaut grades of the root *vas* 'shine'

*agnir havyam* (RV. KS *harah*) *śamitā sūdayātī* (AV. *svadayatu*) RV. AV VS TS MS KS The roots *sūd* and *svad* are distinct historically, but no doubt related prehistorically

*agnir havyāni sūśadat* RV . *agnir havyā sūśadati* RV.

*ayā no yajñam vahāsi* KŚ . *ayasā havyam ūhise* ApŚ ApMB HG And others; see §502 Related roots *vah* and *ūh*

And similarly in suffixal elements.

*vidyullekheva bhāsarā* (MahānU *bhāsurā*, v I *bhāsvarā*) TA MahānU Both these stems are familiar adjectives

*madhūntamānām* (VSK *madhvant*°, MS *madughānām*) *tṛā patmann ādhūnomi* VS VSK ŚB MS The VS form is a kind of superlative to *madhu*, modeled upon *madin-tama*, which occurs in the preceding formula The VSK. form is a variation on the other, suggested by suffixal forms in *van(t)*

*sugantuh karma karanah kariṣyan* JB.. *sugam tvah karmah karanah karasyuh* LŚ So the printed ed of LŚ, BR read *sugantvah* 'leicht gangbar', but no \**gantva* is recorded The text is evidently very corrupt.

§740. Several times the AV. presents the word *abhiśastipā(h)*, 'protector against imprecation', followed by the particle *u*, while other texts read *abhiśastipārā*, as nom. of a suffixal form in *-van*; cf. Lanman's note in Whitney on AV 19 24 5, which suggests that AV. is secondary *bhavā kṛṣṭinām* (AV. *gr*°) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV. °*pā u*) AV. PG ApMB HG. *abhūr grṣṭinām* (AV. \**vaśānām* in text, mss *v āpīnām*, HG *āpīnām*,

ApMB *āpīnām*) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV. °*pā u*) AV. HG. ApMB *rṣṭinām putro abhiśastipāvā* (AV. °*pā u*) AV. VS ŚB

And similarly, the particles *vā* and *u* interchange once.

*yad vā* (RVKh *u*) *devī sarasvatī* AV RVKh

§741. The prefix *su* exchanges a number of times with the stem *sva* in composition, just as both of them exchange with *sa* (§§364, 612) *nāraś caranti svasica iyānāh* VS TS ŚB.: *nāvo vīyanti susico na iānāh* MS. KS

*imam yajñam sudhayā ye yajante* (KS *dadante*) KS AŚ . *imam ca yajñam sudhayā dadante* MS . *ya imam yajñam svadhayā dadante* (ŚŚ *bhajante*) VS. TS ŚŚ

*sugā* (TS ApŚ *svagā*) *vo devāḥ sadanā* (TS N. *sadanam*) *akarma* (MS *kṛnomi*, KS *Kauś* ApŚ *sadanāni sanlu*, KS *devās sadanedam astu*)  
AV VS. TS MS. KS ŚB KS *Kauś* ApŚ N

*sunūti svayaśastaram* (SV *su°*) RV. SV.

*avabhṛthaś ca svagākāraś* (KS *su°*) *ca* MS KS. So the one ms of KS ;  
but ed em *svagā°*, no doubt rightly; cf. *ava° ca me svagā° ca me*,  
in Conc

*ekayā ca daśabhiś ca svabhūte* (AV *cā suhūte*) AV. VS MS ŚB TA AŚ.  
ŚŚ See §119

*pryāny aṅgāni svadhūtā parūṅsi* (Vait *aṅgā sukṛtā purūni*) TB. Vait  
§742. The rest are sporadic lexical variants

*urudrapso viśvarūpa induh* TS ApŚ : *purudasmo viśurūpa* (KS *°das-*  
*mavad viśvarūpam*) *induh* VS KS. ŚB KS Other cases of *viśu-*  
*viśva* in §291

*dhūmrā babhrunūkāśāḥ pūrnām somavatām* VS : *pitṛbhyo barhiṣadbhyo*  
*dhūmrān babhrvanūkāśān* ApŚ *babhru + nūkāśa* (*anūkāśa*)

*brahmādhiguplah* (PG *brahmābhi°*) *svārā kṣarāni* (PG *surakṣitah syām*)  
*svāhā* AG PG *brahmādhigūrtam svarākṣānah* (most mss *svārārak-*  
*ṣānah*) MG For AG Stenzler says: 'moge ich Lieder ergiessen'.

*asmān* (MS KS *asmān*) *u devā avalā haveṣu* (MS KS *bhareṣv ā*) RV.  
SV. VS TS MS KS *asmān devāso †vatā haveṣu* AV

*svādhyo* (TB *°dhiyo*) *vidathe apsu jījanan* (TB *apsv ay°*) RV. TB  
*purutrā te manutām* (AV *vanvatām*, comm *vanutām*) *viśhṛtam jagat*  
RV AV. VS TS MS KSA N Sing. plur ; see VV I p 266

*indrak* (ŚŚ. *°as*) *patih tuviṣṭamo* (AA. ŚŚ *tavastamo*) *janeṣv ā* (ŚŚ *janeṣu*)  
AV AA ŚŚ

*ā yāhi* (and, *ā no yāhi*) *tapasā janeṣu* (ŚŚ. *°ṣv ā*, MS *janiṣva*) MS. AB  
AŚ. ŚŚ See §§693, 826

§743. A number of times, in lexical or morphological variants, *vi* or  
*vī* is found varying with *u* or *ū*

*vidyutām* (PG MG *udyatām*) *va sūryah* ŚŚ AG. PG MG

*adyā kṛnuhi vītaye* (SV. *°hy ūtaye*) RV. SV.: *nrvat kṛnuhi vītaye* (SV.  
*°hy ūtaye*) RV SV The variation may also be considered one  
between *yū* and *vī* (§805)

*achudrām pārayiṣṇum* (SMB *°yṣṇvīm*) TS SMB Fem acc of *u* stem  
*dṛśāno rukma urvyā* (RV. KS *urvyā*, MS *uruyā*) *vy adyaut* (MS *vi*  
*bhāt*) RV VS TS MS. KS ŚB. ApMB Cf. §791, and next  
variant The form *uruyā* seems to be characteristic of MS  
*caḥṣur ma urvyā* (KS *urvyā*, MS *uruyā*) *vi bhāhi* VS TS MS KS ŚB  
Cf. prec.

*dhīṣaṇe vidū (vidvī)* . . , and others, see §169

*yatrādhi sūra udito vibhāh* (TS *udītau vyeti*) RV VS. VSK TS : *yasminn adhi vitatah sūra eti* MS KS : *yasyāsau sūro vitato mahitvā* AV  
See §63

### 13 *aya*·*e* and the like

§744. On this general subject see Bloomfield, *AJP* 5. 27 ff ; Wackernagel I p 53 f It is clearly Prakritic in character. The variants are few, and mostly capable of different lexical or morphological explanations. Perhaps the only purely phonetic variant is the following, the MS form is not otherwise recorded and is reasonably supposed to be merely a dialectic form of the other

*namah kīṣīlāya ca kṣayanāya* (MS *kṣenāya*) *ca* VS TS MS KS  
Epithet of land

§745. In several verb forms we find the same variation, where the *aya* forms may (with more or less forcing) be explained as causatives, or as 1st class presents, the alternative forms being derived from the non-causative, or from root-class presents, but undoubtedly the phonetic tendency in question is involved in them:

*arejētām* (TB *arejayatām*) *rodasī pājasā girā* RV TB Cf VV I p. 154; a sort of hyper-Sanskritism in TB., which spoils the meter

*uttamam nākam* (VS MS KS ŚB *uttame nāke*) *adhī rohayemam* (VS MS. KS ŚB °*yaynam*, TA *rohēnam*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA  
See VV I p 152 The contracted form of TA is unmetrical

*sed u rājā kṣayati* (TB *kṣeti*) *carṣaṇīnām* RV. MS TB The contracted form is again unmetrical Cf VV I p 123

*agnir* (also *vāyur*, *prajāpatiṛ* etc) *dīkṣitah* . . . *dīkṣayatu* (JB *dīkṣeta*) JB. ApŚ See VV I §160

§746. Otherwise we find a few miscellaneous cases, concerning noun inflection or particles:

*pibāt somam mamadad* (AŚ ŚŚ. °*mam amadann*) *enam iṣṭe* (AŚ. ŚŚ *iṣṭayah*) AV. AŚ ŚŚ See VV I p 88

*tasyed* (AV *tasya yad*) *āhuh pippalam svāde agre* RV AV The AV expansion is hypermetric, according to Whitney, Ppp agrees with RV

§747. As showing analogous tendencies, we append a miscellaneous group of cases of variation between *e(ai)* and *avi*, *ayi*, *iye*, *iya*, *ā-yā* For *e*·*ya*, *yā*, see §803.

*samsrāvabhūgā* (VS ŚB. *samsrava*°, MS °*gāh*, KS. Kauś °*gās*) *stheṣā* (Kauś *tanṣā*) *bṛhantah* VS. TS MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. See §96

TS. p p *s̥ha*, *iṣāh*; and accordingly Keith, 'well-nourished'; but this is implausible. The original doubtless means *s̥ha iṣā* 'ye are great by food'; Kauś, 'by strength'.

*tebhyo ghṛtasya kulyāntu* (TA *dhārayntum*) AV. TA. The AV. form intends *kulyā-etu*; TA suggests *dhārayntu* (*dhārā-etu*) as an intermediate stage between AV and its secondary reading

*āruroha tve sacā* (KS *twayy api*) KS TB AŚ. Vait ApŚ MŚ

*revati predhā yajñapatim ā vīśa* MS. KS.: *revati yajamāne priyam dhā ā vīśa* VS. ŚB.: *revatīr yajñapatim priyadhānvīśata* TS. ApŚ. The old adverb *predhā* (doubtless original), 'kindly', becomes *priyadhā* in TS, and this is further broken up into *priyam dhāh*, 'establish the pleasant', in VS

*vi dhūmam agne aruṣam mīyedhya* (MS *medhya*) RV VS TS. MS ŚB.

TA *mīyedha* and *medha*, both RV, are synonyms, it is a disputed question whether there is any ultimate relation between them.

*agnir devebhyah sundatriyebhyah* (TA *sundatrebhyah*) RV AV TA N.

In the original form *°datriyebhyah* stands for *°datriyebhyah* (suffix *ya*). *pratravebhyah* (TA *pratrebhyah*) *svāhā* MS TA. The correct reading is certainly that of MS; *pratrava* in the soma ritual means the 'echo-hole', otherwise called *uparava*. TA comm *pratrebhyo 'bhuvāddhīhetubhyah prānadevebhyah* (as if *pra-tira* 'extending' [life]). *ā yāta* (SMB GG ViDh *eta*) *pitarah somyāsah* (HG *somyāh*) AV SMB GG HG ViDh *ā-yā* and *ā-i*, synonyms

Compare the interesting case *agnim* (SV *agnim u*) *śreṣṭhaśociṣam* RV SV, see §843

#### 14. *ava*: *o* and the like

§748. See the references quoted in §744. The variants are even fewer than those concerning *aya* and *e*. The most clearly phonetic instance shows the peculiar pronominal genitive form *to* (Wackernagel p 54)

*to-to* (MS KS MŚ *tava-tava*, TS ApŚ *to-te*) *rāyah* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB KS ApŚ MŚ

§749. Other stray cases which involve the same phonetic tendency. *yatra yanti srotyās* (KS *sravatyas*) *taj jitam te* AV. TS MS. KS. The fuller form of KS improves the meter. RV. knows the stems *srotyā* (found here) and *sravantī* = KS *sravatī*, both meaning 'stream'. But note that several mss of KS read *sravatyās*, which points to a hyper-Sanskritic form based on *srotyās*.

*sā nah priyā supratātīr maghonī* TS.: *sā nah supratātīh priyā nah*

*suhār naḥ priyavanūr maghavanūr antā ehi* MS In TS the regular fem of *maghavan*, based on the weak stem *maghon-*, in MS an *v*-extension of the strong stem

*svāhā tvā subhava* (VSK TS ApŚ °*vah*, KS *subho*) *sūryāya* VS VSK TS MS KŚ KB ŚB ApŚ The KS probably has really a phonetic contraction, but may be understood as from stem *su-bhu* (-*bhū*), parallel to -*bhava*(s)

*anābho mṛda dhūrte* (read °*ta* with some mss of MS and all of MŚ) MS MŚ *anārbhava mṛda* KS ApŚ Cf p w 5 Nachträge, s v Possibly here also forms of root *bhū* may be involved, as in the last, but the readings are very obscure Epithets of Rudra KS ms reads *anānbhava*, KapS *anār*°

§750. We append a stray lexical variant of *ava* and *ū*,

*avamaḥ ta ūrvaḥ te kāvyaḥ te pītṛbhūr bhaḥṣayāmī* PB LŚ · *ūmaiḥ pītṛbhūr bhakṣayāmī* AB ŚŚ Vait It is possible that the latter form intends *avama* 'nether', instead of *ūma* 'helper', which does not fit *pītṛbhūr* so well We should then have a sort of Prakritic reduction Caland does not translate the word in Vait

For *o va*, *vā*, see §804

## CHAPTER XVI INSERTION OR EXPULSION OF VOWELS

### 1 EPENTHESIS OF VOWEL BETWEEN TWO CONSONANTS

§751. In this chapter we shall consider mainly two kinds of variation. One, the more extensive, is the writing of *iy* for *y* and *uv* for *v*, it is, as we shall see, primarily a matter of orthography, since it occurs almost exclusively where *y* and *v* have vocalic function. The other, which we shall take up first, is epenthesis of a vowel (usually *i*) between two consonants. It is dealt with in Wackernagel I §§49–53, also, in so far as it concerns aorist verb forms containing *-rṣ-* or *-rṣ-*, in VV I pp 189–191. As Wackernagel says (p 57), this epenthesis is clearly related to the Prakritic tendency to avoid a succession of dissimilar consonants by a similar epenthesis.

§752. In the variants it is almost always a matter of genuine epenthesis, that is insertion of a vowel which was originally absent. The older form of the variant is regularly that which lacks the vowel, and moreover in most cases the history of the word justifies the assumption that the original form of the word lacked it.

§753. Perhaps the only two cases in which beyond any question an original vowel is expelled in one form of the variant are the following, on which see VV I pp 190–1, and Wackernagel I p 60. As Wackernagel observes, the forms without the vowels are hyper-Sanskritic. They show a straining to avoid what is felt as dialectic and incorrect, carried to the point of dropping vowels which properly belong in the words *pra na* (MS *nā*, SV PB *na*) *āyūṣi tāriṣat* (VS \*TS \*KS \*ŚŚ N \* *tāriṣah*, Kauś *tāriṣat*) RV AV SV VS \*TS \*MS KS \*PB. TB TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś N\*. The Kauś form is bad metrically. *āchettā te* (TB ApŚ \* *vo*) *mā riṣam* (KS *riṣat*, MS and all mss of MŚ *mārsam*) TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ. Since the root is *riṣ*, the Matr form (to be read also in MŚ) is formally impossible, except as a purely phonetic (hyper-Sanskritic) variant for *mā riṣam*.

§754. In the next group of variants, aorists of the root *car*, both forms with and without *i* are otherwise known, but at least in two of the three cases the older forms of these particular variants show forms without *i*, so that they may also be counted as hyper-Sanskritisms.

*apo* (RV AŚ *āpo*) *adyānv* (TS TB JB ApŚ *anv*, AV *divyā*) *acāriṣam* (JB † *acārṣam*, AV *acāyṣam*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB



JB AŚ. LŚ ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB ApG MG Add to VV I §286a,  
p. 190. Note that JB. is unmetrical  
*agne vratapate vratam acārīṣam* (MS MŚ. v. 1. *acārīṣam*), VS. TS MS.  
KS.† ŚB ŚŚ. ApŚ MŚ HG  
*vratānām vratapate* (Kauś °*patayo*) *vratam acārīṣam* (MS. *acārīṣam*)  
MS. TA. Kauś

§755. The original form of *paraśu* or *parśu* is uncertain; Wackernagel §51 believes that it was *parśu*, but *paraśu* seems commoner and is apparently supported by Greek πέλκυσ. In the variant which follows the meter is indeterminate (reading *suastih*, the form *parśur* can be made to fit metrically); but note that in TS. both forms of the word occur in the same pāda, which makes *parśu* suspicious:

*paraśur* (TS *parśur*) *vedih paraśur nah svasti* (TS. °*ih*) AV. TS

§756. There are other cases in which double forms, with and without the vowel, are more or less familiar in the language generally. But it appears that in most if not all the other variants, these particular formulas originally contained the form without the vowel, so that the form with epenthesis may be regarded as secondary at least in the context considered.

§757. The vowel inserted is regularly *i*, seldom *a* or *u*. It is found commonly before or after a liquid, generally *r*, and most frequently of all between *r* and a sibilant or *h*. In addition there are a number of cases in which the epenthetic vowel *i* seems to be inserted before a labial consonant, especially *v*, this principle is not recognized in Wackernagel, nor, so far as we know, elsewhere. The insertion is as a rule injurious to the meter, to make the text metrical it has to be omitted.

§758. First, between *r* and sibilants the only certain cases except that mentioned in §755 are aorist forms. We have mentioned above those in which the vowel *i* is certainly or probably original. Those in which it is secondary are (see on them all VV I, l. c):

*yad rātrīyā* (MahānU TA v 1 *rātrīyā*) *pāpam akārīṣam* (TA v 1 *akārīṣam*) TA. MahānU

*dīteḥ putrānām adūter akārīṣam* (MS *akārīṣam*) AV MS

*tan nah parśad* (MS *parīśad*) *atī dīṣah* TS MS

*dakṣam te bhādrām ābhārīṣam* (AV *ta ugram ā bhārīṣam*) RV AV

§759. The only other case is probably no genuine variant, since the Poona ed. of TB. text and comm. reads *dhūrīṣadam*. It is therefore probably to be deleted in Wackernagel I p. 56, likewise delete there the form *dhūruṣāh-*, which is supported by only one ms. in TS 1 2 8 2; the other mss. all read *dhūrīṣāh-*.

*ghṛtapratīkam* va (TB ca) *ṛtasya dhūrṣadam* (TB. Bibl Ind. *dhūruṣadam*)  
RV TB. ApŚ.

§760. There is one variant vowel between *l* and a sibilant; most mss of MS (in three occurrences) and of MŚ. (in two) read with epenthesis *-valśā*, which should no doubt be read in all the Maitr. passages, altho Von Schroeder, for no apparent reason, reads twice *-valśā* and only once *-valśā*:

*sahasravalśā* (MS \* MŚ v l °*valśā*) *vi vāyam ruhema* RV. VS. TS MS \*  
KS ŚB TB. ApŚ MŚ The epenthetic *i* is bad metrically.

§761. Between *r* and *h*, there are two instances of the same word. The variation is really lexical (*spārha- svāruha*), but is certainly helped along by the tendency we are considering:

*spārkhā* (TB *svārukhā*) *yasya śrīyo dṛṣe* RV KS TB  
*spārho* (TB *svāruho*) *deva niryutvatā* RV SV VS TB.

§762. A single instance between *l* and *h*:  
*etad brahmān upa valhāmasi* (AŚ *apa*°, LŚ *upabahlhāmahe*) *tvā* VS AŚ.  
ŚŚ LŚ

§763. Likewise one between *h* and *r*.  
*dahram* (v l *daharam*) *vipāpmavaraveśmabhūtam* (TA Poona ed *vipāpm* [v l *vipāpma*] *vara*°, MahānU. *vipāpman varam* [v. l. *vara-* *veśma*°) TA MahānU Both *dahara* and *dahra* are known; the latter is required by the meter here.

§764. Before labial consonants, generally *v*.  
*puru tvā dāśvān* (SV. *dāśvān*) *voce* RV SV The inserted *i* in SV is doubtless meant to improve the meter. In RV *dāśvān* was trisyllabic (probably *dāśuān*, Oldenberg)

*sutah sudakṣa dhanva* (SV *dhanva*) RV. SV. Read *dhanua* in RV the *i* of SV is to be explained as in the prec  
*aśvinā gharman pātam hārdvānam* (TA. *hārdhvānam*, read with Poona ed *hārdi*°) VS ŚB TA. ŚŚ And others, see §267

*varṣmā* (VS *varṣmā*) *ca me drāghimā* (TS *drāghuyā*, MS *drāghmā*, KS *drāghvā*) *ca me* VS TS MŚ KS The *i*-forms of VS are exceptional Interesting is the TS form, which suggests a middle stage \**drāghvā* (blend of KS *drāghvā* and VS *drāghimā*), which has suffered metathesis of vowel and semi-vowel (*vr uy*)

Here we may also mention the common forms *prthvī* and *prthivī* In the one variant noted, the meter requires the shorter form It is a disputed question which is the original; Wackernagel thinks *prthivī* (I p 58), but there is something to be said on the other side (cf. e g Avestan *perathvī*):

*prthwī* (VaradotU *prthwī*) *suvarcā yuvath sajoṣāh* TB. VaradotU.

§765. Finally, an isolated corruption

*yad asyā anhubhedyāh* (LŚ *anuhodbhyāh*) AV VṢ GB. ŚB AŚ ŚŚ.

Vait LŚ The LŚ form is an uninterpretable corruption The word *anu* doubtless floated before the mind of whoever first spoke or wrote it.

## 2 WRITING OF *iy* FOR *y* AND *uv* FOR *v*

§766. The fullest previous account of this subject is found in Wackernagel I §181a, note, a briefer statement in Whitney 129d The Prātiśākhya seem to take no note of it, not even the TPr, altho the resolution is peculiarly characteristic of TS. and other Tait. texts In the commentary on TPr 2 25 Whitney believed he detected a reference to it in the term *sphurita*, but the passage is by no means clear

§767. The arbitrary and capricious nature of the Vedic tradition comes out nowhere more clearly than here Certain broad general tendencies appear, the most striking is the tendency just mentioned of all Taittiriya texts to prefer the spellings *iy* and *uv* Yet even this is cut across by counter-currents in individual cases The participle of the root *kṣi*, which in all non-Tait texts beginning with RV itself is regularly spelled *kṣiyant* with resolution, in Tait texts alone keeps or rather restores the historically 'regular' spelling *kṣyant*, in defiance of meter which shows that even there it must have been pronounced *kṣiyant* (§795) In some other cases where resolution is regular, Tait texts perversely show the unresolved form, thus going counter to their general practice. For instance, in two variant formulas (§797) they read *prorṇvāthām* (this time with VSK) against *prorṇuv* of all other texts, which is the regular form in the present of the fifth class when the present-sign *nu* is preceded by a consonant (Whitney 697a) Again, the word which in most texts is written *kuvala* seems to have in the Tait school the definitely established form *kvāla* (§782), nor can this be explained as due to metrical considerations, since it is found in prose Brāhmaṇa passages Similarly the adverb *urvyā* 'so RV. always' is spelled *urvyā* in TS (also in VS, §791), and *kuwayi* or *ya* of MS KS is written *kvayī* in TS and VS A Tait text (TA) even contains one of the three cases (*nyemur*, for *ni-yemur*) in which the final vowel (*i* or *u*) of a preposition is suppressed before the related semi-vowel (*y* or *v*) which follows it, thus leaning over backward to avoid even the semblance of the resolution of which the Tait school is otherwise so fond (§770)

§768. Nor is the Tait, school the only one which displays this capri-

cious character. KS. in general does not favor *iy* for *y* or *uv* for *v*. Yet in the case of the single word which all other texts write *tryam*, KS in three different variants shows the invariable spelling *tryam* (§776) The RV itself is guilty of one strange anomaly the pres mid participle of the root *su* 'press', is always written *suṽāna*, despite the fact that, as the meter shows, it was always pronounced *svāna*; the SV in the case of this word writes always *svāna*, in accord with the actual pronunciation (§794)

§769. Generally speaking, this matter is one which concerns orthographic convention alone, not phonetics in a proper sense This is proved by the fact that in practically all metrical passages the *y* or *v* was syllabic Thus the writing *iy* or *uv* represents the actual pronunciation of all texts better than the other writing Nevertheless it is almost invariably secondary In nearly every case the older version writes *y* or *v*, and a secondary text (generally of the Tait school) substitutes *iy* or *uv*

§770. To such an extent was *y* or *v* felt as a proper way of writing the actual sounds *iy* or *uv* that in three variant texts we find an original *i* or *u*, as final vowel of a preposition, suppressed in certain texts before a following initial *y* or *v* Cf. Wackernagel I p 59 These three cases are curious enough to be worth special mention They are

*mā tvā ke cin nī* (AV *ke cid tvā*) *yaman vim* (SV *ke cin nī yemur in*, TA *ke cin nyemur in*) *na pāśinah* RV. AV. SV VS TA The TA form, which defies meter as well as etymology, can only be interpreted as standing for *nī yemur*; so the comm There is, to be sure, a v. l. *nī yemur*, but *nyemur* is well attested and appears to have been the actual reading of TA

*graha mśvajānina nyantar* (KS *nyantar*) . MS KS. This and the next passage are prose KS can only intend *ni-nyantar*.

*anvāsi* PB : *anuvāsi* . TS KS (not GB. Vait , see §255) . *anuvāya* MS Here PB can only have in mind *anu-vā*.

§771. In a handful of cases this resolution is attended by false divisions which lead to real lexical variations in secondary texts, as when *apsv ā* is resolved to *apsuv'ā* which is then read *apsu vā* in TS (§778), or when an original *nyañ* (from *nyañic*) is broken up into *nī yan* (thru the middle stage *myañ*) in a secondary reading of AV (§778) Again the adjective *apyā* is made into the two words *api yā* in SV (§785), and the RV *abhvam* (two syllables, not *\*abhvam*) is revamped by TB into *ab-bhuvam*, thinking of *ap* 'water' (§790) Other variants which have lexical bearings are *suṽāñ* · *svān(a)*, §778, *nv* for *nu* varying

with 'nv for *anu* (wrongly printed *nuv* in TB Bibl. Ind ed, §778); and the few cases in which suffixal forms in *īya(n)*, with *ī*, vary with forms in *ya(n)*, the *ī* proving that we are not dealing with mere resolution of *y* to *iy* (§786). With these exceptions, all the cases listed here are purely phonetic, or rather orthographic

§772. The variants fall into five clearly defined groups. First, *i* or *u* final (either absolutely or in the seam of compounds), written *iy* or *uw* as well as *y* or *v* before an initial vowel; most commonly after more than one consonant. Second, non-final *y* and *v* in radical (initial) syllables; chiefly the one word *svar* (*suvar*) and its compounds, plus several words beginning in *k-* (in which the *iy* or *uw* form seems to be more primary). Third, the suffix *ya* pronounced *īya*, and written so in secondary texts; in practically all cases after more than one consonant. Fourth, the stem-final of noun stems in long or short *i* or *u*, before inflectional endings beginning with a vowel; again the *y* or *v*, even when not written *iy* or *uw*, is regularly pronounced syllabically, but written so only in secondary texts. Fifth, a few miscellaneous verb-forms, either finite verbs or participles.

§773. In all of these groups except the last, the writing *iy* or *uw* is secondary to *y* or *v*, but accords with the actual pronunciation as shown by the almost unvarying testimony of the meter. Again in all except the last, it is regularly Tait texts which show this secondary writing. Typical is their treatment of the word *svar*, which they practically always write *suvar*; the few exceptions are mostly instances in which ancillary texts of the Tait school have borrowed formulas from other, non-Tait texts (such as KS., from which ApŚ frequently quotes), and have retained the characteristic spelling of those other texts. It would not be unreasonable to see in the writing of *iy* and *uw* an attempt to represent the actual pronunciation. The same tendency may be noted occasionally in other schools, and in the reverse change, as when SV always writes *svāna*, in accord with the meter, for the unmetrical RV *suvāna* (§794). Yet, as we saw above, changes in both directions are sometimes introduced in defiance of meter.

#### A. *uv* and *iy* for *v* (*u*) and *y* final before vowels

§774. Most of the variants are metrical, and of course the *y* or *v* is always syllabic. We begin with the particle *u*, which in the RV etc is always written not *v* but *u* before a following vowel when it is preceded by a word ending in a vowel (or in *y* for final *i*), but *v* when preceded by a consonant (Wackernagel I §270a).

*ghṛte śrīto ghṛtam v* (TA. *uv*) *asya dhāma* RV. VS. TA. AŚ MŚ.  
*praty u* (TB. *w*) *adarśy* (TB. *ṭadrśy*) *āyatī* RV. SV. TB. ŚŚ. AŚ.  
*na vā u* (TS. TB. ApŚ *uv*) *etan mriyase na riṣyasi* RV. VS. TS. KSA.  
 ŚB. TB. ApŚ

*sa u* (TS. *uv*) *ekavinsāvartanā* TS. MS. Prose

§775. The spelling *uv* was regular from RV times in the word *svita* (*svita*). It is therefore not surprising to find it not limited to Tait. texts: *śaraḍ dhemantāḥ svite dadhāta* (MŚ °*tu*) KS. MŚ. *śaraḍ varṣāḥ svite* (TS. SMB. *svitam*) *no dadhāta* (TS. SMB. *astu*) AV. TS. SMB. The meter requires *uv*, but even with that is poor in TS. SMB. because of their change to *astu*.

*svite mā dhāh* TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. LŚ. ŚG. N.: *svite* etc. VS. GB. ŚB. AŚ. Vait. Prose

§776. The word *tryavī*, so spelled in nearly all texts, is thrice spelled *trīyavī* in KS, altho this text rarely resolves *y* to *īy*, and altho Tait. texts write this word *tryavī* (!). Two of the variants are prose, the other requires syllabic *y* or *īy*.

*tryavī* (KS. *trīyavī*) *gaur vayo dadhuh* VS. MS. KS. TB.

*tryavī* (KS. *trīya*°) *vayah* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. Prose

*tryavī* (KS. *trīya*°) *ca me tryavī* (KS. *trīya*°) *ca me* (MS. MŚ. omit *me* twice) VS. TS. MS. KS. MS. Prose

§777. The rest are sporadic

*śutudrī stomam sacatā paruṣṇy* (TA. °*ny*) *ā* RV. TA. MahānU. N. In a jagatī stanza, RV. certainly pronounced °*ny-ā*

*asikny* (TB. °*ny*) *asy oṣadhe* AV. TB.

*dhārāvarā maruto dhṛṣṇvojasah* (TB. *dhṛṣṇuvo*°) RV. AB. KB. TB.

§778. False divisions resulting in lexical variations or corruptions are found in the following.

*yad oṣadhīṣv apsv ā* (TS. *apsu vā*) *yajatra* RV. VS. TS. ŚB. *apsu vā* clearly based upon the intermediate stage *apsuv ā*. As a matter of fact, this may be what TS. really intends, but *p p* divides *apsu vā*, and so Weber and Keith.

*nyañ* (AV. *nī yan*) *nī yanty uparasya niṣkṛtam* (AV. °*hm*) RV. AV. KS.

The AV. has a corruption based upon *nyañ* for *nyañ*.

*svāna bhrājā*°.. VS. TS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. *svān nabhrād* KS.. *svāna bhrāj*°.. TA. *svāñ nabhrād*.. MS. MŚ. In the latter *su-vāc* (vāc) is meant.

[*talo no rudrā uta vā ṭnṇ asya* RV. *talo no rudrā uta vā nuv* (but Poona ed. 'nu, and comm. *anu*) *asya* TB. We assume that the Poona ed. is right, so that the variant does not belong here.]

We have listed above (§770) the three variants in which just the reverse tendency occurs, namely, a final *i* or *u* is suppressed before an initial *y* or *v*

### B Non-final *y* (*v*), in radical (initial) syllables

§779. These mostly concern the one word *svar* and its compounds. Numerous variant pādas begin with this word itself. They can be got so easily from the Concordance, and show so little interest individually, that we have not taken the space to copy them out here. It will be seen that the form *svar* is practically limited to Tait texts, but that in them it is nearly universal. The rare cases in which Tait texts write *svar* are generally due to quotations (in such texts as ApŚ) from non-Tait sources, retaining the non-Tait spelling. We note that in the variant *s(u)varge loke samprornvāthām* TS KSA TB, the true reading of KSA is †*svarge loke †samprornvāthām*, correct Conc

§780. In addition to formulas beginning with *svar* we find for example (the list is far from complete)

*pari lokān pari dīśah pari svah* (TA MahānU *svah*) VS. TA MahānU *dwi mūrdhānam dadhīse svarṣām* (TS TB *sv*) RV VS. TS. MS KS TB

*hiranyavāśir iśrah svarṣāh* (TB. *sv*) RV TB —The compound stem *svarṣā* occurs also once initially, viz

*svarṣām* (TB *sv*) *apeām* (TB Poona ed twice †*apsvām*, text and comm) *vṛjanasya gopām* RV VS MS TB

§781. There is, finally, at least one variant in which a Tait text (TB) reads *svar* contrary to metrical requirements, if it was quoted from some other text, that text has not been discovered. The later texts of the same Tait school, TA and MahānU, write *svar*.

*tapasarṣayah* (MahānU °*rṣayah*) *svar* (TB *svar*) *anvanandan* TB TA MahānU

§782. Next we come to three words, all etymologically obscure, in which an apparently older or more regular form in *vy* or *uv* (always preceded by *k*, is this accidental?), is replaced by *y* or *v* alone. Most curious of all, in each case a Tait text has the secondary reading with *y* or *v* alone, and in the first of the three this form seems to be known only in the Tait school and to be regularly used there in this particular word—despite the obvious inconsistency with the usual Tait tendency. Meter evidently has nothing to do with any of these variations.

*pakṣmāni godhūmaḥ kuvalaiḥ* (TB *kvalaiḥ*) *utāni* VS MS KS TB

Here, to be sure, the form *kvalaiḥ* makes better meter. But this

cannot account for the change, since the word seems regularly to appear as *kṛdā* in the Tait school, and is so written e.g. in a prose Brāhmaṇa passage, TS. 2. 5. 3. 5 — The same word in  
*ajo dhūmro na godhūmaḥ kuvalair* (TB. *kvalair*) *bheṣajam* VS MS. TB.  
*kiyāmbṛ atra rohatu* RV : *kyāmbūr atra rohatu* (TA *jāyatām*) AV TA

Here the later texts go counter to the meter by expelling :  
*kurayah* (KSA and p p of MS °yih) MS KSA : *krayih* . . VS TS  
 §783. Of the remaining cases under this heading one concerns the somewhat doubtful participle *saṁdhvānā*, which TS substitutes (in defiance of meter) for *saṁdhvānā* of other texts We take it to be merely a phonetic or orthographic variant for *saṁdhvānā*, differing from Whitney, *Roots*, who quotes it under root *dhu* (*dhū*) .

*saṁdhvānā* (TS. °dhvānā) *vātā abhi no grñantu* TS MS KS. AŚ

The other presents a lexical variation involving false word division, see §832; the word *bhūyah* 'from fear', is evolved out of the case-ending -*bhyah* (KS, or -*bhūh* AV.).

*viśvā amūvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣībhiḥ* (KS. °ṣebhyah) AV KS : *viśvā āsāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhūyah* VS. TS.. *vy amūvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣānām* MS

#### C. Suffixal *y* in noun formations, pronounced and sometimes written *iy*

§784. Here we include chiefly nouns and adjectives in suffixal *ya*, but also a few forms in (i)*yañc*, (i)*yac*, where the *y* is treated in the same way. In all genuine instances of this variation, the *y* follows two consonants, and was pronounced as a vowel in all texts (the cases listed §786 are different in character). In practically every case the writing *iya*, tho in accord with metrical requirements, is obviously secondary It occurs almost exclusively in Tait texts. The following are the metrical pādas concerned, beginning with the few (i)*yañc* stems  
*asmadryak* (TS °*dryak*) *sam mūmīhi śravānsi* RV. TS. MS KS  
*asmadryag* (TS TB °*dryag*) *vāvṛdhe vīryāya* RV. VS TS MS KS.  
 ŚB. TB.

*te pāyarah sadhryaño* (TS *sadhryaño*) *niśadya* RV TS MS KS  
*mā te mano viśadryag* (TS °*dryag*) *vi cārīt* RV TS MS KS  
*vi mucyadhvam aghnyā* (TA ApŚ *aghnyā*) *devayānāḥ* VS MS KS. ŚB  
 TA ApŚ MŚ.

*vājam arvatsi payo aghnyāsu* (TS *aghnyāsu*) TS KS.  
*payo grheṣu payo aghnyāyām* (TB ApŚ *aghnyāsu*) AB TB AŚ ApŚ  
*yad āpo aghnyā* (TS. TB *aghnyā*) *iti* (omitted in TS TB MS KS LŚ.)



AV. VS. TS MS. KS ŚB TB. AŚ ŚŚ. LŚ : *yad āhur aghnyā it*  
VS. ŚB.

*ni vīram* (TS. *vīravat*) *gavyam aśvyam* (TS. *aśviyam*) *ca rādha* RV. TS  
MS KS. Several mss. of MS *aśviyam*

*sugavyam no vāḥ svaśvyam* (TS *°vīyam*) RV. VS. TS. KSA AŚ  
*parā duṣvapnyaṁ* (TB TA ApŚ MahānU. *°niyam*) *suva* RV. SV. TB.  
TA. ApŚ Kauś. MahānU.

*achā devān ūciṣe dhiṣnyā* (TS *dhiṣniyā*) *ye* RV. VS. TS MS. KS. ŚB.  
*sa budhnyā* (TS TB. TA *budhniyā*) *upamā asya viṣṭhāḥ* AV. SV VS TS  
MS. KS. ŚB TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. TA

*pra budhnyā* (TS. *°niyā*) *va īrate* (TS *īrate vo*) *mahānsi* RV. TS MS KS  
AŚ. ŚŚ.

*ahim budhnyam* (TS. *°niyam*) *anu rīyamānāḥ* (MS KS *anv iyamānāḥ*,  
TS. *anu samcarantīḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*svāyām tanū* (ApMB.†MG †tanūn) *rtviye* (RV.† *rtviye*) *nādhamānām*  
(ApMB *nātha°*, MG. *bādha°*) RV ApMB. MG.

*sa yo vṛṣā vṛṣṇyebhiḥ* (TB *°niyebhiḥ*) *samolāḥ* RV. AB. KB. TB

*taṁ sadhrīcīr ūtayo vṛṣṇyāni* (TB *vṛṣṇyāni*) RV. MS KS. TB.

*bṛhat sāma kṣatrabhṛd vṛddhavṛṣnyam* (MS *°nam*, see §315; TS *°niyam*)  
TS. MS KS. AŚ

§785. There is one case of a false division resulting in a lexical variant  
(cf. §771):

*ya usriyā apyā* (SV. *api yā*) *antar aśmanah* (SV. *°ni*) RV. SV The  
adjective *apyā*, pronounced *apiyā*, is falsely divided in SV

§786. In several variants suffixal *y*, of various kinds, varies with  
*īy*; that is, the epenthetic vowel is long. The forms concern secondary  
noun formations in (ī)*ya* sometimes; the rest are either comparatives  
in *yañs-īyans*, or denominative participles In some cases the form in  
*īy* is shown by the meter as well as by text history to be original, that in  
plain *y* secondary; note that, most curiously, one of these secondary  
forms without *ī* occurs in TS !

*apo vṛnānah pavate kavīyan* (SV.† *°yān*, TS *kavīyan*) RV. SV. TS KSA

In SV. nom. of a comparative stem; in the others, of denominative  
participles

*turiyādītya* (VSK *turiyā°*) *saranam* (RV. *hav°*) *ta indriyam* RV VS VSK  
TS. MS KS ŚB.

But in others the longer form is secondary, at times even unmetrical,  
and is twice found in Tait texts alone.

*taṁ kṛā grnāmi tarasam alavyān* (TS *°rīyān*) RV. SV. TS MS KS. N.

Comparatives

*sanīm gāyatram nanyāṅsam* (TA. *navīyāṅsam*) RV. SV. MS TA. Comparatives In the next case the meter is ambiguous:  
*derā devebhyo adhvarīyānto* (KS *adhvarīyānto*) *asthuḥ* VS. TS KS. ŚB. *sviṣṭīm* (°*īam*) *no abhi* (°*bhi*) *vasyo* (TS KS. *vasīyo*) *nayantu* AV. TS. KS KS. MS. Here the meter shows that *y* was vocalic, tho the spelling *vasyo* seems older.

*yathā no vasyasas* (TS °*sah*, LŚ. *vasīyasas*) *karat* VS. TS. MS. KS ŚB LŚ.

*unnetaḥ vasīyo* (KS. *vasyo*) . . . MS. KS. ApŚ. Prose.

*namo dundubhyāya cāhananyāya*. (MS. *dundubhaye cāhananīyāya*) *ca* VS. TS MS. KS. Prose.

*pāra ikṣavo* 'vāryebhyaḥ (KSA.† 'vārīye°) *pakṣmabhyaḥ svāhā* TS. KSA.: *acāra ikṣavaḥ pāryebhyaḥ* (KSA *pārīye*°) TS. KSA Prose

§787. The following are the prose variants of *ya* and (short) *iya*.  
*etāni te aghniye* (PB. 'ghnye) *nāmāni* TS PB.: *etā te aghnye nāmāni* VS ŚB. MS. In the latter form quasi-meter.

*ā pyāyadhvam aghniyā* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *aghniyā*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB ApŚ. MS.

*yāsyā cputryā* (ŚG. °*triyā*) *tanūs* . . . ŚG. SMB

*ahir asi budhnyāḥ* (TS. ApŚ *budhniyāḥ*) VS. TS MS. KS. PB. ŚŚ ApŚ *ahirbudhnya mantram me pāhi* MS. *ahē budhniya mantram me gopāya* TB. ApŚ.

*ahir budhnyo* (TS. °*niyo*) *devatā* TS MS KS.

*namo jaghanyāya ca budhnyāya* (TS °*niyāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS : *namo budhnyāya ca jaghanyāya ca* KS.

*namo agriyāya* (VS. KS. 'gryāya, MS 'griyāya) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS.

*namo vātyāya ca reṣmyāya* (TS. °*myāya*) *ca* VS. TS. KS.

*namo vīdhryāya* (MS °*riyāya*, p p. °*ryāya*; TS. *nama īdhriyāya*) *cāla-pyāya* *ca* VS. TS MS. KS.

*namaḥ śighryāya* (TS. °*riyāya*) *ca śibhyāya* *ca* VS. TS.: *namaḥ śibhāya ca śighrāya* *ca* MS. KS. .

*sumitrā* (VS ŚB. MahānU. ŚŚ KS. °*triyā*, AŚ. LŚ. *sumitryā*) . . . VS. TS.

MS. KS. ŚB TB. TA MahānU. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. BDh. ApŚ. KS MS.

And similarly *durmītrās* etc , see §315.

*aśvibhyām tirohnyānām* (MŚ. *tirohnyānām*) . . . ApŚ. MS.

*tiroahniyān* (MŚ. *aśvibhyām tirohnyān*) *somān* . . . ApŚ. MS.

D. Stem-final of nouns in *i* or *u*, long or short

§788. Here again the meter shows that the *y* or *v* was in nearly every case pronounced as a vowel, so that the resolution to *iy* or *w* is in

accord with the pronunciation. Yet it is always secondary and is practically limited to Tait texts. The variants fall naturally into four groups. First, monosyllabic (radical) *i* and *u* stems. In these we expect regularly *iy* and *uw* before vocalic endings in the uncompounded stems, and in compounds after two consonants (Wackernagel III §§91a, 100a); consequently there is opportunity for this variation only in compounds after a single consonant, where the regular forms show *y*, *v*, but Tait texts (and rarely others) show *iy*, *uw*. Second, derivative *i* stems of the *devī* type, and very rarely *u* stems in forms that imitate the *devī* declension (see Wackernagel III §97d; only one such variant has been noted). Here the only cases that occur show the variation after two consonants. Third, genitive-locative duals of short *i* and *u* stems (see §792). Fourth, *u* stems of the *vykīś* type; the variants are practically limited to the one word *tanū*.

§789. Monosyllabic (radical) stems in *i*, *u*. Most of the variants are metrical; we call attention specifically to the prose ones. They nearly all concern compounds of the stems *dhī*, *bhū*, and *pū*.  
*svādhyam* (TS °*dhīyam*) *janayat sūdayac ca* RV. VS TS MS  
*svādhyo* (TB. °*dhīyo*) *manasā devayantah* RV. MS KS AB TB. PG  
*svādhyo* (TB. °*dhīyo*) *vidathe apsu jījanan* (TB. *apsv ajī*°) RV TB.  
*tan īvā vayam sudhyo* (TB. *sudhyo*) *navyam agne* RV. MS. KS TB  
*pāhu mām yajñanyam* (TS TB. °*niyam*) VS TS MS. KS ŚB TB. ŚŚ  
*vaneṣu citraṁ vibhvaṁ* (TS *vibhuvaṁ*) *viśe viśe* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB  
*vibhure* (MS *vibhve*, KS † *vibhave*) *svāhā* VS MS KS TB ApŚ. Prose  
*abhibhure* (MS *abhibhve*, KS *abhibhave*) *svāhā* VS MS KS TB ApŚ  
 Prose.

*śalam yasya subhvaḥ* (SV. *subhuvah*) *sākam īrate* RV SV  
*mahiṣam naḥ subhvaṁ* (AVPpp ms *subhavas*, Barret JAOS 35 46  
*subhuvas*) *tasthivānsam* AVPpp MS. *samudram na subhvaḥ svā*  
*abhiṣṭayāḥ* RV.: *samudram na subhuvas tasthivānsam* AV. Others,  
 see §119

*ghṛtēna no* (MS KS. *mā*) *ghṛtapvah* (TS. °*puvah*) *punantu* RV. AV VS  
 TS MS KS ŚB. According to Roth, AVPpp also °*puvah*  
*devas tvā savitā punātu vasoh pavitrena* . . . *supvā* (ApŚ *supvā*) VS ŚB  
 ApŚ. *devas tvā savitotpunātu* . . . *supvotpunāmī* Kauś. Prose.

§790. A peculiar case which may involve lexical reinterpretation of the variant word is the following:

*arhann idam dayase viśvam abhvam* (TA *abbhuvam*) RV TA. The  
*pāda* occurs in a triṣṭubh verse, and *abhvam* was undoubtedly a  
 dissyllable in RV. In TA it is reinterpreted as *ab-bh(u)vam*  
 'originating in water', according to the comm., see §392

§791. Derivative *ī* and *ū* stems of the *devī* type The stem-final is here always preceded by two consonants, and the *y* or *v* has vocalic function in nearly all metrical cases The first is the only case of an *ū* stem

*samrājñī śvasrām* (ApMB °*rūvām*) *bhava* RV SMB ApMB On this form cf Wackernagel III p 189, l 1

*asiknyā* (TA °*niyā*) *marudvrdhe vitastayā* RV TA MahānU N  
*sūro rathasya naptyah* (ArS *naptryah*, TB °*triyah*) RV. AV ArS KS TB

*ubhayaṛ ārtnyor* (TS °*niyor*) *gyām* VS TS MS KS

*devo vamryo* (VSK *vamryo*) VS VSK ŚB KŚ Prose

*drśāno rukma urvyā* (RV KS *urvyā*, MS *uruyā*) *vy adyaut* (MS *vi bhāti*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB. ApMB This adverb is always spelled *urvyā* in RV, the spelling *uruyā* (§743) seems to be peculiar to MS, cf next

*calṣur ma urvyā* (MS *uruyā*, KS *urvyā*) *vi bhāhi* VS TS MS KS ŚB Prose Cf prec

*apīparo mā rātryā* (MŚ *rātryā*) *ahno mā pāhi* TA ApŚ MŚ Also *apī° māhno rātryai* (*rātryai*) etc, same texts

*yad rātryā* (MahānU and v. l of TA *rātryā*) *pāpam akārṣam* (TA v. l *akārṣam*) TA MahānU *yad rātryāt kurule pāpam* TAA Here by exception the meter favors the unresolved form

*rātryai* (TB °*triyai*) *kṣnam piṅgākṣam* VS TB

*rātryai* (TS *rātryai*) *tvā* TS KS PB Vait

*rātryai* (TA ApŚ *rātryai*) *mā pāhi* TA ApŚ MŚ

*rātryai* (TS TB *rātryai*) *svāhā* TS MS KS KSA TB

*viśvapsnyā* (TS °*psniyā*) *viśvatas pari* SV VS. TS MS KS Kaus

Here, by exception, the meter favors the unresolved form

*samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatriyai* (TS ApŚ °*triyās*) .. TS KS PB. ŚŚ KŚ. ApŚ

*sa gāytryā* (TS TB °*triyā*) *triṣṭubhā* . VS TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ Kaus

*gāyatriyai* (TS °*triyai*, MS KS °*tryā*) *gāyatram* VS TS MS KS ŚB

*mano gāyatriyai* (TB ApŚ. °*triyai*) VSK TB. KŚ ApŚ

§791a. The following case is peculiar

*vilpī yā* (*vilpīyā*) *brhaspate* AV (both) In two nearly adjoining stanzas, 12 4 44 and 46, which except for this change are practically identical Whitney would emend *vilpīyā* to *vilpī yā*, but this is unnecessary, *vilpīyās* would be a correct genitive form, depending on *aśnīyāt* of pāda c. 'of the *vilpī* (cow) the non-brahman shall not eat'

§792. Gemitive-locative duals of short *i* and *u* stems On these cf. Wackernagel III §22b, which is not quite accurate in stating that all texts write *-yoh* and *-voh* (rather than *-iyoh* and *-uoh*) 'durchweg'; the occurrence of the Tait spellings in the following variants, at least, seems to have been overlooked As Wackernagel observes, the *y* and *v* in these forms is regularly vocalic in RV..

*indrāgnyor* (TS. ApŚ °*gn̥y̐or*) (prose formulas, see Conc) VS TS.

MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

*ayād agnir indrāgnyoś* TB *ayād indrāgnyoś* .MS

*bāhvor balam* TS TAA *bahu bāhvor balam* AV *bāhvor balam* Vait  
MŚ PG

*bāhvos* (TS *bāhvos*) *tava hetayah* VS TS *hetayah tava bāhvoh* MS KS  
*patāti didyun naryasya bāhvoh* (TS *bāhvoh*) RV TS MS KS

*ūrvor* (TS TAA *ūrvor*) *ojah* AV. TS TAA Vait MŚ PG

§793. The stem *tanū* and its type The only form from another stem than *tanū* itself is the fem accus sing *sudrvam* (from \**sudrī*, fem to *su-drū*), which is of course pronounced *sudruvam* and is so written in SV —The very numerous cases in which *uv* for *v* is written in forms of *tanū* in Tait texts alone are not listed in full

*nemim taṣṭeva sudrvam* (SV *sudruvam*) RV SV

*yasyai bāhvīs tanuvo vīlaprṣṣhāh* TB . *yasyā bāhvyas tanvo vīlaprṣṣhāh*  
MS

*na dhvasmānas tanvī* (TS *tanuvī*) *repa ā dhuh* RV. TS

*tanūs tanvā* (TS TAA *tanuvā*) *me saha* AV TS TAA PG Vait  
*tanūr me tanvā saha* MŚ The AV mss read °*me sahed antāh* or the like, the vulgate presents a violent emendation, abandoned by Whitney in his Transl Properly speaking this passage is cadenced prose, rather than verse

*śam tokāya tanuve* (SMB *tanvai*) *syonah* TS TB ApŚ SMB PG  
Note that PG has the characteristic spelling of TS from which it here quotes (there is a *v* l *tanvai*).

*tayā nas tanvā* (TS ŚvetU *tanuvā*) *śantamayā* VS TS MS KS ŚvetU  
NīlarU Here the meter is intended for anuṣṭubh, and the resolution makes it even worse than the original form

*tanvam* (TS ApŚ ApMB HG *tanuvam*) *me pāhi* VS TS MS KS AB  
ŚB JB ŚŚ ApŚ PG HG ApMB Prose

#### E Verbal forms

§794. The materials here are scattering and miscellaneous A large group contains the participle *suṽāna*, from *su* 'press', which is always

written thus in RV altho pronounced *svāna*, SV. changes the spelling to match the pronunciation:

*pra suvānāso* (SV. *svā°*) *brhaddiveṣu* (SV. *°deveṣu*) *harayah* RV. SV.

*brhat somo vāvr̥dhe suvāna induh* (SV *svāno adrih*) RV. SV.

*soma u suvānah* (SV. PB *ṣvā°*) *soṭrbhūh* RV SV PB.

*mitrāh suvānā* (SV. *svānā*) *arepasah* RV SV

*indre suvānāsa* (SV *svā°*) *indavah* RV AV SV.

*ā soma suvāno* (SV. *svāno*) *adribhūh* RV. SV.

*pari śya suvāno akṣāh* (to be read *akṣāh*, cf. Oldenberg *Noten* ad loc )

RV *pari sya svāno akṣarat* SV : cf. *pari sya suvāno avyayam* RV.

*pari suvānaś* (SV *svā°*) *caḥṣase devamādanah* RV. SV

*pari suvānāsa* (SV *svā°*) *indavah* RV. SV.

*pari suvāno* (SV PB *svāno*) *giriṣṭhāh* (to be read *°ṣṭhāh*) RV. SV. PB.

*suvānā* (SV. *svānā*) *devāsa indavah* RV SV.

*suvāno* (SV. *svāno*) *aṣa pavitra ā* RV SV.

*suvāno* (SV. *svānair*) *yāti kavīratuh* RV. SV

§795. We have already referred (§767) to the Tait. spelling *kṣyant* for regular *kṣiyant*, participle of root *kṣi* (*kṣeti*, *kṣiyanti* etc ), in defiance of meter

*pratī kṣiyantam* (TS *kṣyantam*) *bhuvanāni viśvā* RV. VS TS MS KS. ŚB

*ādityasya vratam upakṣiyantah* (TB *°kṣyantah*) RV MS TB.

§796 Conversely to this, but more in accord with the general usage of the school, Tait texts show *vyantu* for *vyantu* (root *vī*) in numerous variants, conforming to the meter always in those which are metrical. *samīdho agna ājyasya vyantu* (TB. *vyantu*) MS KS TB

*aktam* (MS MŚ *aptubhī*, KS *\*artham*) *rihānā vyantu* (TS TB KhG. *vyantu*) *vayah* TS. MS KS. TB. MŚ. GG. KhG. *vyantu vayo* 'Iam (VSK *ripto*) *rihāṇāh* VS VSK ŚB. KŚ The comms on both VS and TS, followed by Keith, take the verb form from *vi* + root *i*.

*vasuvane vasudheyasya vyantu* (TB *vyantu*) VS. MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ

*vyantu* (TS *vyantu*) *devā haviṣo me asya* TS MS KS.

*vyantu* (TS *vyantu*) *devīr ya ṛtur janīnām* RV AV TS MS. N

*vyantu* (TB *vyantu*) *ājyasya* VS MS KS TB

*uta gnā vyantu* (TB *vyantu*) *devapatnīh* RV AV. MS TB. N

*pībantu madantu* (MS *°tām*) *vyantu* (TB *vyantu somam*) VS MS TB.

*pratī na īm surabhīni vyantu* (TS *vyantu*) RV. TS. MS. KS

*lekah salelah vyantu* TS. *sahlah sahlah*. *vyantu*. MS KS

§797. In two prose variants Tait texts, with VSK, read *pror̥ṇvāthām* for the more regular *pror̥ṇvā°* (above, §767)

*svargena lohena samprornuvāthām* Vait *svarge loke prornuvāthām* (MS °tām, VSK *prornuvāthām*) VS VSK MS ŚB *suvarge* (KSA † *svarge*) *loke samprornuvāthām* (KSA † °nuvā°) TS KSA TB  
*ghṛtena dyāvā pṛthivī prornuvāthām* (VSK TS ApŚ *prornuvāthām*; MS MŚ † *prornuvātām*) VS VSK TS MS ŚB KS ApŚ MŚ  
*vapayā dyāvā° prornuvāthām* Kauś

§798. Finally, we find two cases of forms of the root *hū* (of the 6th, *tud*-class?) with *v* exchanging with *uv*. The latter are commoner in most texts.

*mano nu ā huvāmahe* (Vait °hū, VS. ŚB. KŚ Kauś *huvāmahe*) RV VS  
 VSK TS MS KS. AB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait. LŚ KŚ ApŚ Kauś  
 See VV I §2

*tam ahve* (SV *u huve*) *vājasātaye* RV SV.

## CHAPTER XVII. METATHESIS, HAPLOLOGY, AND DITTOLOGY

### 1 Metathesis

§799. On metathesis in Sanskrit in general see Wackernagel I §239, and references. The cases we have noted are almost entirely lexical, but are not without interest as evidence for the extensive operation in the Vedic tradition of this wide-spread linguistic phenomenon. Even when the metathetized form gives a different sense, the fact that metathesis has taken place in a repeated formula remains unquestionable and has linguistic importance.

§800. We begin with metathesis of consonants, and first with a small group in which a single consonant is moved from one place to another *pūlyāny* (ApMB *kulpāny*) *āvapantikā* AV ApMB. Here mss of both texts present both readings, and the variation between *lp* and *ly* may be considered graphic.

*asmaddātṛ devatrā gachata madhumatīh* TS *asmadrātā* (MS KS ŚŚ add *madhumatīr* or °*tī*) *devatrā gachata* (KS *gacha*) VS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ. The TS is doubtless secondary: 'having us as givers' means 'given by us' (so Keith translates; this is of course the meaning of the other variant).

*yasyedam ā rajo yujah* AV ArS *yasyedam ā rajah* AA *yasyedam oja ārujah* ŚŚ. See §244.

*endram vagnunā vahata* PB. *vagnunendram hwayata* TB. ApŚ.

§801. Interchange in position between two adjoining consonants occurs a couple of times.

*yad ejaḥ jagatī yac ca ceṣṭatī nāmno* (MahānU *nānyo*) *bhāgo yan* (TAA Poona ed. 'yam) *nāmne* (MahānU *yatnān me*) *svāhā* TAA MahānU. In MahānU v. 1 *mānyo* for *nānyo*, and *yan nāmne* for *yatnān me*. The comm. understands 'let that (all) be my (*ātmanah*) portion by effort—no other'. TAA comm. says *nāman* = *paramānman*!

*yatheyam strī pautram agham na rodāt* AG SMB PG ApMB HG *yathedam strīpautram aganma rudrīyāya* MG. The latter is simply a bad corruption: original, 'that this woman may not weep over harm to her children'.

*adhā jūrī* (AV *atha jūrīr*, mss *jūrīr*; ApMB *athā jūrī*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV *vadāthah*) RV AV ApMB. See §544.



§802. More frequent is interchange in position between two not adjoining consonants:

*yena turyeṇa brahmanā brhaspataye 'pavathās tena mahyaṁ pavasva* JB.: *yena rūpeṇa prajāpataye †'vapathās tena mahyaṁ pavasva* KS. The original is 'vapathās, as shown by the preceding formula in KS, *trīr varubhyo 'vapathās* etc. (see Conc.). If the JB. reading is correct, it contains metathesis of *p* and *v*, with assimilation to the following *pavasva*.

*mīrāya kulīpayān* (MS. *pulīkayān*) VS. MS. See §149, and next *nātro makarāḥ kulīpayas* (TS. *kulīkayas*, MS. *pulīkayas*, KSA. *pulī-rayas*) *te 'kūpārasya* (KSA.† *kūvarasya*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. See under prec.

*svasti naḥ putrakṛtheṣu* (MG. *pathyākṛtheṣu*, v. l. as RV.) *yonīṣu* RV. AB. MG.

*vīśvasmai bhūtāyādhraro* (KS. MŚ. *bhūtāya dhruvo*) *astu devāḥ* (TS. 'dhraro 'si) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*abaddhaṁ mano daridraṁ cakṣuḥ sūryo . . .* TS. KŚ. BDh.: *adabdhāṁ mana iṣiraṁ cakṣuḥ* (MŚ. *adabdhāṁ cakṣur ariṣṭaṁ manah*) *sūryo . . .* MŚ. ŚG.

*gharmaṁ locantaḥ* (AŚ. 'ta, ŚŚ. 'taṁ) *pravaṇeṣu* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *praṇaveṣu*) *bībhṛataḥ* AB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*chandonāmānām* (VSK. *chandomānānām*, TS. 'mānām) *sūmrājyaṁ gacheti* (VSK. *gachatād iti*, MŚ. *gached iti*) . . . VS VSK. TS. ŚB. MŚ.

*jari cetid* (mss. *cetid*, p p. *cya iti it*) *abhiśiṣaḥ* MS : *ya* (TA. ApŚ. ApMB. *yad*) *ṛte* (PB. *īyakṣate*) *cid abhiśiṣaḥ* RV. AV. SV. PB. TA. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. GG. ApMB. See §193.

*ye no dviṣanty anu tām rabhasva* AV.: *yo no dveṣṭi tanūṁ rabhasva* MŚ : *yo no dveṣṭy anu tam ravaṣva* ApŚ. Here MŚ. transposes the syllables *nu-ta*.

*apa snehitīr* (SV. *snīhitiṁ*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV. *adhād rāḥ*, KS † *nṛmanāṁ adadhrām*) RV. AV. SV. KS.: *upa stuhi tam nṛmanām* (Poona ed. *enuhi tam nṛmanām*) *athadrām* TA. See §110. The KS reading looks like a metathesis of *adhād rām*.

*agne dakṣaiḥ punīti naḥ* (TB. *mā*, MS. *punīmahe*) RV. MS. TB. The MS. reading may be a metathesis of that of TB., which is secondary to RV.

*taṁ te hiranyaṁ tam u śantv* (ApMB. *eam u śantv*) *ūpah* AV. Kauś. ApMB. See §277.

*brahmādhiguptaḥ* (PG. *brahmābhiḥ*, MG. *brahmābhigūrtam*) *svārā lṣarāni*

(PG *surakṣitah syām*, MG *svarākṣānah*, most mss *svarāṇakṣānah*)

AG PG. MG. Evident corruption in MG.

*divas* (SV *divah*) *prṣṭham adhi tṣṣhanthi celasā* (SV *ṭrohanthi tejāsā*)

RV SV With change of surd *c* to sonant *j*, cf. §57.

*vājaś ca prasavaś vasuś* (TS *suvaś*) *ca* . . . TS KS. The syllables *va-su* exchange position yielding *suvaś* (= *svar*)

§803. When a vowel and an adjoining semivowel are interchanged, the result, if the vowel is *a*, is a diphthong in one of the forms These cases are related to §§747 and 748ff above, *q v* The following are instances of *e* (= *ay*, *āy*) varying with *ya*, *yā*:

*arthaś ca mā emaś* (VSK. *mē yāmaś*, MS. *ca mā ema*) *ca me* VS VSK TS MS KS.

*vrṣṭidyāvānam* (ApŚ *vrṣṭim devānām*) *amṛtam svarvidam* MS. KS. ApŚ. *ahā yad dyāvo* (AV. *devā*) *asunūlm ayan* (AV. *āyan*) RV. AV.

*āyur vasāna upa vetu* (AV. TA *yātu*) *ṣeṣah* (TA. *ṣeṣam*) RV. AV. TA.

*itādam viśvam bhuvanam sam eti* (AV. *vi yāti*) RV. AV. N. Synonymous and related roots *i* and *yā*

*ahorātre ūrvaṣṭive* (VS. *°ṣṭhīve*, TS *ahorātrayor vrṣṭyā*) . . VS. TS MS See §840

*iyam pitryā* (AB *var pitre*, AŚ ŚŚ *pitre*) *rāṣṭry ety* (AV. GB. *ety*) *agre* AV. AB GB AŚ ŚŚ

*tvayāyam vṛtram vadhyāt* (VSK *ba°*, VS ŚB *badhet*) VS VSK TS MS. KS ŚB Cf VV I §175, and next

*ā mā ślutasya ślutam gamyāt* (Vait *gamet*) TS Vait *ā mā ślotrasya ślotram gamyāt* PB See prec

*vanaspatīnr oṣadhī rāya eṣe* (*rāye aśyāh*) RV (both)

*ghṛtam eva* (BDh. *ghṛtam yavā*) *madhu yavāḥ* BDh. V1Dh

§804. Instances of *o* (= *av*, *āv*) and *va*, *vā*

*sāmāni cakrus tasarāny oṭave* (AV *°nī vātave*) RV AV

*vasiṣṭhahanuh śiṅgīni loṣyābhyām* VS *°oṣiṣṭhahanam śiṅgīnikoṣyābhyām* (TA *°kośā°*) TS TA.

*sam eti msvā* (AV *ṭvīśve*) *vacasā* (SV *ojasā*) *patim divah* AV. SV Roth quotes Ppp as reading *oham ā-*, evidently for *ojasā* See §52

*pari ghransam omanā* (TB *parighransa vām manā*) *vām vayo gāt* (TB *gām*) RV MS TB N Bad corruption in TB

§804a. A special case of this interchange involves alternative genitive-ablative forms of *u*-stems, such as *madhoh madhvah* While this concerns noun inflection more than phonetics, we quote the following examples here

*madhvah* (SV *madhoh*) *pavanta ūrmayah* RV SV

*madhvah* (SV *madhoh*) *pavasva dhārayā* RV SV  
*madhoh pibatam aśvinā* VS MS ŚB TA LŚ *madhvah* etc RV VS  
 AŚ ŚŚ

*madhvah* (SV *madhoh*) *pibatā gauryah* RV SV AV MS  
*madhos cakānaś cārur madāya* AV SV *madhvaś* etc AŚ ŚŚ  
*vasvah* (TB TA MahānU *vasoh*) *kuvid vanāti nah* RV KS TB TA  
 MahānU

§805. Instances of *u*, *vī*, and *yu*, *yū*

*achā ma* (SV *va*) *indram matayah svarīdah* (SV *svarīyuvah*) RV AV SV  
 GB Vart

*adyā* (also *nṛva*) *kṛnuhī vītaye* (SV *°hy ūtaye*) RV SV Cf §743  
*āvītsi* (MS *āyukṣi*) *sarvā osadhāh* RV VS TS MS KS  
*nādyā śatrum nanu* (ŚB *†na nu*) *purā vivitse* (ŚB *yuyutse*) RV. ŚB  
*vivalam* (MS KS *yuvalam*) *chandah* VS TS MS KS ŚB  
*mā te vyoma* (= *viyoma* or *vioma*, AV *yuyoma*) *samdrśi* (AV *°śah*, LŚ *†*  
*°śah* or *°še*) AV AA TA AŚ LŚ MG

*yajñam prānaya* (TS *pra suva*) *devāvyam* (TS MS *devāyuvam*) VS TS  
 MS KS ŚB

*devebhyas tvā devāyuvam* (KS *devāvyam*) *prnacmi* etc MS KS ApŚ MŚ  
*devebhyas tvā devāvyam* (VSK *devāyuvam*) *grhnāmi* etc VS VSK ŚB  
*prāsmān ava prānāsu pra vikṣu* (TB *yulṣu*) RV TB

*ukthebhyas tvokthāvyam grhnāmi* KS *ukthyebhya ukthīyāyuvam* ApŚ  
*varṣmā* (VS *varṣimā*) *ca me drāghimā* (TS *drāghuyā*, MS *drāghmā*,  
 KS *drāghvā*) *ca me* VS TS MS KS See §764 TS apparently  
 has a metathetized form for *\*drāghivā*

§806. With the following interchanges of *ar* and *rā* are to be compared §§656ff In fact the *ar* forms in the following concern the *r* vowel, either directly (as containing sandhi of *a* + *r*), or as guna derivatives of a root in *r*

*tena rādhyāsam* VS. MS ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś *tenardhyāsam*  
 KS SMB The latter stands for *tena rādh°*, cf §659

*agnau samrādhanīm yaje* HG *yaje samrādhanīm aham* ŚB BrhU  
 AŚ SMB ApMB *yūje* (read *yaje* with most mss, Hillebrandt  
 p 250) *†samardham im aham* ŚŚ

*ahā avartim* (AV *arātīm*) *avidat* (AV *°dah*) *syonam* AV TB ApMB

## 2 Haplology

§807. On this general subject see especially Bloomfield, *PAOS* 16 xxxiv, *AJP* 17 418, Wackernagel I pp 278ff, where further references may be found, we may add Lanman in Whitney, AV 4 5 5, and other

references below. We shall content ourselves here with merely printing the variant cases, arranging them in three groups: those in which the longer reading seems to be the original, so that we may assume haplogy; those in which it seems to be secondary, involving dittology; and those in which the question of originality is too uncertain to make classification advisable

§808. The following are the cases which seem to involve haplogy: *prthvi vibhūvari* (ApŚ *bhūvari*). . KS. ApŚ This is a very clear case

On the strength of the isolated ApŚ form Boehtlingk (pw 6 304) set up a goddess *Bhūvari*, who is nothing but a ghost, the shade of the adjective *vibhūvari* after *prthvi*

*viśvasyām viśi pravivīśvānsam* (KS *†pravivīśānam*) *īmahe* TS MS. KS. *viśo-viśah pravivīśvānsam īmahe* AV Lanman, in Whitney's Transl, has already suggested that the lack of reduplication is due to haplogy But it may be noted that it improves the meter, also *ya āste yaś ca caratī* (AV. *yaś caratī*) RV AV. The haplogy is again noted by Lanman.

*trīṇi padāni* (TA. MahānU *padā*) *nihitā guhāsya* (TA. MahānU. *guhāsu*) AV. VS TA. MahānU. The ms of Ppp. *padāmhatā guhās-*, em Barret JAOS 30 195 to the AVŚ reading Clear haplogy in TA. MahānU.

*agne 'dadbhāyo 'śritatano* ('*śritatano*, '*śritama*) *pāhi* ., see §353 *yāni kāni ca cakṛma* (ApŚ mss omit *ca*, by haplogy) MS ApŚ cf *duritāni yāni kām ca cakṛma* MS *duritā yāni cakṛma* TS TB TA. (here not really haplogy, *ca* is needed only after *kām*)

*ye vā* (MS omits *vā*) *vanaspatīnr anu* (MS NīlarU *°patīnām*) VS TS MS. KS ŚB NīlarU. ApMB Supposed to be metrical even in MS., which is clearly haplogical In the same verse

*ye vāvaṇṣu* (MS *†KS ye 'vaṇṣu*) *śerate*, same texts Here the shorter version can be read metrically by pronouncing *avaṇṣu*, but is nevertheless certainly haplogical

*tena vardhasva cā ca pyāyasva* (MS *vardhasva cā pyāyasva*) VS MS. ŚB. TA : cf *eṣā te agne samit tayā* (MŚ *tayā tvam*) *vardhasva cā ca pyāyasva* VS ŚB ŚŚ. MŚ ApŚ ŚG. ApMB. ApG HG The second *ca* is clearly required

*yad eva kim ca pratijagrahāham* (TA *°jagrāham*) AV TA The TA. form (also found in Poona ed) is indefensible formally and metrically, and is obviously haplogical.

*nyag vāto 'va vāti* (AV. *vāto vāti*) RV. AV Lanman notes the haplogy *nyūnyātām ito rapo apa sridhah* RV *yūyātām asmad rapo apa sridhah* TB. ApŚ. The loss of a syllable leaves its trace in the long *ū*

*anhomuce pra bharemā* (AV *bhare*) *manīṣām* AV. TS MS KS See VV I p 253.

*anādhr̥ṣṭā apasyo vasānāh* VS MS KS ŚB *anībhr̥ṣṭā apasyuvo vasānah* TS See Keith on TS

*chandonāmānām* (VSK °*mānānām*, TS °*mānām*) *sāmraṣyam gacheti* (with variants) VS VSK TS ŚB MŚ 'Lordship of the meters' names' or even of their 'measures' (on VSK see §802) is better than 'of the Chandomas', a ritualistic ship

*yad ṭapsaīadrūr uparasya* (ApŚ *apsararūparasya*) *lhādati* KS ApŚ The latter corrupt

*guhā hutām nihūtām* (KS † omits *ni*°) *gahvareṣu* KS MŚ

*namah śamgave* (TS † *śamgāya*, for °*gayāya*°) . VS TS MS KS See §250

*yasyedam ā rajo yujah* AV ArS. *yasyedam ā rajah* AA Others, see §244

*viśvāny anyo bhuvanābhicaṣṭe* (MS °*nā vi*°) RV MS TB . *viśvānyo bhuvanā vicaṣṭe* AV

*parīdam vājy ajīnam* (PG °*dam vājīnam*) *dadhe 'ham* (HG *ajīnam dhatsvāsau*) ŚG PG. HG ApMB The PG is not construable [*yo no agne niṣtyo yo 'niṣtyo* KS ApŚ Conc quotes ApŚ as omitting the second *yo*, a modern haplogy!]

§809. The following cases are less certain.

*mama ca nāma tava ca* (KS once omits *ca*) *jāṭavedah* KS (both) The reading with *ca* is prose, the other metrical; this may account for the change, omitting *ca* (before *jā-*)

*puru viśvān jūrvan* RV.: *puro rahṣānsi nījūrvan* AV (Ppp *viśvān-jūrvan*) Whitney suggests *viśvā nījūrvan* for RV; Lanman, *viśvān ni*°, assuming haplogy As Oldenberg (*Noten* on l. 191 9) points out, this would make poor meter for a second pāda, he would read *jūrvan*

*suvān nabhrād aṅghāre bambhāre* MS *svāna bhrājāṅghāre bambhāre* VS TS ŚB : *svāna bhrāj, aṅghārīr bambhārīh* TA : *svān nabhrād aṅghāre bambhāre* . . . KS. See Keith on TS 1 2 7 1, he suggests *svāna nabhrāj* as the original

### 3 Dittology

§810. The following variants contain the reverse of the preceding, in that the shorter version seems to be the original, and dittological influence has produced the variation

*kukūnanānām* (KS *kūlanānām*, MS *pūlanānām*) *tvā* VS MS KS ŚB *lotanāsu* TS Note double dittology in VS ŚB

*namo babhluśāya vyādhine* (TS *vvyā°*) VS TS. MS KS Either form makes good sense, we assume that the majority have the original *athem enam pra hinutāl pīrbhyah* (AV. †*pīrnr upa*); and:

*athem enam* (AV *athemam enam*) *pari dallāt pīrbhyah* RV. AV. TA.

See Whitney on AV. 18.2.4, 5. There is no doubt of the dittology in AV. (note the meter); in 18.2.5 it seems textually certain, being read by nearly all mss. and both editions. In 18.2.4 there is more variation in the mss., and SPP. reads *athem enam* with the comm

*devā* (AV *devā vā*) *etasyām avadanta pūrve* RV AV The meter proves AV. secondary, and Ppp. (Barret, JAOS 42 127) also omits *vā(ṛ)*

*namo giriśāya* (VS. °*śayāya*) VS TS. MS KS The stems *-śa* and *-śāya* are both unexceptionable, probably the majority indicate the original.

*na śim adeva āpat* (SV. *āpa tat*) RV. SV. ŚŚ. The RV. has an aorist of *āp*, to be read as a trissyllable SV tries to improve the meter; cf. VV I p 138.

*nirjāla nirjālpēna* (MS *nirjālpēna*, TS *nirjālmakēna*, KS. *nirjālmāka-*) *śīrṣṇā* VS TS. MS KS Obscure word; VS. simulates an intensive from *jālp*

*ye te agna* (MS *agnā*) *indavo yā u nābhayah* (TA *urnunābhayah*, but Poona ed *u nā°* with *v* *urnunā°*) MS KS. TA The absurd corruption of some TA. mss seems to be read by the comm. also; perhaps it was influenced by thought of *ūrṇanābhū* 'spider', but this would be as inappropriate as possible here

*anhaspatyāya* (VS ŚB. KŚ *anhasaspataye*) *tvā* VS TS MS ŚB TB. KŚ. ApŚ Stem varying with genitive case form in composition.

*ṛtur janitrī tasyā apas* (GB *apasas*) *pari* RV GB. If GB is correct it attempts to improve the meter and at the same time furnish a form which can be governed by *pari* (in RV. *apas* is governed by a verb in the next pāda, and *pari* governs *tasyāh*) But Gaastra reads *apas*, with *v* *apasas*

*tanūpās* (TB Poona ed text and comm *tanūnapāc*) *ca sarasvatī* VS. KS TB. See §195.

*itr asmai sapta dhenavo dūduhre* (SV Svidh °*hrīre*) RV SV. Svidh. See VV I p 170

*vr̥ṣā pavitre adhi sāno avye* (RV \**avyaye*) RV. (both) SV TA MahānU. N Both *avya* and *avyaya* (from *avya?* or *avi?*) are well known, and both are metrically possible; they are *triṣṭubh* and *jagati* forms of the same expression But the latter occurs in a verse

(9 86 3) which seems to be a patchwork of older materials (*RVRep* 453), so that *avye* is probably original

*ājim na gīrvavāho jigyur āsvāh* SV *ājim na jagmur gīrvāho āsvāh* RV  
For metrical reasons Grassmann considers SV the original Against this Oldenberg, *Noten* on 6 24 6 The SV form is unique, the other familiar, and Grassmann's suggestion is unlikely

§811. Vaguer dittologies seem involved in the following.

*nīdhedhāsi puruspārham* (so KS and TB Poona ed, and p p of MS, MS text *puruṣaspārham*) *yaśasvat* MS KS † TB †  
*tato vākā* (TS *tatah pāvākā*) *āśiṣo no juṣantām* VS TS MS KS ŚB  
'Holy words and prayers' or 'purifying prayers', TS spoils the meter Dittology with *p* for *v*

*tena yo 'smat* (TA \* *tenānyo 'smat*) *saṃr̥chātai* (MS mss *saṃr̥tsātām*) MS TA The variation is deliberate and intelligent, and scarcely belongs here TA repeats a verse in successive stanzas, with this purposeful change, the first version means 'whoever comes against us therewith', the second 'whoever else' etc

*indrāpāsya* (v l *āyāsya*) *phalagam* ApMB *indrāyayāsya śephām* *alākam* HĠ Kirste, 'read *indra āyāsya*'

#### 4 Haplology or Dittology

§812. In a smaller group we find either haplology or dittology, but it is not certain which, because the original form of the variants is hard to determine Several of these contain variations between the accusative personal pronouns *mā* and *mām*

*ājur bṛhat tad aśīyo tan māvatu* (MŚ *mām avatu*) ApŚ MŚ

*tan mām āvīl* TA TU *tan māvīl* MG

*tan māvatu* PB TA TU ApŚ *tan mām avatu* MŚ AG MG

*punar mām aītv* (AV Vait Kauś *maītv*) *indriyam* AV ŚB TA BrhU

ŚŚ Vait AG Kauś SMB GG HG MG

§813. Other, miscellaneous cases

*vājayityāyāi* (KS *ājityāi*) *tā* TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ Stems *jityā* and *jīti* While the majority agree on the longer form, this is hardly conclusive KS is probably on the whole the most original YV text; only two other schools differ from it, and *jīti* is a much commoner stem than *jityā*, which latter seems to be found only in composition with *vāja* and *āji*

*śīśrāya vikakarān* (KSA † *vikarān*, ApŚ *vikārān*, vv ll *vikalarān*, *vikikārān*) VS KS ApŚ Original form and precise meaning unknown (seemingly some bird) Cf the preceding formula, *hemantāya kakarān* (KSA † *kakārān*)

*aneṣann asya yā ɾṣavaḥ* (TS KS NilarU *asyeṣavaḥ*) VS TS MS KS  
 NilarU The presence or absence of the articular relative makes  
 little difference, and the meter is no better in one reading than in  
 the other

*bharatam uddhareṃ anuṣiñca* (MŚ *uddhareṃ vanuṣanti*) TB ApŚ MŚ.  
 See §236, end Either haplology in TB ApŚ, or dittology in MŚ.  
 which is in any case corrupt, with *v* for *m*

*anu no mārṣṭu* (VS TS ŚB TA *anu mārṣṭu*) *tanvo yad vīrṣṭam* (*vīr°*)  
 AV VS TS MS KS ŚB. TA ŚŚ



## CHAPTER XVIII. FALSE DIVISIONS AND PATCH-WORDS

§814. Except for Sandhi, to be treated in our final chapter, we have now concluded what may be called phonetic variants in the strict sense. In this chapter we shall deal chiefly with variants involving different divisions of words. It may be questionable whether they belong strictly in this volume. Yet they certainly deserve mention, as revealing, perhaps as well as any other groups of variants, the general break-down of sound and sense alike in the Vedic tradition (see §16). There seems no better place than this volume to present these materials, which do not exhaust the subject but illustrate the main types sufficiently.

1 A compound word divided, or vice versa, without further change

§815. In a considerable number of cases the difference between the variant words consists solely in this, that what in one form of the variant is a single compound word appears in the other as two separate words. There being no change in the form of either part, we can sometimes tell only by the accents whether one word or two is intended, and sometimes, indeed, we can not tell at all with confidence. At other times other changes in the formulas suggest a reinterpretation.

§816. We begin with cases in which the original and true form of the variant has one word, the separation into two being secondary, and sometimes uninterpretable.

*ajāma sūro adhvano vmadhyam* (AV *v madhyam*) RV. AV Whitney rightly says that the AV reading is a corruption of the other

*oṣīthahanam śṛṅgīṇīkośyābhyām* (TA *\*kośābhyām*) TS TA *vasīṣṭha-hanuh śṛṅgīṇī kośyābhyām* VS. The VS reading is very poor and perhaps should be emended.

*yathēyam strī pautram agham na rodāt* SMB PG ApMB HG · *yathedam strīpautram aganma rudrīyāya* MG. See §801.

*aghora ghoratārebhyaś ca* MS. *ghora ghoratārebhyaḥ* TA MahānU. Preceded by *aghorebhyo 'tha ghorebhyah*. The forms of Rudra are meant. The tradition is unstable. One ms of MS has two accents, but MS p p takes it as one word, which seems likely to be original. TA has two accents, yet its comm understands one word, 'more terrible than the terrible', and Poona ed prints it so (but with two accents!). Comm on MahānU, however, takes *ghora* as a separate vocative, addressed to Rudra.

*ṛasnasaspaṭa imaṁ deva yajñam* (KS *devayajñam svāhā vāci*) *svāhā vāte dhāḥ* VS. KS. ŚB. The variants in AV. 7. 97. 8 and TS. 1. 1. 13 3, 4. 41. 3, have *deceṣu yajñam*, which supports KS in meaning. The separate *deva yajñam* is secondary, if indeed it is really the intention of the texts (so comm. on VS, but the accentless voc. is indistinguishable from *deva-* as part of a cpd.)

*rācaspatē 'chidrayā rācūchidrayā juhvā divi devārdham* (ŚŚ *devā r̥dhan*) *hotrām airayat* (KŚ. °yanī, TA. *erayasa*, ŚŚ *airayasa*) *svāhā* ŚB TA. KŚ. ŚŚ. The ŚŚ. is uninterpretable.

§817. In the rest it seems more likely that the form with two words is original, altho in some of them there is little to choose.

*yajur yuktam* (TA.† *yajuryuktam*) *sāmbhir ātakham tvā* (MS. *ṛkta-khamtvā*) MS. TA. Comm. on TA., 'provided with the *yajus*'.

In MS. two accents: 'the *yajus* is joined' or the like.

*madhu śaṣpair* (MS. *madhuśaṣpair*) *na teja indriyam* VS. MS. TB In either case the word *madhu* is a quasi-adjective, modifying either the preceding *bhesajam*, or *śaṣpair*. MS. p.p. divides *madhu śaṣpair* as two words; Poona ed. of TB prints it as one, but with two accents! (and against the comm.)

*madhu havir* (MS. *madhuhavir*) *asi* MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. So according to the accents of MS. and TA. Probably MŚ. must be read *madhuhavir* like MS.; Knauer separates the words because of the parallel *hutam havir* in MŚ. 4. 3. 34; but MS. also reads *hutam havir* in its version of that passage and follows it immediately with *madhuhavir*, as one word. Cf. prec.

*devabarhiḥ* (KS. *deva barhiḥ*) *śatavalśam vi roha* TS. KS. TB ApŚ.: *atas tvam deva vanaspate śatavalśo* (MS *tvam barhiḥ śatavalśam*) *viroha* VS. MS. ŚB. The latter version suggests taking *deva barhiḥ* as two words, as von Schroeder does in KS. The words are voc., so that the accent proves nothing; TS. p.p. takes it as one word. But Poona ed. of TB. prints it as two.

*aritarata vo hi kam* (TS. *hikam*; so printed also in KS.†) AV. TS. MS. KS.

Comm. on AV. (as also that on TS.) as a single, compound particle.

*upa prakṣe* (AA. ŚŚ. *upaparakṣe*) *madhumati kṣiyantaḥ* SV. AA. ŚŚ. Svidh. This is hard to interpret, whether as one word or as two. For various guesses that have been made see Keith, AA. Transl., p. 235 n. 7. Keith's text of AA. prints *upa prakṣe* with most mss., but against comm., who understands *upaparakṣe* as a prepositional cpd., 'near the *prakṣa*'. Cf. also the infinitive (?) *upaparakṣe*, RV 5. 47. 6.

*namas te rudra rūpebhyo namaḥ* MS *namas te astu rudrarūpebhyah* TA MahānU. 'Homage to thee, O Rudra! to (thy) forms homage' 'homage be to thy Rudra-forms (terrible forms)'

*śivā viśvāha bheṣajī* (TS °*habheṣajī*, VS °*hā bhe*°, MS °*ha* [p p, °*hā* *bheṣajū*) VS TS MS KS There is no difference in the meaning, whether the adverb be taken as compounded with the next word or not

*devīḥ* (AV *darvīḥ*, KS *trayīṣ*) *śad urvīr* (TS p p *śadurvīḥ*, and so Conc assumes for ApMB HG) *uru nah* (TS ApMB *nah*, KS † *nas*) *hṛnola* RV AV TS KS ApMB HG The words are voc and there are no accents RV and AV p p interpret as two words, which seems more natural No doubt all-texts except possibly the Tait school separate *śad urvīr*

*deva puraścara saghyāsam* (MS *devapuraśc carasa ṛdhyāsam*) *tvā* MS TA ApŚ MS See §147, and §838 MS p p divides *deva* from *punaś* (which it reads by error for *puraś*)

*imām su nāvām āruham* TS KS ApŚ *sunāvām ā ruheyam* VS (pratika PG)

*pra su* (HG. *sa*, read *su*) *mṛtyum* (SMB *sumarīyam*) *yuyolana* SMB ApMB HG The reading of ApMB is original

*apa* (AV *ava*) *śveta padā gahī* AV AG ŚG PG ApMB HG *apah śvetapad ā gahī* MG Read *apa śveta padā* in MG, there is no good ground for Kanuer's editing of the text See his note and comm, and our §134

## 2 A compound word divided, or vice versa, with change of form in the prior member

§818. Next we come to cases in which the prior part of what is a compound word in one form of the variant appears in the other with somewhat altered form Again we begin with the variants in which it appears that the original form contained a compound, which is broken up in secondary texts.

*stomatrayastrinṣe bhuvanasya patnī* TS KS AŚ · *stomas trayastrinṣe bhuvanasya patnī* MS The latter corruptly turns the vocs into nouns, apparently making *stomas* subject and *patnī* predicate, despite the divergence in gender

*vāñmanaścaḥśuḥśrotrajihvāghrānaretobuddhyākūṭisamkalpā* (TA TAA °*ākūṭih samkalpā*) *me śudhyantām*, TA TAA MahānU See §383 *śarīram yajñāśamalam* (MahānU *yajñāḥ śa*°) *kusīdam tasmin sīdatu yo 'smān dvesṣi* TS KSA TA MahānU The latter is clearly second-

ary, comm makes *śarīram yajñah* a sentence, 'the sacrifice is the body' On the interpretation of the original, which is troublesome, see Keith on TS

*gaur dhenubhavyā* (HG *dhenur bhavyā*) ApMB. HG The meaning is the same, 'that is to become a milch cow', but the compound *dhenubhavyā* seems to be the standard expression

*tām vidyām brahmayonim svarūpām* (VaradapU. *brahmayonisra*) NrpU. VaradapU. 'The identical womb of brahman', or 'which is identical with the womb of brahman', either is possible

*adhr̥ṣṭam dhr̥ṣṇvojasam* (SV *dhr̥ṣṇum ojasā*) RV AV. SV. 'Of irresistible strength': 'irresistible in strength'.

*mithucarantam* (KS *mithū*°, TS. *mithuś car*°, AV *mithuyā car*°) *upayāti* (AV. *abhayāti*) *dūṣayan* AV. TS MS. KS. There is really no way of deciding the original

*agner* (TS *devānām*) *agneyāny* (KS *agniyāny*) *asī* TS. MS. KS. One ms and p p of MS *agner agner yāny asī*. Cf *agner yāny asī* TS. MS KS ApŚ MŚ See §357.

*devajūte vivasvann āditya te no devāh*. MS : *vivasvān aditir devajūtis te na ādityā*. TS. *divo jyote* (and, *jyotir*) *vivasva āditya te no devā*. KS Both parts of the epd are changed to different, tho quasi-synonymous, words.

*syonā mānśaterammadah* (TS °*terā madah*) TS. MS. KS. The TS. may be original, as it certainly seems simpler and more natural: 'kindly enter into me as food and drink'. But it is probably a lect. fac for the other: 'kindly enter into me as Irām̐mada (Agni, lighting?)'

*rtaprajātā* (MŚ *uta pra*°) *bhaga id vah syāma* TS MŚ The latter is secondary but intelligible, §641

*sarvasmād devakīlbiṣāt* (LŚ *eva ki*°, VS. *devakīlv*°) RV. VS MS LŚ. ApŚ · *viśvasmād deva*° AV. MS The LŚ is secondary but sensible, §402

[*āindrāsūrāh* (KSA *āindrāsaurāh*) *śyetalalāmās* (KSA.† *śyāmala*°) *tūparāh* TS KSA Conc quotes KSA as *aindrāh saurāh*]

[*anyavratasya* (TA *anyādvra*°, printed by Conc as *anyad vra*°, the accent proves that it is a epd, tho the comm seems to take it as two words) *saścima* (RV *saścire*, TA *saścimah*, Poona ed. °*ma*) RV VS MS ŚB TA]

§819. In the following, on the other hand, it seems more likely that the version with two separate words is the original.

*svāhā yajñam manasah* (KS 2 3 *yajñamanasah*) VS MS. KS. †2 3 and

23 5, ŚB. ApŚ KŚ MŚ. A verb like *ā rabhe* is understood, the accus *yajñam* is necessary to the sense, and KS. 2 3 should be so corrected. In 23 5 KS has correctly *yajñam ma°* (not noted in Conc). '(I take) sacrifice from mind'

*māgadhaḥ punścālī kṛtavah klībo 'śūdrū abrahmanās* (VSK *punścālī klīvah kṛtavo 'śūdrābrāhmanās*) *te pīṣṭjāpatyāḥ* VS VSK

*śataḥ saraś chandasānuṣṭubhena* ApŚ *śatākṣarachandasā jāgalena* Kauś  
In Kauś v 1. *śatākṣarah*. The original reading of ApŚ (cf §511) makes the adjective agree with *ayam sruvo* preceding, with change to *śatā°*, having a totally different meaning, it is drawn into composition with *chandasā*

*dahram* (v 1 *daharam*) *vipāpṃmavaraveśmabhūtam* (MahānU *vipāpṃmavaram veśma°*) TA MahānU The Poona ed. of TA reads *vipāpṃmam vara°*, with v 1 *vipāpṃmavara°* MahānU also has v 1 *varaveśma°*. The most plausible original seems to be *dahram vipāpṃmam varaveśmabhūtam*. This is stylistically better than *vipāpṃmavara°*, an awkward compound

*dadhad ratnam* (AŚ *ratnā*) *daḥṣam pītṛbhya* (AŚ. ŚŚ *dakṣapī°*) *āyur* (AV *āyūrṣi*) AV AŚ ŚŚ Doubtless AV. is original. The edition of AŚ separates *dakṣa* from *pī°*, evidently regarding it as a voc *indrāḥ pāṣena ṛṣiktvā vah* (HG *pāṣena vah ṛṣiktvā*) ApMB HG *indra-pāṣena sītvā* PG. See note in Oldenberg's Translation of HG *aślonā* (AV comm *aśro°*) *aṅgair* (TA *°nāṅgair*) *ahrutāḥ* (TA *ahrīā*, Poona ed *ahrutāḥ*, v 1 *°lā*) *svarge* AV TA 'Not lame in their limbs', or 'with not-lame limbs'. AVPPP agrees with TA, but this is the kind of error that occurs very commonly in PPP, meter indicates that the other version is original

*rudra yat te krayā* (VS KS *kṛvī*, VSK *kṛvī*, MS MŚ *gṛī-*) *param nāma tasmā* (VS MS ŚB *tasmin*) *hulam aśi* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ See §47

*yasya* (ApMB *vy asya*) *yonim prati reto* (ŚG *patireto*) *grhāna* (ŚG *grbhāya*) ŚG ApMB HG *patireto* looks like a secondary adaptation, tho a very natural one

*śad id yamā* (TA *śad udyamā*) *ṛṣayo devajā itī* RV AV TA N Apparently TA must understand *udyamā* as an adjective

3 A compound word divided, or vice versa, with change of form in the second member

§820. In other cases the form of the variant containing two separate words shows a change in the form of the second member (sometimes

in the first one too) when compared with the form containing a compound. The second member of the compound, when used as a separate word, has a different inflectional ending, or is otherwise changed in form, sometimes it even appears as a different part of speech (a verb). We begin as before with those variants in which the original form seems to be that containing a compound word.

*vr̥ṣṭadyāvānam* (ApŚ *vr̥ṣṭim devānām*) *amṛtam svarīdam* MS. KS ApŚ

The original of MS KS means 'nectar of the dwellers in the rain-sky, heaven-finding', the sacrifice is referred to. In ApŚ by a lect fac the sacrifice is called 'rain, nectar of the gods', etc.

*parā svapnamukhāḥ śucah* AV *parah svapna mukhā kṛdhi* KŚ 'Away the dream-faced pains'. 'away, O sleep, put (thy) faces (appearances)'. But KŚ may intend a compound.

*indrāsūrā janayan viśvakarmā* TB *indrah sūrah prathamō viśvakarmā* AŚ. Comm on TB takes *indrā sūrā* as two words (and they are so printed in Poona ed.), interpreting as noms sing. But they must surely be acc. dual of a *devatā dvandva*, object of *janayan*. The whole verse is pretty low bathos. AŚ has a lect fac.

*bhuvanam asi sahasrapoṣaṇi* (ApŚ *sahasrapoṣam puṣa*) MS. ApŚ 'Thou art ground prospering with thousand-fold prosperity': 'prosper thou with thousand-fold prosperity'. Verb form introduced secondarily, cf. next.

*agne tvām kāmāyā* (SV *tvām kāmāye*) *gīrā* RV. SV. VS. The original means 'O Agni, with thee-desiring song'. By a lect fac SV. introduces a verb form, as in the preceding and next. 'O Agni, I desire thee with song'.

*revati predhā*, *revati yajamāne priyam dhā*, *revatīr yajñapatim priyadhānīṣata*, see §747.

*āre śatrūn* (AV † *āreśatrum*) *kṛnuhi sarvavīrah* (AV \**ram*) AV TS AŚ ŚŚ MŚ 'Make him one whose enemies are remote,' AV., doubtless original 'make [his] enemies remote,' lect fac. The AV. comm. stumbles over the form and understands two words.

*ugrampaśyā* (MS *ugrām paśyā* 'c, TB *dūrepaśyā*) *ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tāni* MS TB TA *ugrampaśye ugrojītau tad adya* AV. In this and the next MS is hopelessly corrupt; note accents.

*ugrampaśye* (MS *ugrām paśyéd*) *rāṣṭrabhṛt kīlbiśāni* AV MS TA. Cf. prec.

*āsannīśūn hṛtvaso mayobhūn* RV. AV TS MS KSA N. *āsann eṣām apsuvāho mayobhūn* SV. The latter misunderstands and simplifies the strange cpd *āsann-īśūn* 'having arrows in the mouth'. SV means 'carrying water in their mouths'.

*mama padyāya vi rāja* ApMB . *mayi dohah padyāya virājah* (MG adds *kalpatām*) AG HG MG . *mayi padyāya virājo dohah* ŚŚ ŚG PG. The original is *virājah*, gen of *virāj*

[*subhagamkaranī nama* AV : *subhāgam laranam mama* SMB But Jorgensen properly prints SMB *subhāgamkaranam* as one word]

§821. In the rest it appears that the form of the variant with two words is the original

*sarūpa vṛṣann ā gahī* SV JB.. *sarūpavarṣā ehi* MS In the latter nom. of stem *sarūpavarṣa* (with sandhi peculiar to MS) The other texts, most likely original, have two vocatives

*pari ghransam omanā* (TB *parighransa vām manā*) *vām vayo gāt* (TB *gām*) RV MS. TB N. Hopeless corruption in TB See §828

*agnir hotā prthivy antarikṣam* AŚ ApŚ *agnihotram prthivīm antarikṣam* MŚ The latter has a careless assimilation to the accusatives of the preceding *pāda* *ukhūm sravantīm agadām akarma*

*pari doṣād udarpiṭhah* KŚ . *paritoṣāt tad arpiṭha* ApŚ See §63

*mā rudrīyāso abhi gulbadhānah* (TA *gur vṛdhānah*) MS TA . *mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu* (mss *nuh*) MŚ See §§209, 260, MS has a gross corruption

*sahasradhāram vṛṣabham divo dukuh* (SV *dwoduham*) RV SV Verb form in RV.. 'the thousand-streamed bull of heaven they milked' SV 'the thousand-streamed heaven-milking bull'

*uror ā no* (VS ŚB. LŚ *pururāvno*) *deva rīṣas pāhi* VS TS MS KS ŚB. TB LŚ See §371a

4 Last syllable of a word, not a compound, replaced by a patch-word, or vice versa

§822. In not a few cases the last syllable of a word (not an independent member of a compound) is replaced in a secondary text by a separate word, generally a light word (preposition, particle, or pronoun), which may be called a 'patch-word' ('Flickwort'), or the reverse The cases recorded here differ from those included in the separate sections (§§841-850) on Patch-Words below only in that the degree of phonetic resemblance is here greater, there is no hard and fast line between them

§823. Since the change in both directions is quite common, it is at times hard to tell, unless on the ground of general text-chronology, which form of the variant is the more original In the following cases we do not venture to decide this question

*apsarasāu anu dattām ṛnāni* (AV *ṛnam nah*) AV TB TA. *apsarasām anudattānṛnāni* MŚ (p p. *anu, dattām, ṛnāni*) Either the plur *ṛnāni*, or the sing *ṛnam* with the pronoun *nah*, is quite satisfactory

*vratāni* (MS TB ApŚ *vratā nu*) *bibhrad vratapā adabdhah* (TB ApŚ ŚŚ ŚG *adābhyah*) MS AB TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ ŚG. In MS etc the older or hieratic form *vratā* is patched by the particle *nu*, in the other the alternative form *vratāni* is used

*mā mā yūnarvā hāsīt* (JB *yono vām hārasīh*) PB JB LŚ Both forms incomprehensible

§824. In the following the form of the variant with the longer word seems to be the original, being replaced in a secondary version by a shorter word plus a patch-word. Here may be mentioned RV 4 20 9b (also in KS, where there is no evidence as to the division intended), *yayā kṛnoti muhu kā cid ṛṣvāh*, read *muhukā* with Ludwig and Conc., cf Oldenberg, *Noten ad loc*

*jāmum* (KS *†camu*) *mā hinsīr amuyā* (MŚ *anu yā*) *śayānā* KS. TB.

ApŚ MŚ *mā jāmum moṣīr amuyā śayānām* AV Acc to AV comm the darbha-grass used in strewing the vedi is addressed, *amuyā* is adverbial. The MŚ variant makes *śayānā* refer to *jāmum*, conjectured by Ludwig and Henry to mean the uttaravedi, so that in general sense it agrees

*gaurīr* (AV *gaur in*, TB TA *gaurī*) *mimāya sahlāni talṣatī* RV AV TB AA TA N

*dhruvāsah* (TB ApŚ *dhruvā ha*) *parvatā ime* RV. AV KS TB ApŚ SMB MG

*slavāno* (VS TS KS ŚB *avā no*) *devyā kṛpā* (VS ŚB *dhuyā*) RV. VS TS MS KS ŚB

*mā rudrīyāso abhi gulbadhānah* (TA *gur vṛdhānah*) MS TA *mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu* (mss *nuh*) MŚ. Altho the MŚ reading is by all means the most reasonable, it is probably only a lect fac. TA accents wrongly *vṛdhā'nah*, and its comm takes the apparently uninterpretable singular quite calmly as a plural (*vardhamānāh*)! Cf §821

*yo rayvo* (SV *rayim vo*) *rayintamah* RV. SV. KB ŚŚ ŚG VHDh. Benfey ignores the uninterpretable *vo* in his translation, taking *rayim* as accus of specification

*ṛṣinām putro abhiśastipāvā* (TB. *°pā ayam*, AV *°pā u*) AV VS ŚB TB. See §740

*bhavā ṛṣṣinām* (AV. *gr°*) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV *°pā u*) AV. PG. ApMB. HG See prec

*abhūr grṣṣinām* (ApMB *āpīnām*, HG *āpīnām*, AV mss *\*v āpīnām*, em wrongly *vaśānām*) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV *°pā u*) AV HG ApMB. See prec but one



*ya usriyā apyā* (SV *api yā*) *antar āsmanah* (SV °nī) RV. SV. See §785

SV misunderstands and misdivides the epithet *apyā* 'of the waters' *achāyam eli* (KS °yam *yanti*) *śavasā ghṛtena* (AV *ghṛtā cit*, KS *ghṛtācīh*) AV VS. TS MS KS The AV. reading looks secondary to that of KS, which has an adjective agreeing with *śrucah*, the subject of *yanti*; *ghṛtā* can only be construed as an accus. of goal after *eli*, whose subject is Agni

*dīvas cid antūd* (RV. *antān*) *upamām* (RV. °mān, TA *upa mām*, so AV v 1 adopted by Whitney, and comm.) *ud ānaḥ* RV. SV. AV TA While RV. is of course original, the AV TA reading is not bad: 'even from the end of heaven he has attained unto me' This should doubtless be read in SV

*te brahmalokeṣu* (TA °loke *tu*) *parāntakāle* TA. MahānU MundU. KaivU

*viprasya dhārayā kavīh* RV.: *vīprah sa dhārayā sulaḥ* SV. See §189  
*somaḥ sulasya madhvah* RV.: *somaḥ sulaḥ sa madhumān* SV. See §189  
*na va śvetasyādhyācāre* (AG *śvelas cābhyāgāre*, others all *śvetasyā-*) AG. PG. ApMB HG MG. Secondary but intelligible reading in AG.; see §188.

*ubhāv indrā* (ŚB. *indro*) *udītaḥ sūryas ca* VS. ŚB: *aya(h)sthūnam* (°nāv) *udīta* (°lau) *sūryasya* RV. TS MS. KS See §188  
*ūrvam gavyām pariśadanto agman* RV. KS. *urvīm gavyām pariśadam* no akran AV.

*aganma yatra pratiranta* (MG. *prataram na*) *āyuh* RV. AV. MG  
*sugantuḥ karma karanah karīṣyan* JB.: *sugam tvah karmah karanah karah karasyuh* LŚ See §739.

*apa snehitīr* (SV. *snihitīm*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāh*, KS *†nṛmanā adadhrām*) RV. AV. SV. KS. *upa stuhī tam nṛmnām athadrām* (Poona ed. varies) TA

*sam takṣā hanti cakrī vaḥ* (HG. *cakṛiṇah*) ApMB HG Very obscure passage, HG seems to approach closer to a sensible reading *ṛtena* (MG. *ṛte 'va*) *sthūnām* (°nāv, °nā) *adhī roha vanśa* (MG *vanśah*) AV. AG. ApMB. HG MG. Kauś Knauer says 'wohl nicht *ṛtā na*', yet that would seem to give better sense than *ṛte va* In any case MG is secondary.

*starij* (AV. *svaṛ yaj*) *jyotiḥ abhayam svasti* RV. AV.  
*grāmyamañḍīradāsakau* ApŚ *grāmyam mañḍīradāsakau* MS. *vyāghram mañḍīradāsa gauḥ* Vait See §49.

§825. In verbal endings (cf. §827).

*svastī rāye maruto dadhātana* (MG *dadhātu nah*) RV. KS AB MG  
 See VV I p 231

*pa su* (HG *sa*) *mṛtyum* (SMB *sumarīyam*, MG *prathamam arīam*)  
*yuyotana* (MG *yuyotu nah*) SMB ApMB HG. MG  
*viśvam tu tvāhutayah sarvā* . PrānāgU . *viśvantu tvām āhutayaś ca* .  
 MU Read *viśantu*, see §371

*kriyanta* (TB *priyā ta*, so divide) *ā barhih sīda* RV. AV KS TB  
*dawyā* (AV *°vā*) *hotāro* (TS *°rā*, AV *°rah*) *vanuṣanta* (TS *vanī°*, KS  
 †*vanuṣan na*, AV *sanuṣan na*) *pūrve* (AV KS *etat*) RV AV TS. KS  
*asūni cārur* (*cārye*, *cāryo*, *cāryo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB *bhṛjāsi*, HG *bhajā sa*)  
*jīvan* AV. SMB ApMB HG Cf VV I p 96  
*jātavedo nayā hy* (read *nayāsy?*) *enam sukrītām yatra lokah* JB.. *jātavedo*  
*vahemam* (ŚŚ *vahasvainam*) *sukrītām* TA ŚŚ

§826. In the rest it seems that the form containing two words is the older, a secondary version joins a short word on to the preceding word, usually with some further change:

*samudre na* (and *°dre na*) *sindhavo yādamānāh* RV (both). Read  
*samudre na* in both, Bloomfield, JAOS 27. 77 ff, RVRep 197;  
 Oldenberg, *Noten* on 3 36 7.

*twiṣm indre na* (MS *indrena*) *bheṣajam* VS MS TB Bathos in either  
 case; but MS p p *indre, na*. VS comm says that *na* means *ca*!  
*spardhanī dhīryah* (*dvāh*) *sūrye na* (SV *sūre na*, TS KSA.† *sūryena*)  
*viśah* RV SV TS KSA Change to *instr* in TS KSA because this  
 is the case naturally construed with *spardh-*.

*neva mānse na pībasi* AV . *naiva mānsena pīvari* PG.: *na mānseṣu na*  
*snāvasu* ApMB Perhaps PG. should be divided *mānse na*; at  
 least this is the original reading

*samsraṣṭā sa yudha indro ganena* RV AV SV. VS TS KS.. *samsrṣṭāsu*  
*yutsv indro ganeṣu* MS 'This Indra the joiner of battle' 'Indra  
 in the joined battles'.

*trīni padāni* (*padā*) *nahitā guhāsyā* (TA MahānU. *guhāsu*) AV VS TA  
 MahānU Pronoun *asya* replaced by loc ending *-su*

*māteva putram bībhṛtā sv* (VS ŚB *°tāpsv*) *enat* (TS KS *enam*) VS TS  
 MS KS ŚB The verse is addressed to waters, hence the secondary  
 reading *apsu*

*idam aham rakṣo* *°bhi* (MS *\*rakṣobhik*) *sam ūhāmi* (TS *sam dahāmi*)  
 TS MS (bis) KS. MŚ See §383

*āvati tam* (TA Conc *prāvarītam*, comm and Poona ed. text *āvartam*)  
*indrah śacyā dhamantam* RV AV SV KS TA The sole ms of KS  
 also reads *āvartam* (ed emends) TA comm interprets as a gerund  
 (*āvṛtya*)

*samid dīśām āśayā nah* (MS *āśāyānah*) *svarvati* (TS *suvar°*) TS MS

KS AŚ ApŚ Both accent and sense show that no pres mid pple (masc) can be intended, altho MS p p does not divide the word

*yajā no* (MS *yajāno*) *devo* (TB AŚ ApŚ *devān*) *ajarah suvīrah* MS TB. AŚ ApŚ. *bhāvā no dūto ajarah suvīrah* ŚŚ. ŚG. Again (cf prec) the accent shows that MS p p is wrong in not dividing the word, tho this time the participle would be interpretable

*vi ca naśan na iṣo arātayah* RV *vi cid aśnānā iṣayo arātayah* SV Benfey renders SV 'devoured' (root *aś* 'eat', middle pple in passive sense) It is a Verballhornung, the orig itself is rather obscure; *vi-naś* is peculiarly used

*yato bhayam abhayam tan* (KS 35 1c *†abhayatvam*) *no astu* (AV ed *astu*, misprint) AV KS \* TB ApŚ MŚ

*imam indra vardhaya kṣatryam me* (TB *kṣatryānām*) AV TB Kauś *viṣṇūvarunā* (TB *°nāv*) *abhiśastīpāvā* (TB *°pā vām*) MS TB Followed by *devā yajanta haviṣā ghṛtena* 'O V and V, let the 'gods' (TB comm *ṛtvjah*) sacrifice to you two as protectors from imprecation' etc The variant form must be dual, and as MS can be so interpreted only by understanding it in a bizarre way (stem *°pāva*, or irregularly from *°pāvan*), we assume that TB is orig

*bṛhaspataye* (MŚ *°pate*) *mahiṣa* (TS *mahi śad*) *dyuman namah* AV TS MŚ. Comm on AV. agrees with TS, which has the correct reading, see §392

*dātum cec chikṣān sa svarga eva* AV *dātum cec chaknīwānsāh* (so, with double accent, Calc ed) *svarga eṣām* TA For the latter read *chaknāvān* (or better *°vān*) *sá* with Poona ed, see VV I p 165

*purastāt* (AB *purastā*) *sarve kurmahe* AB ŚŚ See §365

*sumutrah soma no* (Kauś *sumano*) *bhava* RV TS MS KS ŚB KŚ Kauś

*stomo yajñāś ca* (TB *yajñasya*) *rādhyo haviṣmatā* (TB. *°tah*) RV TB See §188

*arepasah* (ApŚ adds *samokasah*) *cite goh* (SV *citā goh*, ApŚ *cidākoh*) SV AV ApŚ MŚ See §47

*turaś cid viśvam ṛtarnavat tapasvān* AV *· duraś ca viśvā avṛnod apa svāh* RV

*tam id arbhe haviṣy ā samānam u* RV.: *tvām arbhasya haviṣah samānam u* SV. KS TB ApŚ

*anupūrvam yalamānā yatī śha* (AV *sīha*, TA *yatiśha*) RV. AV. TA. See §86

*agne vitatam antar ā* (LŚ *antaram*) RV VS MS KS TB. LŚ VHDh Assimilation in LŚ to *vitatam*

*ā no yāhi* (also, *ā yāhi*) *tapasā janeṣu* (MS *jāniṣva*, ŚŚ. *janeṣv ā*) MS. AB AŚ ŚŚ The accent proves MS wrong, it seems to presuppose *janeṣv ā*.

*yad ullaradrāv uparāś ca khādatah* AV *yad tpsaradrūr uparasya* (ApŚ *apsararūparasya*) *khādati* KS ApŚ In AV complementary sing after elliptic dual (Edgerton, KZ 43 110 ff) See VV I p. 270 f

§827. Verbal endings are concerned in the following (cf §825). *śrucā juhuta no* (ŚŚ *juhutanā*) *havih* TB ŚŚ ApŚ

*tiḡmāyudhāya bharatā śnotu nah* (TB *śnotana*) RV TB N Assimilation of form to the preceding *bharatā* in TB

*yatheyam strī pautram agham na rodāt* AG. SMB PG ApMB HG *yathedam strīpautram aganma rudriyāya* MG See §801.

*āprno 'si samprnah* (ApŚ *āprnoṣi samprna*) ŚŚ ApŚ The latter inferior

*ramadhvam mā bibhūta mat* (Kauś *bibhūta*) AV Kauś

*pratno hi* (TA. *pratnoṣi*) *kaṃ īdyo adhvaṛeṣu* RV AV TA See §299

5 First syllable of a word, not a compound, replaced by a patch-word, or vice versa

§828. Fairly numerous also are the cases in which a light word replaces the initial, instead of final, syllable of a longer word, or vice versa In the list now following the form with one word is original, the 'patched' form secondary

*śūro nṛṣātā śavaś* (SV. MS *śra*) *cakānah* (SV *ca tākāme*) RV. SV. TS MS Assimilation in SV to the preceding loc *nṛṣātā*: 'hero in men-winning and in desire for glory'

*vasavaś cātṣṭhan vasudhātaraś ca* AV. *vasuś cetṣṭho vasudhātamaś ca* VS TS. MS KS The bad meter and feeble sense of AV show that it is a corruption of the other, moreover Ppp agrees with the other texts (Barret, JAOS 42 108)

*śukrām vayanīy asurāya nirmuḡam* RV. *śukrā vi yanti asurāya nirmuḡe* SV 'They weave a bright garment for the Asura' 'the bright (soma-drops) stream variously for the adornment of the Asura'. *nadāyor nīratayoh śūra indrah* RV *na devo vṛtah śūra indrah* SV The 'uncontrolled bulls' of RV seem to be Indra's horses, lect fac in SV

*asūrte* (MS KS *ōtā*) *sūrte rajasi niṣatte* (MS. *ōtā*; KS *na sattā*) RV VS MS KS N. *asūrtā sūrtā rajaso vīmāne* TS Here *na* seems to be the comparative particle, it is of course secondary

*aryo naśanta* (SV *naḥ santu*) *saṃśanta* (SV. *† tu*) *no dhūyah* RV SV.

Again a lect fac in SV (*santu* taken with preceding, 'devoured  
be our foes').

*ūrjam bibhrad vasuwanh* (VS LŚ ŚG ApŚ \**vah sumanāh*, ApŚ \**vah suvanh*, ApŚ \**vasumanāh*) *sumedhāh* AV. VS KS. LŚ. ApŚ (thrice)  
ŚG. HG See §227

*ailabrdā* (MS \**mṛdā*, KS *ardamṛdā*) *yavyudhah* (VS *āyuryudhah*, MS *vo yudhah*) VS. TS MS KS See §241

*pari ghraṁsam omanā* (TB *parighransa vām manā*) *vām vayo gāt* (TB. *gām*) RV MS TB N. The original 'he shall go thru the heat by your aid unto strength' Corruption in TB

*dame-dame sustutya* (TS \**tir*, MS. \**ti*, AŚ. ŚŚ \**ti*) *vāvṛdhānā* (AV \**nav*, AŚ ŚŚ. *vām iyanā*) AV TS MS KS. AŚ ŚŚ. See §236

*amanmahīd anāśavah* (PB \**hī tad āśavah*) RV AV PB

*brāhmanebhyo 'bhyanuṇātā* (MahānU *hy anu*°) TA MahānU.

*tam ahve* (SV *u huve*) *vājasātaye* RV. SV

*tilvīlā* (misprinted *tilvalā*) *stām irāvatīm* AG. *tilvīlā sthājirāvatī* ŚG. *tilvalā sthīrāvatī* MG *tilvīlā syād irāvatī* ApMB A desperate passage, all forms corrupt Oldenberg (on ŚG, p. 144) suggests something like *sthāvarāvatī* for the original In ApMB a mistaken rationalization, a third person verb is out of place here, since there is a direct address

[*pra yah satrācā* (TB. Conc *sa vācā*) *manasā yajāte* (TB \**īat*) RV. TB But Poona ed of TB text and comm *satrācā*]

§229. In the rest the form with two words seems to be the original: *adyā mamāra sa hyah samāna* (MS *sahyah samānah*; p p *sah, hyah, sam, āna*) RV AV SV MS TA N The MS makes no sense, and its p p gives the true reading

*yas tā vijānāt* (TA \* MahānU *yas tad veda*, AV.\* VS *yas tāni veda*) *sa pituṣ* (VS. MahānU *pituh*, TA *savituh*) *pitāsat* RV AV VS TA MahānU N See §198

*sa dahan* (GB *sadanān*) *pradahan nu* (GB *v*) *agāh* GB Vait One ms of Vait has the same absurd reading as GB

*sā prasūr* (ŚG *suprasūr*) *dhenukā* (HG \**gā*) *bhava* AV ŚG ApMB. HG *garbhe* (MS \**bhah*) *sañ* (VS ŚB *san*, KS MS *sam*°) *jāyase punah* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB But it is likely that MS KS really intend *san* ( MS p p)

*sa eva jāyāh* (T' MahānU *sa vijāyamānah*) *sa jāyāyamānah* VS TA. MahānU ŚvetU ŚīrasU.

*svasūra āpo abhi gā ulāsaran* (SV *udā*°) RV SV See §60

*agne yāhi dūtyam mā - iṣanyah* (TB \**yam vāriṣanyah*) RV MS TB AŚ. See §225.

*tan mā jinvā* TS MS *tan mārjtvā* KS. See §354. KS probably secondary

*amum ma iṣāna*, and *sarvalokam ma iṣāna* VS. *amum maṇiṣāna*, and *sarvam maṇiṣāna* TA The form *iṣāna* can properly only mean 'send', but is doubtless felt confusedly as meaning 'wish', as if from *icchatī* 'send (as if, 'wish') me that (world)', .. 'every world'. TA has a monstrous quasi-imperative middle (with ending *āna*!), as if from the aorist of root *man*, comm *prayaccha*

*ā samudrā* (KS *ā śm ugrā*, TS ApŚ *āsminn ugrā*) *acucyavuh* TS MS. KS ApŚ Obscure and difficult with any reading, but MS seems clearly secondary

*apām na yantī* (SV *apo nayanta*) *ūrmayah* RV. SV. 'Lake streams of water go (the somas)' '(the somas) lead on the waters'.

*upākṛtam śaśamānam yad asthāt* (MŚ *sadhassthāt*, v 1 *sad asthāt*) AV. TS MŚ MŚ If *sadhassthāt* is right (see Knauer's note), it must depend on *upākṛtam*

*pariṣṭāh kṣeṣyasi* ApMB · *pariṣṭāh kṣeṣyasi* HG The true reading is *kva iṣyasi*, or more properly *eṣyasi*, 'whither wilt thou go?' The HG. has foolishly attempted to rationalize the reading by connecting it with the quasi-root *kṣ* (thinking of *kṣi*).

## 6. Dissyllabic words broken up into two 'light words', and vice versa

§830. Next comes a group which may be said to belong to both the two preceding classes at once That is, a dissyllabic word is broken up into two light words, or vice versa; often with further changes. We begin as before with cases in which the dissyllabic word seems to be the original:

*tad vipro abravīd udak* (ŚŚ *u tat*) AV. ŚŚ See §65

*ava* (RV *abh*, MS *ā vah* [text *vah* preceded by *hamṣā*], VS ŚB *vācā*) *somam nayāmasi* (RV *mṛśāmasi*, VS ŚB *avanayāmi*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

*sanvan* (KŚ *sa tvam*) *sanm suvinucā vimuñca* KŚ ŚŚ ApŚ The secondary KŚ reading may be graphic

*yamasya dūtāh śvapād vidhāvasi* TA *yamasya dūtāś ca vāg vidhāvati* MS See §145

*salyam* (SV ApŚ *sa tvam*) *vṛṣan vṛṣed asī* RV. SV. ApŚ

*irām u ha* (AV *aha*) *praśansati* AV ŚŚ ŚG.

*pra na* (SV *na*) *indo mahe tane* (SV *tu nah*) RV SV

*samyak* (TS MS TAA ApŚ \* MŚ *saṁ it*, KS \* *sarīt*) *sravanti sarito*

(TAA Conc *°lā*, Poona ed. text and comm *°lo*) *na dhenāh* RV VS. TS MS KS \* ŠB TAA KŚ ApŚ \* MŚ The second reading of KS, *earit*, tho given by all mss, is evidently a mistake for *sam it*, which is secondary to *samyak*.

*nyañ* (AV *nī yan*) *nī yanty uparasya niṣkṛtam* (AV *°līm*) RV. AV. KS *tarī mandrāsu prayalṣu* AV · *sa im* (TS *i*) *mandrā suprayasah* (TS *mandrāsu prayasah*, MS *mandrā suprayasā śarīman*) VS TS MS : *śanī mandras suprayalṣuh* KS As all commentators realize, the passage is hopelessly corrupt, but *sa im* (*i*) looks like a secondary lect fac for some single word (as in AV. KS)

§831. In the following the version with two light words seems to be original.

*idam ta eham para ū ta* (TB ApŚ, but not KS, *uta*) *eham* RV AV SV. KS † TB TA. AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ Comm on TB *uta*, *api ca*, but the text leaves the word accentless, which, as well as the bad sandhi (*uta eham*, with hiatus), indicates that the true reading was *u ta* (*te*).

*sa tū* (SV. *sato*) *dhanam kārīne na pra yansat* RV SV 'He verily shall give wealth to the singer' 'he shall give wealth to the virtuous, to the singer'. The genitive, followed by a dative in the same construction, is an indication of the badness of SV.

*kavir yah putrah sa im ā* (TA Conc *sā imāh*, Poona ed text and comm *sa imā*) *ciketa* RV. AV. TA N Comm on TA *imā*, *clāni dṛṣya-mānāni sarvāṇi bhūtāni*

*vidyām yām u ca* (ŚŚ *uta*) *vidmasi* AB ŚŚ.

*ā yañ* (MS MŚ *āyan*) *narah sudānavo dadāṣuḥ* RV TS MS KS AŚ MŚ The corruption of MS is indicated by the fact that the verb *dadacyavul* in the next pāda still has the accent, tho it is no longer in a relative clause, and there is no other reason for the accent

*ku śtāh ko vām aśvinā* SV.: *kūṣṭho devāv aśvinā* RV. It is universally recognized that RV. must be read *kū śtāh*

*ulem* (SV. *ūtīm*) *arbhē havāmahe* RV AV. SV. MS *ula-im- ūlīm*, 'aid' *mañi no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau* AV : *mīham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma* RV *ā tūā* (AV. *emām*, ŚG *enam*) *parisrutah* (AG *°sritah*, MG *°sṛtah*) *kumbhah* (ApMB *†kumbhāh*, ŚG *kumbhyā*) AV AG. ŚG PG. ApMB MG.

*tre ā* (SV. *wayā*) *bhūṣanti vedhasah* RV SV Note resolution of *e* to *ay* *śahpatir yadī vṛdhe* SV.: *svarpatim yad im vṛdhe* RV. AV

*sarvah sarvā vi carati prajānan* MS : *sa vah sarvāh sañ carati prajānan* AV The MS p p *sah*, *sarvāh*; in the *samhitā* text stupid assimilation to the following word

*yatrāsprkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasah* (ApMB *tanuam yatra vāsah*) AV.  
ApMB *yatrā vrkṣas tanuam yatra vāsah* HG. Probably *yac ca*  
of AV is original and *yatra* due to assimilation to the preceding  
*yatrā*

[*ā twam* (GB *ālmam*, but Gaastra correctly *ā twam*; LŚ *ā svam*) *indrāya  
pyāyasva* VS TS MS KS AB GB ŚB. AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ]

[*name tad upadambhīṣar* MS MŚ *na ma idam upadambhīṣag*  
ApŚ We must read *nā me* in MS MŚ, there is no p p here, and  
*nāme* is simply bad editing]

[*vi gā indra vicaran spāśayasva* TA ApŚ In TA. text printed *vi gā*,  
but both syllables accented, clearly *vi gā(h)* is intended, so comm]

### 7 Longer words, not compounds, broken up into two or more shorter words, and vice versa

§832. We come next to a group of variants in which a word of more  
than two syllables, generally at least four, is split up into two or more  
shorter words, or vice versa Excluded are divisions of compounds into  
parts, which have been treated above First come cases in which the  
longer word is original

*bahm icchanto vitudasya* (AG. *vi tu tasya*, v 1 *vidurasya*) *preṣyāh* (Ma-  
hānU AG *preṣṭhāh*) TAA MahānU AG See §65

*upānasah ṭsaparyan* RV *upo nu sa saparyan* SV Indra is meant,  
SV has obvious earmarks of secondariness

*yad indra citra mehanā* (SV PB *ma iha na*) RV SV. PB AŚ ŚŚ N  
As in the preceding, a rather obscure word (*mehanā*, adv) is broken  
up into a series of harmless particles in SV.

*na me* (so read, §831) *tad upadambhīṣar* .. MS MŚ *na ma idam  
upadambhīṣag* (once erroneously *udam bhīṣag*). ApŚ A simple  
and obvious blunder, possibly only a misprint

*mā* (AG MG *ā*) *tvā prāpann aghāyavah* (MG. *adyāyavah*) AG ŚG  
ApMB MG See §868

*akṣānām vagnum* (AV em *ganam*, true reading probably *gatnum* with  
SPP, see Whitney's note, MS *ṭvagnum*) *upajighnamānāh* (AV  
*upalīksamānāh*, MS *ava-jighram āpah*) AV MS TB TA The  
MS is corrupt, its p p, yet worse *akṣnā*, *avagmam ity ava-gmam*,  
*ava-jighram ity ava-jighram*, *āpah* But the original is obscure  
enough

*viśvā amīvāh pramuñcan mānuṣībhih* (KS °*ṣebhyah*) AV. KS *viśvā  
āśāh pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhīyah* VS TS : *vy amīvāh pramuñcan  
mānuṣānām* MS Evidently VS TS are secondary, tho inter-  
pretable, cf §783



*yasya te vīśvamānuṣaḥ* (SV. *vīśvam ānuṣaḥ*) RV AV SV It is surprising to find the simple and commonplace RV reading distorted in SV. into one that is much more recondite, and hard to interpret See Benfey's note in Translation, p 259

*anvādīdyāthām iha nah sakhāyā* TB TA *manmā dīdhyānā utā nah sakhāyā* MS. The latter seems clearly corrupt, p p *dīdhyānām*, the nasal perhaps preserving a trace of the original, which means: 'make us shine here, O ye two friends (Mitra and Varuna)'.

*yebhyo madhu pradhāvati* (AV. *pradhāv adhi*) RV AV TA The AV. comm., followed by SPP and Whitney's Transl., reads *pradhāvati*, correctly

*tvam no devatātaye* (AV *deva dātave*) RV AV SV- See §61.

*prathamāya januṣe bhūmanēsthāh* (AV *bhuvane*°, ŚŚ. *bhūma neṣṭhun*) AV. AŚ ŚŚ If ŚŚ intends this division, it would seem to mean 'that thou shalt lead the world' Obscure

*yajñāh pratyāsthāt* (v 1 *praty u śthāt*) KS. *yajñāh praty u śthāt* (v 1 *pratyāsthāt*).. MS. *yajña pratīṣṭha* TB ApS

*apāmityam* (AŚ *apām iltam*) *iva sambhara* MS KS AŚ A graphic error in AŚ

*ubhe yatete ubhayasya* (AV *ubhe asya*) *puṣyatah* RV. AV Cf next *ubhe id asyobhayasya* (AV *asyobhe asya*) *rājalah* RV AV In same verse as prec; here Whitney adopts the RV reading See §911

§833. Next cases in which the reading with one long word is secondary:

*ava tara* (TS *avattaram*) *nadīṣv ā* VS TS MS KS ŚB. *avattaro nadīnām* AV *ava tara* 'descend in the rivers' is original, in TS AV there is no verb, and one must be awkwardly supplied. The double *t* is suspicious (cf §401), BR take it, following the Indian tradition, as from the participle of root *av*, which is not at all likely to lead to the original sense (however it may have been felt in TS AV) Keith rejects the comm. and connects with *ava*, while Whitney follows the tradition MS p p *avattaram*

*prāntar ṛṣaya sthāvūrīr* (SV *prāntarikṣāt sthāvūrīs te*) *asṛkṣata* RV SV *pra dhārā yantu madhunah* AB *pra dhārayantu madhuno ghṛtasya* AG (corrupt, abandoned by Stenzler for the other reading)

*dyusamantasya ta ādityo* 'nukhyātā BDh *dyavah samā tasyāditya upadrasā* HG The BDh reading seems like a secondary adaptation of HG, which is typical stylistically —The next two variants are in the same passage

*antarikṣasamantasya te vāyur upaśrotā* BDh. *antarikṣam samam tasya vāyur upadrasā* HG As prec

*prthvisamantasya te 'gnur upadrasṭā* BDh.: *prthvī samā tasyāgnur upadrasṭā* ... HG. See prec two

*sutarasī tarase* (MahānU. *sutarasiddhatarase*) *namah* RVKh. TA MahānU The latter has a *v* *l* like the others, but its comm reads the recorded version, which is obviously a secondary attempt to make the meaning simpler *Sutarasī* is voc sing fem, and *tarase* an infinitive

*ṣīte vāte punann wa* (AŚ LŚ, mss of Vait, most mss of ŚŚ, and *v* *l* of KSA *punarniva*) VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB. AŚ. ŚŚ Vait LŚ Doubtless a graphic corruption, but its wide spread is curious

*antarā dyāvāprthivī apah suvah* TB ApMB HG *antarā dyāvāprthivyor apasyuh* MG Is *apasyuh* understood as *apa-syuh*, from *apa-as* 'be away'? It is hard to construe a nom-sing. of *apasyu*. In any case it is secondary.

*anupauhvaḍ anupahvayet* HG: *anu po 'hvaḍ anuhvayah* ApMB. See §732

*yajñapatalaye* (ŚŚ adds *vasu*; TA *yajamānāya*) *vāryam ā swas kṣh* (TA. *ā swas kar asmar*, ŚŚ *āsamskarase*) MS TA ŚŚ The latter secondary

*tanūpā ye nas tanvas tanūjāh* AV: *tanūpāvānas tanvas tapojāh* AB AŚ. The AV. is probably original. See §254.

*ayam sahasram ānavo dṛśah kavīnām matir jyotir vidharma* (ApŚ °mā) SV. ApŚ. MŚ: *ayam sahasram ā no dṛśe . vidharmanī* AV. Benfey is forced to interpret the corrupt SV. reading *sahasramānavo* as one compound word, against the accents: 'der tausendbewachende'. Probably AV is original, tho it too is not very sensible *agnir hotrenedam* (*hotrena*, *agnihotrenedam*) *havr* . ., see §354

*vande dārum vandamāno vivakmī* RV: *vandadvārā vandamānū vvaṣṭu* SV On this troublesome and disputed passage see references quoted in VV I p 218

### 8 Different divisions of two or more independent words

§834. Finally we come to a large class in which two or more independent words are involved in both forms of the differently divided variant They fall into three subdivisions Perhaps the simplest (a) are those which concern different resolutions of a final or initial vowel between the two words, so that in one form of the variant the vowel belongs exclusively to either the preceding or the following word, while in the other it (not necessarily the same vowel) contains a fusion of the final of one word with the initial vowel of the next Secondly, (b)

there are cases in which a final consonant is detached from one word and affixed to the next. And thirdly, (c) cases with more extensive alterations, at least one entire syllable being detached from one word and attached to another, sometimes a whole series of words is affected, resulting in complete revision of the passage

(a) Different resolution of final-initial vowels

§835. We begin with the cases concerning final-initial vowels. In one form of these variants a vowel at the end of one word or at the beginning of the next belongs exclusively to the one word, while in the other it (not always the same vowel) contains a fusion of a final with an initial vowel. Either form may be the older; we begin with those in which sandhi, combination of two vowels, seems to be the original reading, which is much more frequently the case.

*avakraṣṇam vṛṣabham yathājūram* (SV *yathā juvam*) RV AV SV.  
*ajūram* 'ageless', *juvam* 'swift'

*na mānsam aśi nodalam* (HG *no dalam*) ApMB HG. If the division is so intended, HG must mean 'thou art not flesh, nor a fragment'. The comm. on ApMB (Winternitz, Introduction, p. xxiv) takes *nōddalam* for *nā-udāram*, 'nor a (part of the) belly'.

*ya ājagma* (N °*muh*) *savanemā* (TS KS *savanedam*, N *savanam idam*, VS MS ŚB *ya ājagmedam savanam*) *juṣānāh* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB N. Cone suggests *savanemā* (*savanā-īmā*) for AV, and Whitney notes that the AV text (p p *sāvine, mā*) is a corruption of this, tho he translates 'ye that have come enjoying me at the libation'.

*samīdhyamānah prathamānu ṛdharmā* (TB ApŚ *prathamo nu dharmah*) RV TB ApŚ. The later texts stumble over the antiquated forms *prathamā dharmā* (neut plur, of RV 'According to ancient ordinances' 'as the very first law'.

*prasthāyendrāgnībhyām somam vocatopo* (KB *vocalo yo*) *asmān brāhmaṇān brāhmaṇā hwayadhvam* KB AŚ ŚŚ. As Keith says in his Transl., KB must be read *vocatopo*. A graphic corruption *juhvā pavitram asvināsan* (TB °*nā sam*) *sarasvatī* VS MS KS TB. The original, of which TB is an uncomprehending corruption, contains *āsan* 'in his mouth'.

*viśvalopa viśvadāvasya tvāsaṇ juhomi* TS GB Vait ApŚ *viśloka viśvadāvye tvā samjuhomī svāhā* MŚ. Precisely like the pree, except that here the secondary reading is verbally intelligible *gāṇa upavātāvatam* (SV *upa vadāvate*) PV SV. See §60.

yatrāsprīṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasah (ApMB tanuvam yatra vāsah) AV.

ApMB . yatrā vṛṣas tanuvai yatra vāsah HG The latter corrupt; see §198

ṛdhag (RV AV dhruvam) ayā (AV. ayo, TS MS. KS ayād) ṛdhag (RV AV dhruvam) utāsamīṣhāh (MS KS °ṣṭa, AV. utā śaviṣṭha) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB N. See §234

yat tvemahe (SMB te mahe) prati tan no (Kauś prati nas taj) juṣasva RV. TS MS Kauś SMB. PG ApMB Original has tvā-imahe SMB comm alternatively takes mahe as a verb, pūjayāmi, or as a noun, utsave, supplying pūjādīkam karma with yat. All mss agree on it

āśum tvājau (ApŚ ālhum tvā ye) dadhīre devayantah KS ApŚ MŚ hariṣmaśrum na varmanā dhanarcim SV.: hriṣmaśrum nārvaṇam dhanarcam RV

dhātā vidhātā (MS dhartā vidhartā) paramota samdṛk (KS paramo na samvṛk) RV VS TS MS KS. N. Graphic change in KS, §871 hotā viṣṭimena (ŚŚ viṣtvī me) jaritar AV AŚ ŚŚ Vait See §367.

tenemām upa sñcatam RV. AV. TA N tena mām abhiṣñcatam ŚŚ SMB Different contexts, imām or mām.

tena tvam agna iha vardhayemam AV. tenāgne tvam uta vardhayemam (MS °yā mām) TS MS KS imam or mām

pīveva putram jarase nayemam (MS ma emam) MS. KS ApMB. HG. The corruption of MS is indicated by its p p : jarasera. ā, imam, pointing to the other reading

yaded (KS ād id) antā adadṛhanta (TS adadṛnh°) pūrve RV VS TS MS. KS

yenākṣā (SMB °kṣān, PG °kṣyāv, ŚŚ yenā kṣām) abhyaṣicyanta (ŚŚ SMB abhyaṣñcatam, PG °tām) AV. ŚŚ SMB. PG For the original 'dice' ŚŚ. lamely substitutes 'earth'.

[twayāvasena (ŚG text twayā jvasena) sam aśimahi tvā TS KS TB AŚ MŚ Kauś ŚG. SMB PG The ŚG seems to be a misprint]

§836. We come now to the much fewer cases in which the original reading assigns the vowel exclusively to one of the two variant words, the form with vocalic sandhi being secondary

yadārāghatī (read yadā rā°) varadah Vait.. yadā rākhālyau vadatah ApŚ yad adyārādhyam vadantah MŚ See §70

praty eva (ŚŚ pra tveva, i e tvā-va) grbhāyata AV AB GB JB ŚŚ

grāvāvādīd (ApŚ grāvā vaded) abhi somasyānśum (ApŚ °śunā) KS ApŚ

But KS ed prints the ApŚ reading, with v l °rādīd śrutakalṣo aram (SV °laksāram) gave RV SV Nom voc

*vīhi svām āhutam juṣāno manasā* AV : *vīhi svāhāhutam juṣānah* TS. TĪ  
The ritualistic exclamation *svāhā* is always allowable, but is here secondary

*viśvasmar bhūtāyādhwaro* (KS MŚ. *bhūtāya dhruva*) *astu devāh* (15  
°*dhvaro 'sī*) TS KS. ApŚ MŚ *adhvara dhruva*, it is not certain that the latter is more original

*mā na āyuh param acaram mānadonah* MS *mā nah param adharam*  
*mā rajo 'nah* (MŚ †*param adhanam mā rajo nah*) TA. MŚ The MS is corrupt, and its p p is worse *mā, anah, ā, unah*! Cf VV p 93

*ā māśiṣo* (or *ām āśiṣo*, so MS understands) *dohakāmāh* MS KS *emā agmann āśiṣo dohakāmāh* TS ApŚ. It is possible that KS also intends *ām* (interjection) *āśiṣo* It seems that TS ApŚ (*ā-mās*) have a lect fac.

[*ātmāsy ālmann ātmānam* (GB *ālmanātmānam*, but Gaastra as the others) *me mā hnsih* GB Vait Kauś]

(b) Final-initial consonant transferred from one word to another

§837. Next there are a few cases in which a consonant is mobile between words, being attached to the preceding word in one form of the variant, to the following word in another This process may be illustrated within the RV itself, in the pāda traditionally recorded as *agner avena marutām na bhogyā*, 1 128 5b Here we must surely read *agne ravena*, see Conc and Neisser, *ZWbch d RV* I 127 This is commonly recognized, altho Oldenberg, *Noten*, has some slight doubts Similarly, it is commonly recognized that for *nybhr yad yulto vive rapānsi*, RV 1 69 8, we must read *viver apānsi*, and for *muṣāyaś cakram avive rapānsi*, RV 6. 31 3, *aviver apānsi* Also in AV 6 116 1a, *yad yāmam cakrur nikhantanto agre*, read probably *yady āmam*; see Bloomfield, *AJP* 17 428, *SBE* 42 457, and Whitney *ad loc* *āsann ā* (SV PB *āsan nah*) *pātram janayanta* (KS °*tu*) *devāh* RV SV VS TS MS KS PB ŚB

*madhu relo* (TS *madhor ato*, KS †*madhur ato*, AŚ text printed *madhu-reto*) *mādhavah pātu asmān* TS MS KS AŚ Keith on TS thinks the KS reading is correct He calls the MS 'nonsense', which is a little strong considering that we are dealing with a yajus formula; *madhu* and *relo* might be taken as coordinate with either subject or object But the MS p p reads *madhuh, amlah*, pointing towards the KS reading

*revati ramadhvam, revatir amedhyam*, see §255

*ā māṣiṣo* (MS text *ām āṣiṣo*) *dohakāmāḥ* MS KS And others; see §836 MS and KS. may intend the same reading  
*agor arir ā ciketa* RV *nāgo rayir ā ciketa* SV. Benfey understands *na-ago(s)*, from *agu* 'nicht preisend' = 'bos' Doubtful, the SV is hardly interpretable  
*ubhayor ārtnyor* (TS *ārtnyor*, NilarU. *ubhayo rājñor*) *jyām* VS TS MS KS NilarU. An absurd corruption in the last; it can only refer to the two ends of the bow, and so the comm. calmly takes it  
*satyād ā* (ApŚ *satyā tā*) *dharmanas patī* (ŚŚ *dharmanā*, and so mss of MS, Vait MS *pari*, ŚŚ omits *patī*) AŚ ŚŚ. Vait ApŚ MS.  
*purovāto varṣaṇ jinvār āvri svāhā* TS ApŚ : *purovāta* (KS °lo) *jinvā rāvaṭ* (KS °vat) *svāhā* MS KS And other formulas in same passage, see §168 TS is secondary  
*yam asvinā namucer āsurād adhī* (ŚŚ *ṇamucāv āsure dadhī*) VS MS KS ŚB TB ŚŚ Vait LŚ. Followed by: *sarasvaty asunod indriyāya* Some verb, probably a form of *su*, is understood 'which (soma) the Aśvins pressed out (Caland on Vait *entnahmen*) from the asurie N' ŚŚ is secondary and poor, *dadhī* 'sour milk' conceals *adhī*, to which is affixed the *d* of the abl. which preceded in the original form For the myth in question see Bloomfield, JAOS 15 144-63

(c) More extensive false divisions between separate words

§838. In the rest the alteration involved in the false division is more extensive at least one syllable is detached from one word and attached to another Sometimes a whole series of words is affected, as in:  
*śatāpāṣīhādyā* (read with Poona ed. of both °*tā gha*) *viṣā pari no vṛnaktu* TB TA *śarā vāṣṭād dhaviṣā vārṇah* MS (corrupt)  
*pītā bhāsvaty anūpamā* TA *pītābhā syāt tanūpamā* MahānU In MahānU a v l agrees with TA but for *anūp°*, but the comm. keeps to the text as printed He explains *pītābhā* by *pītāvarṇā*, and *tanūpamā* by *sūkṣmenopamāyate kundalīnīti yām naigamā ākuk* The TA makes *pītā bhāsvatī* = *pītāvarṇā*, and *anūpamā* is explained by *laukikānām tanūnām sūkṣmavastūnām upamā bhavīṣuṃ yogyā*  
*acikradat svapā iha bhuvat* AV *adidyutāt sv apāko vibhāvā* RV MS Whitney says the AV has 'an adaptation, or corruption, or both' of the other reading Ppp *bhavat* for *bhuvat* (§602).  
*deva puraścara saghyāsam* (MS *devapuraś carasa rāghyāsam*) *tvā* MS TA ApŚ The MS. is corrupt p p *deva*, *punar it punah*, *carase* See §817.

*dvīśas taradhyā* (ApŚ. °yā) *ṛnayā na īyase* (SV *īrase*) RV SV KS. AB  
ApŚ. *dvīśas tad adhy arnaveneyase* AV 'A simple corruption'  
(Whitney) in AV

*ṛtasyartena mām uta* (TA *ita*) TB TA · *ṛtasya tv enam ā'mūtah* MS  
(p p *tū, enam, mā'm, utām ma*, in part pointing to the TB reading).

MS is corrupt, in TB, supply *muñcata* from preceding *pāda*  
*graha viśvajānīna nyantar viprāyāma te* (MS p p *viprāya, 'mate*, KS  
*nyantar vipra ā ṛsatī*) MS KS

§839. In several instances the prefix *su* exchanges with *su* as locative ending

*made suśipram* (SV *madeṣu śipram*) *andhasah* RV. SV

*tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu* AV *sa īm* (TS *ī*) *mandrā suprayasah* (MS  
°sā *starīman*, TS *mandrāsu prayasah*) VS TS MS *stanī mandras*  
*suprayakṣuh* KS

*mandūky apsu śam bhuvah* AV.: *mandūkyā su sam ṛgamah* (TA *gamaya*)  
RV. TA The familiar association of the frog with waters leads to  
the secondary reading of AV

§840. The rest hardly need classification

*yas te soma praṇavat so 'bhi so aham* MahānU *yās te soma praṇa vāso*  
*'bhi so aham* TA Both are obscure, and the far-fetched inter-  
pretations of the comms give little help For instance, the TA  
comm explains *soma* as *sa + uma*, from *umā = brahmavidyā*,  
so that *soma = paramātman*!

*viśvakarman bhavāna mām didāsiha* (ŚB *manda āsiha*) AB ŚB ŚŚ.  
*didāsiha* is taken as a desiderative from *dā* 'O V Bh, thou didst  
seek to give me (the earth) away': 'thou wast slow of wit (so  
bomm, *mandamatih*)' Either meaning is possible

*bhrātāntarikṣam abhiśastyā nah* (TA *abhiśasta enah*) AV TA Comm  
on TA *yad eno 'smābhūh kṛtam tad abhiśastah śatrusthānīyam*!  
It would be better to understand *abhiśaste*, 'upon the accursed one  
(may) the sin (light)'. Whitney understands a verb 'save' in AV  
*samudrād udajāni vah* (ApŚ *udacann wa*) *srucā* MS ApŚ The ApŚ.  
reading seems better

*yā sanjayantam adhi yāsu vardhase* KS *āśun jayantam anu yāsu*  
*vardhase* RV VS TS MS ŚB

*mānasya palni śaranā syonā* AV *mā nah sapatnah śaranah syonā*  
HG See §189

*jyeṣṭhasya dharmam dyukṣor anīle* SV *jyeṣṭhasya vā dharmāni lṣor*  
*anīle* RV. The bad form *dyukṣor* is taken by Benfey as for  
*dyukṣayor*, from *dyukṣu*

- brahmādhiguptah* (PG *brahmābhi*°, MG. *brahmābhigūrtam*) *svārā kṣarānī* (PG. *surakṣitah syām*, MG *svārākṣānah*, most mss. *svārā-rakṣānah*) *svāhā* AG PG. MG. The original is probably AG, see §742 PG has a simple lect fac, MG is corrupt
- yena bhūyaś ca rātryām* (ApMB. *carāty ayam*, MG *caraly ayam*, PG *bhūriś carā dvam*) AG PG ApMB MG See §61
- sarasvatyaḥ vāco yantur yantriye* (VSK. *vāc urye turyam*) *dadhāmi* VS VSK ŚB Corruption in VSñ
- āyuhpati rathamīram* (MŚ *āyuh pratiratham*°) *tad aśtīya*. ApŚ MŚ. Caland would read °*patī* (nom) in ApŚ, and observes that MŚ is yet more corrupt
- ud vanśam va yemire* RV SV TS KB N. *ūrdhvam kham va menire* Mbh
- hī atvā varīṣṭham vara āmurim uta* RV AV *kratve vare sthemany āmurim uta* SV
- ruvad dhokṣā* (TB *ṛvadbhyo 'kṣā*) *paprathānebhīr evaśh* RV. MS AB. KB TB See §684
- prath. achad* (KS *parama*°) *avarān* (TS *paramachado vara*) *ā viveśa* RV VS TS MS KS Keith takes *paramachado* as a gen depending on *vara* (*vare*) The result is close to nonsense
- ā devo yāti bhuvanān paśyan* (TS MS *bhuvanā vipaśyan*) RV VS TS MS
- tena samhanu kṛnmasi* AV. *tena sann anugrhnāsi* HG See §47.
- pathā madhumatā bharan* (MS °*mad ābharan*) VS. MS TB. Either makes good sense
- ahorātre ūrvaṣṭīve* (VS °*ṣṭhīve*, TS *ahorātrayor vṛṣṭyā*) *brhadraathamīlare ca me yajñena kalpetām* (VS *†kalpantām*) VS TS MS Cf §803, TS secondary.
- pumānsam vardhatām mayi* ŚG. *pumān samvartatām mayi* PG. *pumān garbhas tavodare* SMB See §97 Despite the Conc, ŚG is quite correct, and may well be the original reading
- jāmum itvā mā vivīṣe lokān* TA *jāmum itvā māva patsi lokāt* AV See §198
- hranyavad annavad dhehi* (ApŚ *annam adhyehi*, read *annamad dhehi*) *mahyam* KS ApŚ
- ulem anannamuh* (KB ŚB ŚŚ KŚ. *uteva nam*°) TS MS AB KB. ŚB AŚ ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ
- athem ava sya vara ā prthivyāh* TS AŚ ŚŚ MŚ. *athemam asyā vara ā prthivyāh* AV See §236
- utānyo asmad yajate vi cāvah* (TB *vicāyah*) RV MS TB N. See §254



*anūdā yadī jījanad* (SV. *yad ajījanad*) *adhā ca nu* (SV. *adhā cid ā*)  
RV SV.

*pra su* (HG *sa*) *mṛtyum* (SMB *pra sumartyam*, MG *prathamam artum*)  
*yuyolana* (MG *yuyotu nah*) SMB. ApMB. HG MG. The last is  
secondary.

*yaśasendrābrhaspatī* (ArS *yaśo mendrā*) ArS. PG MG Graphic  
change

*dyumatamā supratikasya sūnoh* (AV *\*ñikah sasūnuh*) AV VS TS MS  
KS ŚB See §189

*dhīyā martah śasamate* (SV. *martasya śamatah*) RV SV See §189

*yaśo bhagaś ca mā vīdat* (MG. *rīṣat*, most mss *rīṣak*) PG MG *yaśo*  
*bhagasya vīdatu* ArS See §189.

*yunajmī tisro vipracah sūryasya le* (MŚ *viṛtah sūryah save*, or *sarah*)  
TS ApŚ MŚ. See §189

*pragāyāmasy agratah* PG ApMB *pragāyāmy asyāgratah* MG *pra-*  
*jāyāmasy agratah* HG *asya* in MG is to be taken in a cosmic sense,  
it is of course secondary

*yamasya loke adhiraṣṣur āyat* (TA *āya*, MS *loke nidhir aṣarāya*) AV  
MS TA Whitney describes the MS as a 'corrupt guess'

*māyādevā avalaran* HG.. *adevā devavallaram* ApMB See §401

*ā gharṇo agnīm rīṣayann asādī* (TA *asādī*) RV TA. *ā gharṇo agnir*  
*amṛto na sādī* MS The latter is of course secondary

*adhā syāma surabhayo* (ApŚ *syām asur ubhayor*) *grheṣu* AV. KS ApŚ  
*athā syāta surabhayo grheṣu* MS The ApŚ is worthless; Caland  
tacitly adopts the other reading

[*isur nāvīrastāram* ŚŚ *iṣum na vīro astā* AV RWh. by emendation,  
but mss as ŚŚ except for *iṣum*]

[*pātam mā dyōvāprīhivī adyāhnaḥ* (Kaus text *aghān nah*) TS ApŚ Kaus  
Read *adyāhnaḥ* in Kaus, cf critical note, p 295, n 4 of ed In the  
reading quoted for ms Bū *hna* should be read for *dna*]

## 9. Patch-words

§841. In the earlier parts of this chapter, and especially in §§822-31, we have met many cases of variation between a longer word and a shorter word 'patched' by a light word. We shall now add a group of variants involving such light words—'patch-words', Flickworte, Luckenbusser—to which 'false division' in the strict sense seems not to apply, because the phonetic resemblance between the variant words is insufficiently close. There is no hard and fast line between the two groups, however, and we are far from regarding the separation we have

made as absolute. Doubtless many of the variants which follow might with justice have been classed above. At least they all belong in the same chapter

§842. For instance, in a pāda like

*syonam patye* (AV. *patibhyo*) *vahatum kṛnuṣva* (AV. *kṛnu tvam*) RV.

AV SMB ApMB MG. N ,

it is clear that AV has substituted an active imperative form for a middle, filling out the meter with the pronoun *tvam*. There is still a certain resemblance in sound between the syllables *tvam* and *-sva*. This resemblance approaches the vanishing point in

*ni no rayim subhojasam yuvasva* (TS *yuweha*) RV VS TS. MS KS , where TS likewise uses an active for a middle imperative, patching the pāda with the adverb *iha*. And in a pāda like

*āpas tad ghnantu sarvadā* (MG. *te sadā*) MG. YDh ,

it would obviously be impossible to speak of 'false division', since *sarvadā*, if it is the original reading, cannot be thought of as divided into *te sadā*, rather, the synonym *sadā* is substituted, and the line is then patched by inserting the light word *te*. If, as we suspect, the original form of this pāda was that of MG, the order of change is reversed, but the principle is the same.

§843. Prevailingly these variants are concerned with metrical requirements, as is clearly suggested by the above examples. The use of a patch word is designed to fill out a metrical unit which would otherwise be defective. This comes out very interestingly in a small group of cases where the original reading had or seemed to have defective meter, and in a secondary text this is corrected by inserting a patch word.

*agnim* (SV *agnim u*) *śreṣṭhaśociṣam* RV SV. In RV *śreṣṭha-* constituted three syllables (Wackernagel I p. 51). The SV has lost consciousness of this fact, feels that a syllable is lacking, and inserts the harmless *u*.

*viṣe viṣam aprkthāh* (*aprāg api*) AV (both). The shorter form (with ending read as two syllables?) was probably the original.

*yatah sūrya udeh* AV *yataś codeh sūryah* ŚB. BrhU KāṭhaU. 14. 9a *āsūn huve suyamān ūtaye* TS MS KS. *āsūn va suyamān ahva ūtaye*

AV. Here the longer form of AV may be original, at least it is better not only metrically but in sense.

§844. There are, however, a few cases in which the addition of a patch word spoils, or at least injures, the meter. In one of these the form without the patch word is probably historically secondary, and due to an attempt to improve the meter by omitting (instead of adding) a light word:

*tasmar no* (AV *mā*) *devāh paridatteha* (AV PG °*dhatteha*, KS MŚ °*dhatta*) *sarve* (MŚ *visve*) AV. TS KS MŚ SMB PG BDh

Even the KS MŚ form, lacking *iha*, is not really good in meter

§845. But in most cases of this sort the light word appears to have been added secondarily, to the detriment of the meter

*śatena pāśair varunābhi dhehi* KS : *śatena pāśair abhi dhehi varunainam*

AV The reading of Ppp (Barret, JAOS 37 298) is that of KS, and this is doubtless original

*tam aham punar ādade* KŚ. PG ° *imam tam punar ādade 'yam* (read 'ham, as Kirste suggests) HG

*tasmā u rādhaḥ kṛnuta praśastam* (AV *kṛnuḥ supraśastam*) RV AV

The superfluous *su* is ignored by AV Anukramanī and omitted in Ppp (Barret, JAOS 41 266)

§846. Once SV omits a pronoun from a good and simple pāda of RV, thereby spoiling the meter, the change was possibly conditioned by the use of the hieratic case form *sutāsah* (straining for archaic effect), which made the pāda too long, altho the omission of *ime* leaves it too short  
*tubhyam somāḥ sutā ime* RV *tubhyam sutāsah somāḥ* SV

§847. Change of meter makes both forms passably metrical in the following

*anumate 'nu idam manyasva* AV : *anumate 'nu* (KapS *janu*) *manyasva na idam* KS. Cf *anumate 'nu manyasva* (prose) GG KhG HG ApG

*apām napātām aśvinā huve dhīyā* (TS *ṛhayantam*) AV. TS The mss of AV read *aśvīnā* (accented) and *dhīyah*. Neither text makes sense as presented in the mss, but both are metrically correct  
See Whitney's and Keith's notes

§848. In the next AV by a later resolution gets two syllables out of one of RV, and to save the meter omits the light word *u*:

*agnir vdvān sa yajāt sed u hotā* (AV Kauś *sa id dhotā*) RV AV TS MS KS ŚB See §996

§849 In the remainder the variants with and without patch word are metrically equivalent We shall begin with those in which the form with patch word is probably secondary, they are, as we should expect, far the more numerous group

*imam* (AV. \**tam u*) *me agadam kṛta* (AV *kṛdhi*) RV AV \* VS TS  
*anu manyasva suyajā yajāma* (MŚ *yaje hi*, most mss *yajeha*) TS MŚ  
*tam manyeta* (ViDh *tam vaḥ manyet*) *pīṭaram māṭaram ca* Samhitopani-  
ṣadB VāDh ViDh

*asmān* (AV *sā nah*) *sīte payasābhyāvartsva* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

*upa yaṅnam asthata* (MŚ *astu no*) *varśvadevī* RVKh AV. ApŚ MŚ  
*apasedhan* (SV †<sup>o</sup>*dham*) *duritā soma mṛdaya* (SV. *no mṛda*) RV SV

See VV I §194 In RV *r* in *mṛdaya* is long, in SV. it was pronounced short, and the change with insertion of *no* is intended to improve the meter

*marutām pīlas tad aham grṇāmi* (MS *grṇe te*) TS MS *marutām pīlar uta tad grṇmah* KS

*tasya doham aśimahi* (KS *aśiya*, AŚ *aśiya te*) VS MS KS TB ŚB  
 TA AŚ ŚŚ In KS prose

*tvaṣṭā sudatro* (TA *no atra*) *vi dadhātu rāyah* RV VS MS KS ŚB TA  
 ŚŚ N

*sa nah pīto madhumān ā viśeḥa* (Kauś *viśeḥa*) KS Kauś *sa no mayobhūh pītav* (TS TB *pīto*, MŚ *pītur*, SMB Jorgensen *pītav*) *āviśasva* (AŚ *āviśeḥa*, MŚ *āviśeḥa*) TS TB AŚ MŚ ŚG SMB PG

*aṅgīrobhir ā gahi yaṅniyebhah* RV TS MS *aṅgīrobhir yaṅniyair āgahiha* AV

*dadhad ratnāni* (RV *once ratnā vi*) *dāśuḥ* RV (thrice) SV VS TS MS  
 KS TB *dhattam ratnāni dāśuḥ* RV *dadhad ratnā dāśuḥ vāry-āni* RV VS

*tiṣṣir apsu goṣu yā puruṣeṣu* AV *tiṣṣir aśveṣu puruṣeṣu goṣu* TB The Ppp agrees with TB (Barret, JAOS 30 204)

*anāgā devāḥ śakuno grheṣu* (AV *grham nah*) RV AV MG The Ppp according to Roth agrees with RV., and the AV text makes poor sense as Whitney observes

*abhūn mama* (KS *nu nah*) *sumatau viśvavedāḥ* TS KS PG.

*ahnā yad enah kṛtam aśi pāpam* (AŚ *aśi kimcūt*, ŚŚ *enaś cakṛmeha kṛincūt*) AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ ApMB

*edam barhīr ni śīdata* (AŚ ŚŚ *śīda nah*) RV VS KB AŚ ŚŚ Change of context in AŚ ŚŚ requires a singular verb, and the pāda is neatly patched with *nah*

*devebhyo havyam* (MS MŚ MG *havyā*) *vahatu* (TB \* AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ *vaha nah*, Kauś \**vaha*) *prayānan* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB  
 TB \* AŚ ŚŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ Kauś \* MG In one form Kauś is unmetrical, lacking *nah*

*pra tad voced amṛtasya* (VS *amṛtam nu*, TA MahānU *voce amṛtam nu*) *vidvān* AV VS TA MahānU

*vīryebhir* (MS *vīrebhir*, AV *yau vīryair*) *vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB *śaci<sup>o</sup>*, Poona ed *śavi<sup>o</sup>*) AV VS MS ŚB ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

*punantu viśvā bhūtāni* (MS *bhūtā mā*) AV VS MS KS Is the MS. reading a reminiscence of *viśve devāḥ punīta mā*, which is the RV. form of this pāda?

*śalam pavitrā vītalā hy* (MS *vītalāny*) *āsu* MS ApŚ ApMB Un-  
doubtedly MS is original, form assimilation to *pavitrā* in the others  
*hwayāmi* (AV. SV. TS MS. *huve nu*) *śakram puruhūtam indram* RV AV  
SV. MS VS TS KS MahānU

*apriye* (AV *\*apriyah*) *prati muñcalām* (Kauś † *\*tam*, AV. *\*muñca iat*)  
AV (bis) Kauś

*sarvān agnīn* (AV. *śivān agnīn*) *apsuśado huve vah* (MS omits *vah*,  
AV *havāmahe*) AV. TS. MS TB See VV I p. 253

§850. The much fewer cases in which the form with a light word  
seems to be the older are:

*ṛṣṇām ca stutīr* (SV. *suṣṭutīr*) *upa* RV SV VS TS MS KS.

*agnim indram* (TB *agnī indrā*) *vrtrahanā huve 'ham* (TB. *vām*; MS  
*\*hanam huvema*) AV MS TB.

*yā antariḥśyā* (TB ApŚ. *\*kṣa*) *uta pāṛthivāsah* (TB ApŚ AG *pāṛthivīr*  
*yāh*) KS AG TB ApŚ. Since the adjectives are feminine (agree-  
ing with *āpah*), the KS form is less regular (Wackernagel III §62),  
but it may nevertheless be the original

*yā akrntān avayan yā atanvata* (AV. *yās ca tatnīre*) AV SMB. PG  
ApMB HG : *yā akrntān yā atanvan* MG Discussed in VV I  
§§46, 218

*īarām gachāsī* (PG *gacha*, AV. *su gacha*) *pari dhatsva vāsah* AV. PG  
ApMB HG Only the relative antiquity of AV favors greater  
originality of its reading; and perhaps this is not conclusive

## CHAPTER XIX RIME WORDS

§851. A large majority of all the variant words treated in this volume are rime words, in so far as they are not different forms of identical words. But in addition to these, there are found not a few other variants which rime with each other and tend to be associated, at least partly on that account. It seems worth while to present some examples of such variants, the list includes, of course, only words which do not seem to be explicable by any of the phonetic changes treated above, nor yet by graphic confusion. Even so restricted, the list could no doubt be extended. We hope, however, that we have included at least all cases of the repeated occurrence of such rime words in variation. They are sufficiently numerous to illustrate the phenomenon as a whole. It is to be noted that the words are as a rule fairly close to one another in sense as well as sound; that is, they are mostly quasi-synonyms.

§852. We begin with the roots *jinu* and *pinu*, closely associated from early times, and semi-synonyms 'inspire' and 'make to prosper'. The ease with which they interchange is illustrated well by the first two formulas, which follow one another in the *Samhitās*, both verbs are found in all texts that have both *pādas*, but the two are exchanged in different texts.

*mano me jinva* (MS KS *pinva*, Vait *mano jinva*) VS TS MS KS Vait  
Followed by.

*vācam me pinva* (MS KS ŚŚ *jinva*) VS TS MS KS ŚŚ.

*tad indrāgnī jinvatam* (MŚ † *pinvatām*) *sūnṛtāvat* TB ApŚ MŚ

*jinva* (AŚ † *pinvam*, read *pinva*) *gā jinvārvatah* TB. ApŚ AŚ Cf  
*pinvatam gā jinvatam arvato nah* RV. KS

§853. Other verb forms are—

*ūrjā prthivīm gachata* (MS *yachata*) TS MS KS TB

*paramam padam ava bhāti* (VS ŚB. *bhāri*) *bhāri* (TS *bhūreh*) RV. VS.

TS MS KS ŚB N The comm on VS calmly says. *avabhāri*  
*avabhāti*, *takārasthāne chāndaso rephah!* BR derive from root *bhr*,  
as aor. pass 'wurde eingedruckt', which is at least possible

*trikadrulebhuh putati* (AV *pavate*) RV AV KS TA. ApŚ Cf Hil-  
lebrandt, *Ved Myth*<sup>1</sup>. I 500

*pratilāmīti* (AŚ °*nīti*, TS KSA TB *pra sulāmīti*) *te pitā* VS TS MS  
KSA ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ Derived by the comms. from roots *ti*  
and *sul*, both with obscene meanings, and both unknown otherwise.

*sam bāhubyām dhamatī* (AV *bharatī*, TS TA. *namatī*, KS *namate*, MS *°bhyām adhamatī*) *sam patatrāh* (KS *yajatrāh*) RV AV VS TS MS KS TA MahānU ŚvetU *sam-dham* and *sam-nam* practically synonyms here, 'weld together' Note also the noun forms *patatra yajatra* (graphic change)

*asadan* (TS *asanan*) *mātaram purah* (TS *punah*) RV AV SV ArS VS MS KS ŚB Practically synonyms: 'has seated himself' 'has reached'.

*yābhyām svar ajanann* (TB *suvar ajayann*) *agra eva* MS TB MŚ *yābhyām ajayan svar agra eva* AV 'By which they created (won) light in the beginning'

*sam grāvabhūr nasate* (SV *vasate*) *vīte adhvare* RV SV Both 'unite with', SV lect. fac (*sam-nas* was obsolete)

*rasena sam asṛkṣmahī* (RV *agasmahī*, KS LŚ *aganmahī*, AV JB *apṛkṣmahī*) RV. AV VS TS MS KS JB ŚB TB LŚ ApMB *sam-sṛj* and *sam-prc* practically synonyms Cf *sam-prc* and *sam-sṛj*, §375

*aṅgād-aṅgāt sambhavasī* (SMB. \**samśravasī*) ŚB. BrhU KBU AG SMB \* GG ApMB HG MG N Mahābh In SMB a synonym is introduced in one occurrence for the sake of variety 'thou flowest together' for 'thou arise' The pāda is immediately repeated with the reading of the other texts In both cases some ms. of SMB have the alternative reading

*pra ketunā brhatū yāty* (AV TA *bhāty*) *agnih* RV AV SV TA 'Agni goes (shines) forth with mighty beam' Perhaps graphic?

*śocasva* (VS \* *rocasva*) *devavītamah* (KS \**vīttamah*) RV. RVKh VS \* TS MS KS TA Synonyms

*tataś* (RV *ataś*, KS *tatra*) *cakṣāthām* (RV \**the*, MS KS *cakrāthe*) *aditum* *dītum* ca RV VS TS MS KS ŚB Root *cakṣ* perfect of *kṛ*

*adhī skanda vīrayasva* AV *abhi kranda vilayasva* ŚG Quasi-synonyms AV Ppp also reads *kranda*, which therefore may be original, tho *skanda* seems more appropriate ('mount', of sexual approach)

*nā chetthā* (v I *bhetthā*) *mā vyathāsthāh* KBU

[*varṣmā rathasya nī jihāṣate* (ŚŚ *jihāṣate*) *divah* AV ŚŚ So RWh, but the mss of AV read *jihāṣate*, which should be kept]

§854. Riming participles occur in the following

*pratyaḡ enam śapathā yantu tṛṣṭāh* (AV *sṛṣṭāh*) RV AV Comm and one ms of AV *tṛṣṭāh*, for which *sṛṣṭāh* may be called a lect. fac: 'Let the curses go back upon him, the harsh ones', or 'those emitted (by him)'

*yā dabhrāḥ parisasruṣiḥ* ŚG : *yā ṭārdroghnīḥ pari tasthuṣiḥ* ApMB  
Pples of roots *sru* and *sthā*

*āyurdā deva* (AV *agne*) *jarasam vṛnānah* (ApMB ApG HG *grn*<sup>o</sup>)  
AV. MS KS MŚ ApMB ApG HG *āyurdā* (VS ŚB *āyusmān*)  
*agne haviṣo juṣānah* (VS ŚB ŚG *haviṣā vṛdhānah*) VS TS. ŚB.  
TB TA AŚ ApŚ ŚG. The ApMB etc readings are an interesting  
blend of those which contain *vṛnānah* and *juṣānah*. Perhaps  
*grnānah* was felt as meaning 'praising' rather than 'devouring',  
even this would be none too sensible in the context. Oldenberg  
adopts *vṛnānah* for HG. Still a different version ('thriving by the  
oblation') is adopted in VS etc, this is an easy lect fac in a  
passage relating to Agni.

*ā sutrāvne* (MS KS *bhūyīṣṭhadāvne*) *sumatim āvṛnānah* AV MS KS  
*oṣīṣṭhadāvne sumatim grnānāḥ* TS 'Choosing to myself (praising)  
his kindness'

§855. Among riming nouns and adjectives, the pair *dhāman. nāman*  
stands out. In the mystical religious language of the Veda they are  
easily interchangeable; the 'name' and the 'station' of anything both  
mean its mystic essence. In some cases the change from one to the  
other is due to the influence of adjoining words, as in

*yat te 'nādhrīṣṭam nāma yajñuyam* (KS *nāmānādhrīṣyam*, MS *dhāmānā-*  
*dhrīṣyam*) *tena vādadhē* VS TS MS KS ŚB. The change in MS.  
was suggested by *ādadhē*

*sedam priyena dhāmnā priyam sada ṭāsīda* (VSK *priyenu nāma priye*  
*sadasī sīda*) VS VSK ŚB. Also:

*priyena dhāmnā* (TS TB ApŚ *nāmānā*, VSK *nāma*) *priyam sada āsīda*  
(VSK TS TB. ApŚ \* *priye sadasī sīda*) VS VSK. TS ŚB TB  
KŚ ApŚ. In this and the prec (which are variants of each other)  
only the VS texts have *dhāman*, and it is reasonable to suppose  
that it was substituted there for *nāman* because it is a synonym  
of *sadas*.

*vidmā te nāma* (AV *vidma te dhāma*, Ppp *gandharvo nāma*) *paramam*  
*guhā yat* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB ApMB. *gandharvo dhāma*  
*paramam guhā yat* (VS *vibhrtam guhā sat*) AV. VS *gandharvo*  
*nāma nīhītam guhāsu* TA MahānU. Here two different pādas  
have become confused, one began originally with *vidmā te nāma*,  
the other with *gandharvo dhāma*. The AVPpp reading (not in  
Conc) occurs in the verse where AV has *vidma te dhāma*

*puruṣṭulasya dhāmabhīḥ* (MS *nā*<sup>o</sup>) RV AV MS Vait

§856. Twice the RV phrase *pratinena manmanā* 'by ancient hymn'



is changed in SV to *pratnena janmanā* 'by ancient generation (birth much to the detriment of the sense In one case TB follows SV *aham pratnena manmanā* (SV. *jan*<sup>o</sup>) RV. SV. AV.

*agnih pratnena manmanā* (SV TB *jan*<sup>o</sup>) RV SV MS KS AB T.  
AŚ MŚ

§857. Other nouns and adjectives:

*aktam* (MS MŚ *aplubhī*, KS *\*artham*) *rihānā vyantu* (TS TB *viyantu* *vayah* TS MS KS *\* TB MŚ*. GG. KhG *vyantu vayo* 'lta: *rihānāḥ* VS A very obscure passage, the isolated *artham* may possibly be due to graphic confusion

*śarīram me vicarṣanam* (RVKh *vicakṣanam*) RVKh TA TU. *pratīkaḥ me vicakṣanam* PG 'My body (face) be active (glorious)' Schei telowitz on RVKh reads *vicakṣana*, but it seems that 'nam must' the true reading

*paktā* (KSA *panthā*) *sasyam* TS KSA The latter is called 'ludicrous by Keith. On *paktā* see Wackernagel III p. 204, he takes it as masculine form used as neuter, rendering 'die Saat pflegt reif zu werden'; cf Oertel, *Syntax of Cases* I p 171

*kukūm aham* (AV Vait *kukūm devīm*) *suṛtam* (AV MS KS *sulṛtam* TS *subhagām*) *vidmanāpasam* AV TS MS. KS AŚ ŚŚ N Quasi synonyms

*dyumnā suḥsatra manhaya* RV *dyumnā sudatra manhaya* SV *dhanamjayam dharunam dhārayiṣnu* RVKh *bhūmidṛṇham acyutan pārāyṣnu* AV.. *bhūmidṛṇho* 'cyutaś cyāvayṣnuh AV The evidently secondary *cyāv*<sup>o</sup> is suggested by 'cyutaś: 'unshaken (but) shaking (others)'

*aslonō* 'piśācadhīrah ApMB. *anandho* 'slonō 'piśācadhīrah HG The latter is a strange corruption, the original means 'not sucked by demons'

*adroghavācam matibhīh śaviṣṭham* (RV *\*bhūr yavi*<sup>o</sup>) RV *\* AV* See RVRep 275 f

*abhi dyumnā* (RV VS *sumnā*) *devabhaktam yaviṣṭha* (MS KS *devahitam yaviṣṭhya*) RV VS TS MS KS ApMB Quasi-synonyms

*nagnahur dhīras* (KS *vīras*) *tasaram na vema* VS MS KS TB. Synonyms

*pāhi no agna enase* (ŚG *edhase*) *svāhā* TA MahānU ŚG. *edhase* is certainly right 'protect us unto prosperity' TA comm quotes the text as *enaso*, tho both editions print *enase* The corruption is due to recollection of other phrases in which *enasah* or the like is

- associated with the root *pā* in the sense of 'protect from evil' or 'sin'
- punar brahmāno* (AV *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV. °*nītur*, KS °*dhītam* and †°*nītha* [so 38 12b], MS °*dhīte*) *yajñānāh* (AV MS KS.\* *agne*) AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB The form with *n* is apparently original; in MS KS it is contaminated from such forms as *vasudhā*, *vasudhiti* *kuvīn no asya sumatir navīyasī* (SV *bhavīyasī*) RV SV. 'His very fresh (abundant) favor'.
- sthirā cin namayīṣṇavah* RV *drdhā cid yamayīṣṇavah* SV Practically synonyms, 'bending' 'subduing'
- añdhi kham vartayā panim* (SV *pavim*) RV SV Benfey and Grassmann would read *pavim* in RV. The emendation is exceptionally tempting, but one must be cautious about it; cf Oldenberg's judicious remarks (*Noten ad loc*) It is easy to see how *pavim* could be substituted for an original *panim* under the influence of *kham*, a reason for the reverse change in the tradition is not so apparent
- tās tvā vśantu manasā śvena* (TB. *mahasā svena*) AV. TB. The English words 'mind' and 'might' substantially reproduce the rime, and are derived from the same roots Cf next.
- ul satvanām māmakānām manānsi* (TS *mahānsi*) RV SV VS TS. Cf prec
- dviṣadbhyah prati muñcāmi pāśam* (HG. *pāpam*) SMB. ApMB. HG The two words are near-synonyms, *pāśam* is clearly original
- upa kṛeṣṭhā na āśīṣah* (MS *āśīrah*) AV 'TS MS KS
- panasyuvah samvasaneṣu* (SV °*varaneṣu*) *akramuh* RV SV. Quasi-synonyms, 'at the dwelling-places (enclosures, sanctuaries?)'.
- asya* (AŚ *mama*) *snuṣā śvaśurasya praśiṣṭim* (AŚ *praviṣṭau*) TB AŚ Complete change of meaning as well as syntax
- svāhā tvā sūryasya* (MS *vātāya sūr°*) *vṛṣṭivanaye* (MS.° *sanaye*) MS TA ApŚ

## CHAPTER XX. GRAPHIC VARIANTS

§858. There are not a few variants in which it seems at least possible that graphic confusion between letters written similarly may have been a contributing cause. Some of them, such as variations between *b* and *v*, *th* and *dh*, *ṭ* and *th*, *p* and *v*, have been treated above, as having also phonetic aspects. Those which follow in this chapter would appear to be purely graphic. We have no doubt that the list could be considerably extended, especially with the help of experts in Indian palaeography, a title to which we lay no claim. We have merely noted down such variations as have struck our attention between certain letters which resemble one another in well-known modern Indian alphabets. Even so limited, the collection seems to us important enough to suggest that graphic confusion must have played a considerable part in the variants of the Vedic tradition. It will be seen that different manuscripts and even different editions of the same work not infrequently vary regarding words of this group, which confirms that conclusion, it may be fairly assumed that in many other instances, where no manuscript variants are recorded, we nevertheless may be dealing with phenomena of the same sort. At the same time we would emphasize the fact that we do not mean to assert that all the variations here collected are due solely or even chiefly to graphic confusion. For, of course, there are many cases where neither phonetic nor graphic matters can be concerned. We mean only that this is one feature of the Vedic variants which cannot be ignored.

§859. The largest number of variants here collected concerns the letters *n* and *r*. Fairly numerous, also, are shifts between *p* and *y*, *c* and *r*, *gh* and *dy*, *d* and *r*, *s* and *m*, *t* and *n*. The rest are more sporadic. We shall present the cases in the approximate order of their frequency.

### *n* and *r*

§860. The variation between *n* and *r* is fairly common, and may certainly be due to graphic confusion. The signs for these two letters when not combined with other consonants are not very dissimilar in the principal Indian alphabets. They are still more similar in Devanāgarī, for instance, when they follow other consonants in combined characters. When in such consonant combinations they precede other consonants,

the Devanāgarī, to be sure, clearly distinguishes between *n* and *r*, so that a misreading would be unthinkable. But this is by no means true of all Indian alphabets. Notably in Śāradā *n* and *r* before other consonants are written almost alike, and confusion is very easy and frequent.

§861. We present first cases of *n* and *r* not combined with other consonants

*indhāna enam jarate* (MS KS *janate*, but MS *p p jarate*, KS v. 1 *jarite*) *svādhīh* RV. VS TS MS KS ŚB ApMB N One ms of KS. reads *jarite*, and the *p p* of MS *jarate*, this is clearly the proper reading

*mṛttike hana* (MahānU. *hara*) *me pāpam* TA MahānU Here the change is facilitated by the nearly equivalent meanings of the roots *han* and *hr* in such a context ('destroy' and 'take away')

*asadan* (TS. *asanan*) *mātaram purah* (TS *punah*) RV AV SV ArŚ VS TS MS. KS. ŚB.

*avimuktacakra* (v. 1 °rā) *āsīran* PG.: *vivṛttacakra āsīnāh* HG ApMB *tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu* AV *stanī mandras suprayakṣuh* KS Others, §830.

*tanūr varṣiṣṭhā gahaneṣṭhā* MS : *mahāntān gahvareṣṭhām* SV.

*nirṛtho* (MS °to) *yaś ca nīśānāh* (AV. °rah) AV MS TA

*nigalgulīti dhārakā* VS. ŚB.: *nī jalgulīti* (KS † *jalgalūti*, mss, em °lūti) *dhānīkā* TS KSA

*deva puraścara saghyāsam* (MS. *devapuraś carasa rdhyāsam*, *p p deva*, *punar it punah*, *carase*, etc) *tvā* MS TA. ApŚ MŚ The text of MS is corrupt in both readings.

*mā na āyuh param avaram mānadonāh* MS . *mā nah param adharam* (MŚ. *param adhanam*) *mā rajo 'nāh* (MŚ *nāh*) TA MŚ Two cases, *adhanam*: *adharam*, and *mā rajo' mānado-* (corrupt)

*ruvad dhokṣā* (TB *nṛvadbhyo 'kṣā*) *paprathānebhur evāh* RV MS. AB KB TB. But *r* may be regarded as a phonetic substitute for *ru*; §684.

§862. Next, *n* and *r* before other consonants, note one case in RV itself:

*vīśvāny anyo* (RV.\*KS *aryo*) *bhuvanā jajāna* RV (both) MS KS TB

In different contexts

*balivardāya* (KSA. °*vandāya*) *svāhā* KSA TB ApŚ Apparently *balivardāya* is intended

*ihivardāya* (KSA *ahivandāya*) *svāhā* KSA TB ApŚ Follows the prec *gaurīr* (TB. TA *gaurī*, AV *gaur in*) *mimāya sahlāni takṣatī* RV AV. TB AA. TA. N

*vidyur* (ApMB *vidyun*) *me asya devāh* RV AV KS ApMB See Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB, xxiv *vidyun* is doubtless corruption due to unintelligent thought of *vidyut*, it is read by all mss and confirmed by the comm, who says that *t* for *visarga* is *chāndasa*<sup>1</sup> *vidyur* is 3d plural verb form

§749 *vāte punann wa* (AŚ LŚ, mss of Vait., most mss of ŚŚ, and v 1 o KSA. *punarnwa*) VS TS MS. KSA. ŚB TB. AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ

The persistence in the mss of the impossible *punarnwa* is striking  
*ni nuvartana vartayendra nardabuda* (KS *nandabala*) TS KS ApMB See §273

*adyā tvā vanvan* (KS *vardhan*) *sureknāh* RV. KS TB

*ukhām sravanīm agadām aganma* (MŚ *akarma*) KŚ MŚ

*anārbhava mṛda* KS. ApŚ The ms of KS reads *anārbhava*, em v Schroeder, see p w 5, Nachtrage Cf *anābho mṛda dhūrta* (read *dhūrta* with some mss of MS and all of MŚ) MS MŚ See §749

§863. As to *n* and *r* after other consonants, most of the variants contain forms of the stems *agn* and *agra* A special historic, and as it were romantic, interest attaches to this variation on account of the famous falsification of RV. 10 18 7d, *ā rohanu janayo yonim agre*, into which by substituting *agneh* for *agre* there was introduced a justification for widow-burning. 'Let the women mount upon the (proper) place in the beginning' was made to mean 'Let the women mount into the seat of fire' In the Vedic occurrences of this *pāda*, which is found also in AV and TA, there is no authority for this change There are, however, a number of other Vedic passages where a like change occurs, always, with one exception, between the locative *agre* and the vocative *agne* It is noteworthy that in most instances the stem *agra* is evidently original, and the stem *agn* secondary The explanation is that the context is regularly one that concerns the god Agni, whose name is secondarily introduced by a natural confusion

§864. The list is as follows, the first is the only variant which does not concern the forms *agre* and *agne*

*dhvāntam vātāgram anusamcarantam* (PB *abhīsam*\*) TS PB TB PG

ApMB : *dhvāntā vātā agnim* (mss of both *vātāgnīm*) *abhi ye samcaranti* MŚ MG Clearly *agnim* is secondary.

*agre vikṣu pradīdayat* RV. *agne vikṣu pratīdayat* TB (Poona ed *agre* without v 1, but comm *he agne*)

*tubhyam agre* (MG *agne*) *pary avahan* RV AV PG ApMB MG

*agre* (MS \*KS \*MŚ *agne*) *brhann uṣasām ūrdhvo asthāt* RV VS TS \*MS \*KS \*ŚB ApŚ, and Pratikas AŚ ŚŚ KŚ MŚ Rvidh BrhD.

*tenemam agra* (TB *agna*) *iha varcasā t̥samañgdhi* KS TB. Here, by exception, *agna* (= *agne*) may be the original reading, one accented ms of KS. leaves *agra* unaccented, suggesting that a vocative (which could only be *agna*) was intended.

*tavāham nāma bibharāny agne* (AŚ *agre*) TS AŚ : *tavāham agne bibhārāni nāma* MŚ. Here it seems even more probable that *agne* is the older reading

[*agre* (TB. *agne*, but Poona ed text and comm *agre*) *yajñasya śocatah* (KS TB. *celatah*) RV KS TB.]

[*agne* (AV *agre*) *samudham āhārṣam* AV Kauś *agre* is only an emendation in the Berlin ed, which is rightly withdrawn by Whitney in his Translation]

§865. Aside from variants of these two stems, we have noted only the following

*akṣāṇām vagnum* (MS *†vagnum*) *upajighnamānah* (MS *avajighram āpah*) MS TB TA The MS is certainly wrong TB. comm *upahatam kurvan*

*girā ca* (AV *vrājah*) *śruṣṭih sabharā asan naḥ* RV. AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB Whitney on AV adopts *śnuṣṭih* with most mss; Ppp *sunīṣṭas* See §57

*ūrdhvacatah* (MS KS *śritah*) *śrayadhvam* (VS *† śna°*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB. TA Doubtless corruption, if not misprint, see §195

#### c and v

§866. Under this heading we find first a few cases of shift between the roots *vi-crt* and *vi-vrt*, in all of which the sense is more favorable to *vi-crt*, 'unloose', also a few, the majority being of very doubtful authenticity, between the synonymous bases *śac* and *śav*. The others are sporadic

*agnim hotāram antarā vvirṭtāh* AŚ *hotāram agnim antarā vicrttāh* ApŚ. 'Bonds' are referred to, which are 'loosened' by this stanza, so that *vicrttāh* is very natural, but it may for that reason be regarded as a secondary lect fac It is not necessary to the sense, as the following pāda declares that the bonds shall 'bind the fool, but the wise shall go past them'.

*ṛtasya tantum vvitatam vvirṭya* (VS *vicrtya*, AV *dr̥ṣe kam*) AV. VS TA. MahānU The true reading is probably *vicrtya* So Poona ed of TB text and comm, tho with v. l. *vvirṭya*; comm gloss *guruśāstramukhān niścitya*, which looks as if he had read *vvirṭya* and taken it from *vi-vr* 'elucidate', a meaning which can hardly be right in any

- case MahānU. reads *vṛtya* without recorded variant, comm. gloss *vṛti sandīpena sandīpya*, which is obscure to us
- [*vi pāśam madhyamam cṛta* (TB and MŚ v 1 *vṛta*) RV KS TB MŚ So Conc, seemingly erroneously, MŚ has *cṛta* without recorded variant, and Poona ed of TB. likewise *cṛta* text and comm with no v 1]
- śabalī prajānām śaciṣṭhā vratam* (ApŚ *śaviṣṭhā vrajam*) *anugeṣam svāhā* PB ApŚ
- [*vīryebhir* (MS *vīrebhir*, AV. *yau vīryair*) *vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB *śaci°*) AV VS. MS ŚB ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ But Poona ed of TB *śaviṣṭhā* in text and comm without v 1]
- [*devānām devatamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB *śaci°*) MS TB Again Poona ed of TB *śavi°* without v 1]
- vicatī* (or *viviṭ*) *svāhā* MahānU *viviṣṭyai svāhā* TA TAA There is also a v. 1 *civiṭ* in MahānU The word is meaningless Comm *vicatī*, which he does not explain; he quotes also a v 1 *vidhijñā* Poona ed of both TA. and TAA *viviṣṭyai*, explained by comm as for *viviṣṭyai* by Vedic license
- vakratundāya* (TAA *cakra°*) *dhīmahi* TA TAA † MahānU
- saṁ arvanito raghudruvāh* (VSK *°drucāh*) RV. SV. VS VSK MS Meaningless corruption in VSK
- ghṛtapratīkam va* (TB *ca*) *ṛtasya dhūrṣadam* (TB *dhūruṣ°*, Poona ed *dhūrṣ°*) RV. TB ApŚ The sandhi shows that TB is secondary and poor
- yatra cābhumṛśāmasi* (HG *vābhi°*) ApMB HG

### p and y

- §867. A miscellaneous but fairly numerous group
- indrāpāsya* (two mss *indrāyāsya*) *phalgam* ApMB *indrāyayāsya* (corrupt, Kirste suggests *indra āyāsya*) *śephām alīkam* HG
- hrīyai śalyakah* (VS *śalpakah*) VS MS The p is a false reading, VS comm *śvānt*
- bṛhaspataye śitpuṣaḥ* (KSA † *śimyuṣaḥ*) TS KSA An otherwise unknown word, said to be a kind of cat
- prasthāyendrāgnibhyām somam vocatopo* (KB *vocalo yo*) *asmān* KB AŚ ŚŚ Read in KB. as the others (Keith).
- saṁ bāhubhyām dhamatī* (etc, §853) *saṁ patatrah* (KS. *yajatraih*) RV AV VS TS MS KS TA MahānU ŚvetU
- prapunvanta upa sprśata prapunvadbhya svāhā* ApMB *prayunvanta upasprśata prayunvadbhyah svāhā* HG Both anomalous forms and scarcely interpretable

*susasyāh* (VSK °*pāh*) *kṛṣṇis kṛdh* VS VSK ŚB KŚ · *kṛṣya* *tvā susas-yāya* (KS †*sumanasasyāya*, bis) TS KS ApŚ. With the VSK reading cf. *śaṣpa*

*pūlyāny* (ApMB. *kulpāny*) *āvapantikā* AV ApMB The mss of both texts vary between *lp* and *ly*

*anadvāns tapyate vahan* (MŚ *talpate vahān*) ApŚ MŚ If MŚ is correct (it occurs in an unedited part of the text), it is a mere corruption *tvam hī rādhaspata* (text °*yata*, wrongly) *eka īśiṣe* ŚŚ.

*ubhe ca no* (etc) . . . *anhasah* (°*sas*) *pātām* (TB Conc *syātām*, Poona ed *anhasah spātām*, AŚ text *janhasa syātām*) MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

The true reading can only be *anhasah* (or °*sas*) *pātām*

[*tanūpā* (TB °*yā*, Poona ed °*pā*) *bhūṣaṇā sute* VS MS KS TB]

[*vahṣṭhebbur viharan yāsi* (TB Conc *pāhī*, comm and Poona ed. text *yāsi*) *tantum* RV TB KS AŚ ApŚ]

[*tvaṣṭā turīpo* (TB *turīyo*, Poona ed text and comm. °*po*) *adbhuta* VS. MS KS TB]

[*āpataye* (GB ā<sup>ya</sup>°, Gaastra ā<sup>pa</sup>°) *tvā grhnāmi* VSK TS MS GB Vait ApŚ MŚ]

[*varuneti śapāmahe* (MS †°*har*, LŚ †*ṣayāmahe*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ Probably a double misprint in LŚ]

[*viśvatoḥasta uta viśvatoṣpāt* (TA °*taḥ syāt*, but Poona ed correctly °*taṣpāt*) TS MS KS TA]

### gh and dy

§868. The variants are again miscellaneous, tho fairly frequent  
*mā* (AG MG ā) *tvā prāpann aghāyavah* (MG *adyāyavah*) AG. ŚG ApMB MG The correct reading is *mā* . . . *aghāyavah* 'Let not the malicious ones reach thee' It is strange that apparently all mss of AG MG read ā at the beginning, preceded by anusvāra at the end of the preceding pāda (Stenzler assumes *mā*) The further corruption in MG seems an attempt to patch up a bad job, it implies *adya-āyavah* 'may lives today reach thee'

*magham* (MS, but not KS †, *madyam*) *indrāya jabhṛre* VS MS KS TB 'Brought a gift (liquor) unto Indra' Indra's well-known bibulous habits are responsible for the secondary change in MS, involving the misreading of *gh* as *dy* Cf next

*sa bibheda balam* (VS and Poona ed TB. *valam*) *magham* (MS *madyam*) VS MS KS TB Cf prec

*śatāpāsthādya viṣā* (read with Poona ed of both °*sthā gha viṣā*) *pari no vṛnaktu* TB TA . *śarā vāṣṭād dhaviṣā vārnah* MS (Poona ed of



TB. records  $\tau$ . l. *'āya*, and comm.  $\tau$ . l. *adya*.) The MS is hopelessly corrupt but has another graphic corruption, *ddh* for *gh*, cf. §875; see also §838.

*pātām mā dyāvāpṛthivī adyāhnaḥ* (Kauś. *aghān nah*, read *adyāhnaḥ*)  
TS. ApŚ. Kauś. See §840

[*keṣalāgho* (TB. *keṣalādyo*, but Poona ed. text and comm. *'lāgho*) *bharati keṣalādī* RV. TB. N. Gloss in TB. comm.: *pāpam eva saṃpādayati na t'v kimcid api puṇyam*.]

[*sa ghā* (TB. *sadyā*, read with Poona ed. text and comm. *sa ghā*) *no deṣaḥ saritā sahāvā* (TB. *sarāya*) RV. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ ŚŚ]

[*yad vā ghā* (TA. *vādyā*, but Poona ed. *vā ghā*, and comm. *vā ghā*) *satyam uta yan na rīdma* RV. TS. MS. KS. TA. There is a  $\tau$ . l. *vādyā* in TA. Poona ed., but gloss in comm. (*yad eva kimcid*) proves that he read *vā ghā*.]

#### *d* and *v*

§869. Under this head we find principally a group of variants between the stems *dīś* and *rīś*; both stems always appear in the plural number, cf. Wackernagel II. 1 p. 48, foot. These are of course rime words. In every case except the first mentioned the original form seems to contain *rīś*. There are, in addition, a couple of other miscellaneous variants between *d* and *v*.

*decānān patnīr* (VS. *patnyo*, MS. *patnayo*) *dīśaḥ* (MS. KSA. *ṛśaḥ*) VS.

TS. MS. KSA. The 'wives of the gods' must apparently be the 'directions', not 'tribes'. This is the only case of original *dīś*, and even it is perhaps not certain.

*ye vā nūnam surjanāsu rīkṣu* (AV. *dīkṣu*) RV. AV. A  $\tau$ . l. *rīkṣu* occurs in AV., and so Ppp. reads

*śaśrad rīśaḥ* (TB. *dīśaḥ*) *savitur dairyasya* RV. TB. The change in TB was perhaps due to assimilation in meaning to the parallel *bhuvanāni* in the next pāda.

*rīśān* (TB. *dīśān*) *patir abharad vājīnīvān* MS. TB. Indra is referred to, and the original is doubtless *rīśām*.

*rīśo* (SV. *dīśo*) *rīśo anu prabhuḥ* (TB. *prabhu*) RV. SV. MS. TB. Agni is meant.

*hṛtsu kratuḥ varuṇo* (MS. *varunaṁ*) *rīkṣo* (RV. *apṣo*, MS. *dīkṣo*) *agnim* RV. VS.  $\ddagger$  TS.  $\ddagger$  MS. KS. ŚB.  $\ddagger$

*apa durhārdīśo jahi* Kauś. (read *durhārdīśo*, Cone)

*ut parjanyaśya dhāmabhiḥ* (TS. TA. ApMB. *śuśmena*, MS. *dhāmā*, KS. *ṛṣṭyā*, PG. *dṛṣṭyā*) VSK. TS. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. PG. ApMB

*dhātā vidhātā* (MS *dhartā vidhartā*) *paramola samdr̥k* (KS *paramo na samvr̥k*) RV VS TS KS MS N. *samvr̥k* perhaps 'seizer', certainly inferior

*avasphūrjan vidyud* (TS *didyud*) *varṣan* . . . TS MS KS

*bhūmir it tvābhīpramanvate janāh* AV. *yām tvā jano bhūmir it praman-date* VS MS KS ŚB The latter secondary and poor, Mahīdhara, *stauti*, which the verb can hardly mean

### s and m

§870. Here the variants are quite miscellaneous:

*kṛṣyāi tvā susasyāyāi* (KS *ṣumanasyāyāi*, bis) TS KS. ApŚ Others, see §867. The original is clearly *susasyāyāi*

*agne yān devān ayād* . . . *tām sasanuṣīm* (KS *ms tān samanoṣīnr*, ed *em samanaṣīr*) *hotrām* . . . MS KS TB The corrupt *ms* reading of KS seems to point towards the reading of MS TB., rather than towards Von Schroeder's emendation, which should probably be replaced by the other version

*pr̥ṣasya* (ArS *prak°*) *vṛṣno aruṣasya nū sahaḥ* (ArS *mahaḥ*) RV ArS AB KB AŚ ŚŚ Svidh Synonyms

*athā jīvaḥ* (KS *adhā vṣitah*, VS ŚB *athaitam*, AV *adomadam*) *pītum* (AV *annam*) *addhi prasūtah* (TS MS KS *pramuktah*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

*graha viśvajantīna nīyantar viprāyāma te* (MS. *p p viprāya, mate*; KS *nyantar vipra ā ṣatī*) MS KS

*yaśasendrābrhaspatī* (ArS *yaśo mendrā°*) ArS PG MG.

*mā brāhmanasya* (3c *sā br°*) *rājanya* AV. 5 18 1c, 3c In the Berlin ed. *mā* is misprinted for *sā* in 3c, hence this is not recorded in Cone But it is a deliberate variant with change of meaning, not a graphic error

*mahas te sato mahimā panasyate* (SV *paniṣṭama*) RV AV. SV. VS. *mahāns te mahato mahimā* AV. The related words in the context have, of course, helped in the secondary change to *mahato*.

*vahāsi mā* (KS *ṭvahānsi sā*) *sukṛtām yatra lokāḥ* (KS. *lokaḥ*) KS TB Certainly KS. is secondary and inferior, but *sā* may refer to the *juhū*

*tvaṣṭā devaḥ sahamāna indrah* MG.: *tvaṣṭar devebhīḥ sahasāma indra* ApMB.

*nīlāgalasālā* AV *nīlagalamālan śivah paśya* NīlarU See §512 Some copyist tried to correct the reading in NīlarU., thinking of *nīla-gala* and *mālā*

## t and n

§871. The variants we have noted are less numerous than might have been expected from the frequency of the sounds and the similarity of the forms of the letters. Our list may be incomplete.  
*sa tvam* (ŚŚ. ApŚ *sanvan*) *sanm sumucā vṛmuñca* KŚ ŚŚ ApŚ See §830

*tan mā jṛva* (KS *mājṛvā*) TS MS KS See §§354, 829

*dhātā vidhātā* (MS *dhartā vidhartā*) *paramola samdṛk* (KS. *paramo na samvṛk*) RV VS TS MS KS N See §835

*yad ejaḥ jagatḥ yac ca ceṣṭati nāmno* (MahānU *nānyo*, v 1 *mānyo*)  
*bhāgo yan* (TAA Poona ed. 'yam) *nāmne* (MahānU *yatnān me*, v 1 *yan nāmne*) *svāhā* TAA MahānU.

*upa stuhī* (Poona ed. *snuhī*) *taṁ nṛmanām* (Poona ed. *nṛmanām*) *athadrām* TA (Other forms, see §110.) The mss of the comm vary between *stuhī* and *snuhī*, gloss *bhūmau prasarāvaya*, pointing to *snuhī*.

*yām apilā upatiṣṭhanta āpah* LŚ. *yām āpīnām upasīdanty āpah* AV  
*prapīnam* (MŚ v 1 °*taṁ*, TS ApŚ *prapyātam*) *agne sarīrasya* (MŚ *salīlasya*) *madhye* VS TS KS ApŚ MŚ

*ghṛtam duhānā vīsvataḥ prapītāḥ* (TB ApMB *prapīnāḥ*, AVPpp *pravīnāḥ*) RV AV VS TB ApMB

*āvīte dyāvāpṛthivī ṛtāvṛdhau* MS KS.: *āvinne dyāvāpṛthivī dhṛtavrata* TS TB

*āvītau* (TS *āvintau*) *mitrāvarunau dhṛtavratau* (TS °*nāv ṛtāvṛdhau*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Others with *āvīta āvinna*, see Conc 188

*grāmam sajanāyo ṛgachantī* ApMB. *grāmān sajanāyo yanī* HG  
*jāmim itvā mā vīvīsi lokān* TA : *jāmim ṛtvā māva pāsi lokān* AV  
*vīrān mā no rudra bhāmīto* (°*no*) . . , *mā no vīrān rudra bhāmīno* . . , see §209

*savitā bhṛtyām* (KS ms † *manyām*) TS KS See §242

## ṣ and p

§872. The variants are few.

*atho* (LŚ ApŚ *nir mā*) *yamasya padbīśāt* (VS °*vīśāt*, LŚ. †*śadvinśāt*) RV AV VS LŚ ApŚ. See §217

*vāḡnam śepena* VS. *śeṣo vāḡnena* MS But MS p.p. *śepah*, read certainly *śepo*

*ye tāṛṣur* (TB *tāṛpur*) *devatrā jehamānāḥ* RV. AV. MS TB. AŚ ŚŚ. Kauś 'Thirsted'. 'delighted'

*ā and prā*

§873. In Devanāgarī, at least, these letters are easily confused. It is interesting that we find one variant here within the RV. itself:

*āvo* (and *prāvo*) *yudhyanam vṛṣabham daśadyum* RV. (both)

*āsmā aśṛvann āśāh* AV : *prāsmā āśā aśṛvan* TA

*āvat tam* (TA Conc *prāvariam*, comm *āvariam*, Poona ed. text and comm *āvar tam*; so also KS ms) *indrah śacyā dhamantam* RV. AV. SV KS TA

*s and p, pi, pr, bh, t*

§874. The remaining graphic variants are more sporadic and we shall group them in our arrangement. In this paragraph are included various other letters exchanging with *s* (on *s* and *m* see §870).

*suśtimam somasatsaru* AV · *suśevam somapitsaru* (TS *sumatitsaru*) VS MS KS ŚB VāDh. See §180 *s* and *p* (*t*)

*rasena sam asṛṣmah* (RV. *agasmah*, KS LŚ *aganmah*, AV JB *apṛṣmah*) RV. AV VS TS MS KS JB. ŚB. TB. LŚ ApMB. *s* and *p*

[*āplam manah* TS MS KS TB MŚ ApŚ. So read in TB, for which Bibl Ind ed has *āsam*]

*sacyutim* (AŚ. *pracyutim*) *yaghanacyutim* MS TB. AŚ. Preceded by a *pāda* ending in *sacyutim* (MS *haslacyutim*). Perhaps the AŚ variant (*s pr*) is not so much graphic as deliberately stylistic (for the sake of variety)

*anugrāsāś* (PB *anugrābhaś*) *ca vṛtrahan* RV AV. PB. The original is a nom pl of *an-ugra*. PB misunderstands and rationalizes it, with graphic change of *s* to *bh*.

*yad adya dugdham prthivīm asṛpta* (TB ApŚ *asakta*, MŚ. *abhakta*) AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ MŚ. Again *bh* is secondary to *s*

*agne svam* (TS TB. *svām*, ŚB. *tvam*) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS ŚB *sādhuyā*) VS TS·MS KS. ŚB TB sv: tv, the latter secondary.

*gh and dh and other similar letters*

§875. The only common graphic interchange of *gh*, that with *dy*, has been treated in §868. The shift between *dh* and *gh* has phonetic aspects, see §147. The rest are sporadic

*grhānāṅgāny apve* (SV. *aghe*) *pareh* RV. AV SV VS N. The SV is certainly corrupt, see Benfey's Nachtrage to SV text, p 258. Benfey curiously retains *aghe* in his Glossary, but in his Translation substitutes the proper name *Apvā gh·pv*.

*agdhād eko 'hutād ekah* . . TS *adhvād eko 'ddhād eko hutād ekah* MŚ  
*gdh dhv* or *ddh*.

*ima udvāsīkārīna ime* . TB. ApŚ . *imā uddhāsīcārīna ime* MŚ  
*ddh dv*

*ruvād dhokṣā* (TB *nrvādbhyo 'kṣā*) *paprainānebhur evaḥ* RV MS AB  
 KB TB The TB is secondary, *ddh dbhu*

*v* and *j*, *ṣ*, *tr*, *ṭh*

§876. Compare §§866, 869 for *v* and *c*, *d*

*pra viṣṭīmīnam āṇṣuh* AV VS ŚŚ *pra samhrṣṭīnam āṇṣuh* LŚ The whole passage is obscure, LŚ doubtless secondary, with *j* for *v* *usrāv* (VSK *usrā*) *elam dhūrṣāhau* (VSK. MŚ *dhūrvāhau*) . VS VSK TS ŚB MŚ. Others, §122 *ṣ v*

[*vairāyī* (KSA †<sup>o</sup>*je*) *puruṣī* (so also KSA †, Conc wrongly *puruṣī*) TS KSA]

[*pra yah satrūcā* (TB *sa vācā*, but comm and Poona ed text *satrūcā*) *manasā yajāte* (TB <sup>o</sup>*lai*, Poona ed text and comm <sup>o</sup>*te*) RV TB]

[*śam te pruvāva śīyatām* AV *śam u prṣṭhāva* (read *prṣvāva* with Poona ed text and comm., tho *v* l *prṣṭhāva*) *śīyatām* TA]

*y* and *ṣ*, *ṭh*

§877. For *y* and *p* see §867, for *dy* and *gh*, §868

*ṛṣvāh satīh kavāṣah* (KSA *kavayah*) *śumbhamānāh* VS TS MS KSA  
 See Keith's note on TS While the meaning of *kavāṣah* is quite uncertain, *kavayah* (found also in some TS mss) is probably only a graphic lect fac

*tad asya priyam abhi pātho aśyām* (TB *asthām*, Poona ed *aśyām*) RV MS AB TB AŚ See §287

*apāmatyam* (AŚ *apām ittham*) *va sambhara* MS KS AŚ The AŚ is an absurd graphic blunder

*samaddho agnir vṛṣanāratar* (AV <sup>o</sup>*nā rathī*, ŚŚ <sup>o</sup>*nā rayir*) *dvah* AV AB AŚ ŚŚ Here the reverse error, *y* for *ṭh*, has occurred in ŚŚ see §93

#### Miscellaneous

§878. Other miscellaneous variants which may be graphic in character

*āptye* (AV <sup>\*</sup>*apriye*, <sup>\*</sup>*dvīṣate*) *śam nayāmasi* RV AV <sup>\*</sup> The AV comm reads *āptye* for *apriye* But the variant *dvīṣate* suggests that *apriye* must have been known in very early times, and indeed Ppp reads

*apriye* (Barret, *JAOS* 30 220) The RV. says 'We collect and heap (evils) upon (the scapegoat, Trita) Āptya'. The AV charm-monger knows little and cares less about this old mythological character, with characteristic practicality he heaps evils on 'the enemy' Without this intermediate step, in which the graphic resemblance to *pty* to *pr* may have shared, the further change to *dvīṣate* would be unintelligible.

*tāsām viśiśnānām* (KS *viśiśnyānām*) MS. KS : *teṣām viśipriyānām* (VS ŚB °nām *vo 'ham*) VS TS ŚB *śn(y)* : *pr*. Both words are obscure, Keith renders 'without handles' and conjectures that MS. KS meant the same.

*prutiśrutkāyā artanam* (TB. *ṛtulam*) VS TB *n̄ l* Possibly phonetic, cf §273

*khanyābhyah* (KSA *khalyā°*) *svāhā* TS KSA Vor Schroeder suggests reading with TS. *n̄ l*, cf. preceding

*anarśarātum* (SV *alarśvātīm*) *vasudām upa stuhī* RV. SV. AV. N. See §292 *n̄ l*.

*śaśvat parikupīlena* (HG °*pīlena*) ApMB HG *t̄ l*. Oldenberg abandons the HG reading

*abhi yo na irasyati* (AV. *no durasyati*) RV AV. The AV. reading (found also in Ppp as *durasyatu*, Barret, *JAOS* 26 210) is nearly a synonym for that of RV, which is antiquated and limited to RV. *du* 1

*acīṣyāma* (p p. *ami*, for *abhi*, *syāma*) *vṛjane viśva ūti* MS : *abhi ṣyāma vṛjane sarvavīrah* RV. KS. *c*: *bh* (note p p of MS)

## CHAPTER XXI SANDHI

§879. In the great mass of variants concerning phonetic relations of various individual sounds, already treated, not a few really relate to sandhi. This has been pointed out in individual instances as we have come to them. They are, however, mostly so sporadic that they can hardly be said to throw much light on the rules of sandhi as applied in the texts in general. As instances we may refer to §§142 and 145 (gutturals and dentals), 148 (gutturals and labials), 308 f (nasal as 'Hiatusalger'), 338 ff and 359 ff. (*y* and *v* as 'Hiatusalger'), 709 and 731 (elision of final *a* before initial *e* and *o*), and various parts of Chapter X, on internal consonant assimilation.

§880. We shall now present, as an appendix, a collection of variants showing different treatments of vowels or consonants in sandhi, which are sufficiently numerous in each rubric to make worth while an investigation of their bearings on the rules of sandhi. We believe that the results of this investigation will be found very fruitful, not a few new principles have come out of the study.

§881. Regarding the interpretation of these materials, a general word of caution will not be out of place. Changes in external sandhi are matters of great delicacy and finesse. In actual speech they probably always varied to some extent, in different communities, in different speakers, perhaps even in the same speaker at different times. On a number of points the Vedic grammatical authorities, the Prā-tiśākhya's, reflect this variation by their apparent confusion of statement. The manuscripts on which our editions are based are in general at least equally confused. Modern editors sometimes increase the confusion. And if they are conscientious and desire to bring order into the chaos, they are often (quite naturally and inevitably) at a loss how to proceed. Shall they treat each occurrence of a given sandhi-combination as a separate problem without reference to similar cases, and print what the best manuscript evidence seems to suggest for each individual word? Shall they, on the other hand, try to determine the usual procedure of their text, by considering all analogous cases together, and then standardize by printing them all alike? To what extent shall they be influenced by the usual procedure of other Vedic texts, of the same or

different schools? These are some of the problems which confront every conscientious Vedic editor. Different scholars have chosen different solutions; and in some cases a rather careful study of their critical notes is necessary to determine the actual usage of the texts.

§882. For these reasons the variants gathered from our actual printed texts in certain of the sections on sandhi are of doubtful value. At times they tell us less about Vedic usage than about the ideas of some modern editor. We refer particularly to such matters as the treatment of final *s* before sibilants, §§969 ff. But in spite of such considerations, for which we have tried to make all due allowance, there is no doubt of the value of most of the sections which follow. And they frequently add a good deal to our knowledge of the usages of various Vedic schools. This is notably the case, for instance, with the 'abhinihita' sandhi (initial *a* after final *e* and *o*).

§883. The following matters of sandhi will be taken up, in the order indicated. First, final *au* and *o* before initial vowels (except, in the case of *o*, initial *a*). Next, the 'abhinihita' sandhi, final *e* and *o* before initial *a*. This is one of the most interesting sections. The variants seem to us to indicate clearly that an attempt was made, at some time or other, to standardize the writing of *a* after *e* and *o* in accordance with the pronunciation in metrical passages; for details see the section itself. The only other case of vocalic sandhi is that of final *a* vowels followed by initial vocalic *r*, here new and interesting results regarding the usage of various Vedic schools appear.

§884. Coming to consonantal sandhi, we take up first the treatment of final *n*, before vowels, and then before consonants. Then the change of dental to lingual *n*, in which again the various schools are shown to have individual rules or tendencies. Next the cases of final *s* before initial *t*, lingualized after non-*a* vowels in most texts, but regularly retained in the Taittiriya school (often also in KS). Regarding final *s* before initial *k* and *p*, the Taittiriya school is again exceptional in that it usually has *h*, as in classical Sanskrit, especially after *a* vowels. After a few cases of final *r* before *k* and *p*, we come to final *s* before an initial sibilant alone, and then before initial sibilant plus consonant; here, as stated above, we are more than usually doubtful of the value of the evidence. No clear school tendencies appear in the matter of initial *s* after final non-*a* vowels (sometimes kept, sometimes changes to *ṣ*). We conclude with a section on secondary crasis or double vocalic sandhi, and its converse, hiatus between vowels, which proves to be in considerable part due to metrical considerations.



FINAL *au* AND *o* BEFORE INITIAL VOWELS

§885. Here are treated variants concerning *au* before all initial vowels and *o* before all except short *a* (abhihiṭa sandhi), which is treated in the next section. We find very definite school rules observed in this matter, to wit

(a) AV. writes *āv* for *au*, but *a* for *o*, without regard to the character of the following vowel. This is required by APr 2 21 f. But once, in a passage inherited from RV. AVŚ shows *ā* for *au* before *u*, Ppp has the regular *āv*.

(b) All other schools treat *au* and *o* in a quite analogous manner. Thus Maitrāyaṇīya and Kāthaka texts, and VSK, write *ā* for *au* and *a* for *o* before all vowels. This is prescribed by VPr 4 124; for the practice of VS see just below. The rule is not quite without exceptions in Maitr. texts; cf. *kṛnūtām tāv adhvarā jātavedasaṃ* MŚ 5 1 3 27. So, at least, Knauer reads with no report of v. 1. On the other hand, at MŚ 3 5 14c Knauer reads *yatra cuścutad agnāv evaitat*, without any ms authority, the corrupt mss are closer to *agnā*, the expected form.

(c) Taittirīya texts write *āv* and *av* before all vowels. This is contrary to TPr 10 19, which prescribes *ā* and *a*. But 10 21 adds the opinion of another teacher who says *āv* and *av* should always be written, this is favored by the comm. on TPr, and is according to Weber the regular usage of the mss of TS. The variants indicate that it is also the regular usage of Tait school texts, at least in their mantra materials.

(d) Other schools—that is, those of RV, SV (very few instances), and VS—write *ā* and *a* before *u*-vowels, but *āv* and *av* before other vowels. So RPr 129 (2 9) and 135 (2 11), and so VPr 4 125 gives the opinion of 'some', opposed to its own rule 4 124, quoted above.

(e) To summarize before *u*-vowels, Tait texts write *āv* and *av*, AV. writes *āv* for *au* but *a* for *o*, others *ā* and *a*.

(f) Before other than *u*-vowels, Maitr texts, KS, and VSK write *ā* and *a*; AV writes *āv* but *a*, all others *āv* and *av*.

(g) In a few sporadic instances the final *o* of voc. sing. forms is retained without change before a following vowel. Cf. Wackernagel I §273b, the variants show that the phenomenon is not quite so limited as Wackernagel represents it.

§886. The variants of *au* before *u*-vowels are the following:  
*aśvinau dvyakṣarena* (MS KS *°rayā*) *prānāpānāv* (MS KS *°nā*) *ud*  
*ajayātām* TS MS KS

*asā* (ApŚ *asāv-asāv*) *upahwayasva* ŚŚ ApŚ  
*asmākam yonā* (ApŚ *yonāv*) *udare suśevāh* MS ApŚ

*imam yaḡṇam juṣamānā* (TB °nāv) *upetam* MS TB.

*upasthe mātuh surabhā* (TS °bhāv) *u loke* RV TS. MS. KS

*ubhā* (AV *ubhāv*) *upāṇśu prathomā pibāva* RV. AV.

*urūnasāv* (TA *uru*°) *asutṛpā* (AV. TA. °pāv) *udumbalau* (TA. *ulu*°)

RV. AV. TA AŚ

*kā* (TA. *kāv*, AV. VS *kim*) *ūrū pādā* (TA † *pādāv*) *ucyete* RV AV VS TA

The only exception to the rule in AV Ppp. (Barret, JAOS 42 113) reads *pādāv*, regularly

*daivyā hotārāv ūrdhvam* (VS MS °rā *ūrdhvam*, KS *hotārordhvam*)

VS TS MS KS †18 17a In KS the form *hotārā*, not °*rau*, is concerned

*na yonā* (TS *yonāv*) *uśāsā*° VS TS MS

*rakṣohanau* (VS ŚB °*nau vām*) *valagahanā* (TS. ApŚ °*hanāv*) *upa*°

VS VSK TS KS ŚB ApŚ

*syone kṛnudhvam surabhā* (TS °bhāv) *u loke* VS TS MS KS ŚB

§887. The variants of *o* before *u*-vowels are.

*uṣṇena vāya* (ApMB *vāyav*) *udakenehi* (with varr) AV SMB ApMB.

AG GG PG

*deva viṣṇa* (ApŚ *viṣṇav*) *urv* PB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

*divo vā viṣṇa* (TS *viṣṇav*) *ula vā prthivyāh* VS TS KS ŚB *divo viṣṇa* etc AV MS.

*maho vā viṣṇa* (AV *maho viṣṇa*) *uror antarikṣāt* (TS *viṣṇav ula vāntarikṣāt*) AV. VS TS KS ŚB

*viṣṇa* (TS ApŚ *viṣṇav*) *urukrama* VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

§888. The variants of *au* before other than *u*-vowels are

*agnāv* (VSK MS KS MŚ *agnā*) *agnis carati pravīṣṭah* AV VS VSK

TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ApŚ MŚ SMB, pratika, Vait KŚ Kauś GG

*agnīṣomāv* (MS KS MŚ °*ṣomā*) *imam su me* RV TS MS KS TB

AŚ ApŚ MŚ ŚŚ

*ajasya nābhāv* (MS KS *nābhā*) *adhy ekam arpitam* RV VS TS MS KS

*asāv* (MS KS MŚ *asā*) *anu mā* MS KS LŚ MŚ ApŚ

*āyur dadhad yaḡṇapatāv* (MS KS °*tā*) *avīhrutam* RV SV ArS VS MS.

KS LŚ ApŚ

*imau bhadrav dhuryāv* (MS °*yā*) *abhī* SV MS JB

*usrāv etam* VS TS ŚB MŚ ApŚ KŚ *usrā etam* VSK KS

In MŚ the rule is violated, no *v* l reported

*goṣaphe śakulāv* (VSK °*tā*) *iva* AV VS VSK ŚŚ LŚ

*tāv* (KS. *tā*) *ehi sam* TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ HG BrhU *tāv iha*

*sam* AV *tāv ehi* (MG *tā eva*) *vi* AG ŚG PG MG

*tāv eha sam* AB

*dīkṣīto 'yam asā āmuṣyāyanaḥ* MS. MŚ. *adīkṣīslāyam brāhmano 'sāv amuṣya* . . ApŚ.

*dauvyā hotārāgnā* (KS. AŚ. °gna, ŚŚ. °rā agna) *ājyasya vītam* MS KS AŚ. ŚŚ Since ŚŚ., if it stands for *hotārau*, is contrary to the rule which requires °rāv, we should perhaps read *hotārāgna* also in ŚŚ, or consider it a case of hiatus between *hotārā* and *agna*; the other texts of course have the form *hotārā*, not °rau No v l reported for ŚŚ

*nabhaś ca nabhasyaś ca vārṣikāu* (VSK. MS KS °kā) *ṛtū* VS VSK. MS TB ŚB. KS

*namucāv* (VSK MS KS °cā) *āsura sacā* RV. AV VS VSK MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ

*pañcabhur dhātā v dadhāv* (MS KS. *dadhā*) *idam* TS MS KS. But MS. p p. *dadhē*

*putram iva pītārāv* (VSK. MS KS °rā) *āsvinnobhā* RV AV. VS VSK MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ

*praiśān sāmudhenūr āghārāv ājyabhāgāv* (KSA *āghārā ājyabhāgā*) *āsrutam* TS KSA

*madhavyau stokāv* (MS °kā) *apa tau rarādha* TS. MS

*muṣkāv* (VSK. *muṣkā*) *id asyā ejataḥ* AV. VS VSK ŚŚ

*yajñasya yuktau dhuryā* (TB. ApŚ °yāv) *abhūtām* (MS °thām) MS KS † TB ApŚ

*yadā carīṣṇū mithunāv* (MS. °nā) *abhūtām* RV. MS N

*yo 'sāv* (MU. 'sā) *āditye puruṣaḥ so 'sāv* (MU 'sā) *aham* VS MU

*rādhānsīl samprñcānāv* (MS MŚ °sī °nā) *asam* MS. ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ.

*viṣṇuḥ śipivīṣṭa ṭūrāv* (VSK ṭūrā) *āsannah* VS VSK. *śipivīṣṭa ṭūrā āśādyamānah* KS

*sacelasāv* (VSK °sā, MS *samokasau sacelasā*) *arepasau* VS. VSK MS ŚB.: *samokasāv* (KS °sā) *arepasau* TS KS. Kauś

*samiddhe agnāv* (VSK. MS KS *agnā*) *adhi māmahanah* VS. VSK TS MS KS ŚB

*samrājōv* (MS °jā) *asya bhuvanasya rājataḥ* RV MS

*sarasvatīm āsvināv* (VSK MS KS °nā) *indram agnim* VS VSK MS KS ŚB. TB

*sahaś ca sahasyaś ca haimantilāv* (VSK MS KS °kā) *ṛtū* VS VSK TS MS. KS ŚB.

*upa* (MS *utā*) *no mitrāvarunāv ihāvatam* (MS °nā *ihāgatam*) MS TB TA

*ṛtena sthūnāv* (MG. *ṛtena sthūnā*) *adhi* ApMB HG MG '

- tena (TB. *talo*) no *mutrāvarunāv* (MS. °nā) *aviṣṭam* (TB. *avi°*) RV MS TB
- madhuś ca mādhaveś ca vāsantīkāv* (VSK MS KS °kā) *ṛtū* VS VSK. TS. MS KS ŚB.
- viṣṇūvarunā* (TB °nāv) *abhiśastipāvā* (TB °pā vām) MS TB.
- yāv* (MS KS yā) *ātmanvad* .. AV. TS. MS KS
- agnim sve yonāv* (VSK. MS. KS yonā) *abhār ukhā* VS. VSK TS MS KS ŚB
- ahāv* (MS KS ahā) *anadatā hate* AV TS MS KS.
- ā tasthāv* (VSK. MS KS *tasthā*) *amṛtam divi* RV. VS VSK TS MS. KS ŚB
- indravāhāv* (KS °hā) *ṛbhavo vājaratnāh* RV -KS
- mutrāvarunāv* (VSK °nā, MS *indrāvarunā*) *algābhyām* VS VSK MS
- vāsantīkāv* (KS *ime vās°*, MS KS °tikā) *ṛtū abhikalpamānāh* VS. MS KS TB.
- śaiśirāv* (MS °rā, KS *ime śaiśirā*) *ṛtū abhikalpamānāh* TS MS. KS. ŚB
- īṣaś corjaś ca śāradāv* (VSK MS KS °dā) *ṛtū* VS VSK TS. MS KS ŚB
- ubhā datārāv* (VSK MS KS °rā) *īṣām rayīnām* RV VS VSK. TS MS. KS ŚB
- ko nu vām mutrāvarunāv* (MS °nā) *ṛtāyan* RV MS. KB ŚB
- tapaś ca lapasyaś ca śaiśirāv* (VSK MS KS °rā) *ṛtū* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB.
- devi uṣāsāv* (VSK MS °sā) *aśvinā* VS VSK MS TB.
- davyāv* (VSK. °yā) *adhvaryū ā galam* VS VSK ŚŚ
- dhanasātāv* (VSK MS KS °tā) *ihāvatū* VS. VSK TS MS KS
- praharśino* (KS ms °nam, ed em) *madīrasya made mṛṣāsāv* (KS °sā) *astu* KS. ApŚ
- mahāntāv* (MS °tā) *indrāvarunā mahāvasū* RV MS
- yajñasya pakṣā* (TS °ṣāv) *ṛṣayo bhavanti* TS MS KS.
- yat prthivyām yad urāv* (VSK MS KS urā) *anīrīkṣe* VS VSK TS MS KS. ŚB
- yā* (AV omits) *rājanye dundhubhāv* (KS.† °bhā) *āyatāyām* AV KS TB
- yo no mutrāvarunā abhidāsāt sapatnāh* (TS °varunāv *abhidāsati*) TS MS
- imau* (Kauś *yau*) *te pakṣāv* (VSK MS KS *pakṣā*) *ajarau palatrinau* (VSK TS.† KS °nah) VS VSK TS MS. KS ŚB Kauś.
- rājānāh samitāv* (VSK MS KS °tā) *wa* RV VS VSK TS MS KS
- vāyava ārohanavāhāv* (KSA °hā) *anadvāhau* TS KSA.
- venubhāram girāv* (KSA *girā*) *wa* TS KSA TB
- śacyā harī dhanutarāv* (KS °rā) *ataṣṭa* RV KS

*śukraś ca śuciś ca graiṣmāv* (VSK. MS KS °mā) *ṛtū* VS VSK TS MS  
KS. ŚB

*sūdrāryāv* (VSK MS KS °yā) *asṛjyetām* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB.

*śrīś ca te lakṣmīś ca patnyāv* (VSK °nyā) [*ahorātre*] VS VSK

*saṃ yāv apnastho* (MS *yā apnastho*) *apaseva janān* RV MS

*saṃśasāv* (VSK °sā) *aśvīnā dansobhīh* VS VSK ŚB

*sahasāsā* (RV also °sām) *medhasātāv* (VSK °lā) *va tmanā* RV (bis)

VSK KB (This RV. repetition is omitted in *RVRep*)

*somārudrāv* (MS °drā) *iha su mṛdatam nah* RV AV MS

*stauri devāv* (MS KS devā) *aśvīnau nāthito johavīm* TS MS KS

*hatāghaśansā* (TB °sāv) *ābharadvasū* MS KS TB

*hatāghaśansāv* (VSK. °sā) *ābhārṣtām vasu vāryām* VS VSK TB

*hemantaśīśirāv* (VSK MS KS °rā) *ṛtū* (TS *ṛtūnām*) VS VSK TS MS

KS ŚB

*hotārāv* (VSK MS °rā) *īndram aśvīnā* VS VSK MS TB

*hotārāv* (VSK MS KS °rā) *īndram prathamā suvācā* VS VSK MS KS

TB

§889. The variants of *o* before other than *u*-vowels are

*ubhayebyah pra cikitsā gaviṣṭau* (VSK *gaviṣṭau*) RV VS VSK

*kuvi su no gaviṣṭaye* (MS KS *gaviṣṭaye*) RV SV TS MS KS AB

AŚ ApŚ

*ye śāmbare harivo ye gaviṣṭau* (VSK *gaviṣṭau*) RV VS VSK AB KB

*eko bahūnām aśi manyav īditāh* (AV *manya īditā*) RV AV

*tam tvā ghṛtasnav* (VSK °sna) *īmahe* RV SV VSK ŚB

*tava vāyav* (VSK *vāya*) *ṛtaspatē* RV VS VSK ŚB

*nṛyubhān vāyav* (VSK *vāya*) *ā gah* RV ArŚ VS VSK

*nṛyudbhīr vāyav* (VSK MS KS *vāya*) *iṣṭaye durone* RV VS VSK TS

MS KS

*nṛyudbhīr* (AV *nṛyugbhīr*) *vāyav* (AV VSK MS *vāya*) *iha* AV VS

VSK MS ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ

*matrāvarunasya camasūdhvaryav* (MŚ °ya) *ādrava* (eh) TS ŚB KŚ

ApŚ MŚ

*vasat te viṣnav* (KS *viṣna*) *āsa ā kṛnomi* RV SV TS KS AŚ

*vy astabhānā* (etc., §137) *rodasī viṣnav* (VSK MS KS *viṣna*) *ele* RV VS

VSK MS KS ŚB TA

*sahasah sūnav* (MS KS *sūna*) *āhuta* RV TS MS KS

§890. In the following *o* of voc sing is retained without change

*sa no mayobbhūh pīto* (AŚ ŚG PG SMB [Jorgensen] *pīlav*) *āviśasva*

(AŚ *āviśeha*) TS TB AŚ ŚG PG SMB

*tāsv adhvaryav ādhāve*° ŚŚ *tāsv adhvaryo indrāya* AB AŚ

*brhaspatīśulasya ta* (MS *tā*, KS omits) *indo* (MS KS *inda*) *indrī°*  
 TS MS. KS *brhaspatīśulasya deva soma ta inda indrī°* VSK

#### INITIAL *a* AFTER FINAL *e* AND *o*

§891. In the great mass of variants under this heading, the initial *a* is in one form elided as in classical Sanskrit (*abhiṃhita*), while in the other form both the *a* and the final diphthong are left unchanged in writing. A few cases of different and anomalous treatment will be mentioned at the end of the section. Disregarding them for the moment we shall consider the writing or elision of *a*. On the probable actual pronunciation of *e*, *o* when followed by written *a*, see Wackernagel I p. 324, the diphthong was, as he says, no doubt regularly pronounced in some way as a short vowel, but the variants throw no light on this question.

§892. On the principles governing writing or elision of initial *a* after *e* and *o* the *Prātisākhya*s give no help. Boiled down, their statements amount only to this, that the *a* is sometimes written and sometimes elided. VPr. 4. 78 specifies that it is generally written in verses (*ṛkṣu*).

§893. Early statements in western grammars add little except that in metrical passages the meter shows that the *a* was generally pronounced, whether written or not, tho it is generally omitted in writing, whether pronounced or not. Whitney, *Grammar* §135c, says specifically that there is no 'accordance in respect to the combination in question between the written and the spoken form of the text'.

§894. Yet as long ago as 1862, in his note to APr. 3. 54, Whitney himself showed, from a count of AV instances, that

(a) In prose passages, *a* is omitted seven times out of eight

(b) In metrical passages where the meter indicates elision (we shall use this familiar term, altho doubtless 'absorption' would be more accurate, cf. Wackernagel, I, c, p. 324, bottom) of *a*, it is omitted in writing six times out of seven.

(c) In metrical passages where the meter indicates pronunciation of *a*, it is written nine times out of ten, except that at the beginning of a *pāda* in the middle of a verse-line, where of course it is always pronounced, it is omitted in writing four times out of five.

§895. If these facts are at all typical of Vedic works in general, and there is reason to believe that they are, they seem to indicate that at some time in the history of our tradition an attempt was made to make the writing conform to certain definite standards, which had some relation to actual pronunciation. The statement quoted above from

Whitney's *Grammar* is therefore exaggerated, to say the least. To be sure, the attempt was either incompletely carried out, or else its results have been somewhat disturbed by later copyists and redactors. Cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 460 f, Wackernagel I p 325

*General practice of Vedic texts*

§896. Before summarizing the evidence of the variants, we shall venture a statement of what seems to us to have been the general procedure in the Vedic tradition. Apparently this tradition was fixed at a time when the usual custom was to elide the *a*, as in classical Sanskrit. But those who established the norm in the Vedic texts were quite aware of the fact that these texts themselves, by their meter, indicated that the *a* frequently, if not usually, had to be pronounced. As a concession to this observed fact, or perhaps, more accurately, in order to help in the proper recitation of the Vedic texts, they undertook to write the *a* in cases where the meter required its pronunciation, leaving it unwritten in the comparatively rare cases where the meter required its omission, and in prose generally. Only when the *a* came at the beginning of a pāda in the middle of a line, the *a* was elided in writing, in accordance with the general custom of the time when the redaction was carried out, perhaps for the very reason that no confusion or error of pronunciation could well arise in such cases. That is, since the *a* would have to be pronounced in every such case, its omission in writing, according to the usual rule of the time, was considered allowable.

§897. Thus, except in the last-mentioned case, an attempt was made to conform spelling to original pronunciation of the metrical texts, while in prose texts the *a* tended to be omitted. Exceptions may often be explained as due to carelessness or ignorance, whether on the part of the original redactors who applied the rules, or on the part of later copyists or reciters.

*Evidence of the variants*

§898. In interpreting the bearing of the variants on these rules, we must remember that they are a specially selected group, and make allowance for the principle of selection. Thus, first, they cannot in the nature of things take note of the cases in which initial *a* is elided at the beginning of a pāda. All such pādas are necessarily printed in the Concordance, and in the Variants, with initial *a*; whereas, as we have seen, according to Whitney the *a* is elided in four-fifths of such cases

in the AV ; and much more regularly in the RV. In fact, RPr 138 (2. 13) requires that *a* should never be written in this position

§899. Secondly, every one of our variants contains, by definition, at least one instance, in some text or other, of both possible forms: *a* written and *a* elided. This means that invariably, except in the few cases in which a pāda can be read metrically either with or without pronunciation of *a*, at least one of the texts quoted violates the general rule. Consequently, statistics based on our variants cannot possibly be expected to agree precisely with the rules laid down in §896. If, despite this artificial weighting of the scales in favor of the *advocatus diaboli*, the variants nevertheless show a definite tendency in favor of the rules as stated, this may be considered a valuable confirmation of them. And such, we think, is the case.

§900. The extent to which variants may be trusted as representing general usage may be tested by comparing the AV. passages found among them with Whitney's statistics for the entire AV, mentioned in §894. Thus, in metrical passages where *a* is pronounced, Whitney found it written in nine-tenths of the cases, the variants have it written in more than two-thirds, or nearly five-sevenths of such cases (26 out of 38). In metrical passages where *a* is not pronounced, Whitney found it omitted in six-sevenths of the cases; the variants show it omitted in all the six cases which occur. The prose variants from AV are very few (only 5); in two of them *a* is written, in three elided, whereas Whitney reports elision in seven-eighths of the prose cases. These correspondences suggest that when the variants occur in considerable numbers, they may be taken as a fair index of conditions in the texts as a whole.

### *Metrical passages*

§901. The *a* is pronounced in 59 metrical pādas among the variants; it is not pronounced in 10. In 24 it may be read either way, or the readings are changed in other respects so that both forms of the variant are metrical as written.

§902. When the *a* is shown by the meter to be pronounced, it is also written in nearly two-thirds of the cases in all texts together (213 to 117). In general, the proportion is higher in the older texts. Thus RV, written 21 times, omitted 4; AV. 25 to 12; TS. 19 to 7, MS. 24 to 9. But it is lower than the general average in VS (10 to 6) and KS (20 to 16). SV. forms a striking exception; among the variants it has *a* written only once, omitted 4 times. Its school texts show that this is no



accident due to the small numbers; they also write *a* 3 times and omit it 8 times. The SV. school clearly tended against the writing of *a*, in accord with classical Sanskrit usage (we shall see below that in prose texts, also, the dropping of *a* predominates in the SV. school much more than in the others). While the SV. and its school texts are the only ones that show a majority for dropping *a* when it is pronounced, later texts in general show a growing tendency to do so, approaching the classical norm. Thus RV. school texts have it written 14 times, omitted 11 times (against RV. itself 21 to 4).

§903. When the *a* is shown by the meter not to be pronounced, it is also omitted in writing in five-sevenths of the cases in all texts together (46 to 19). The cases are too few to make it safe to set up rules for the individual schools.

§904. Thus we see that in all metrical pādas the writing is consistent with the pronunciation in nearly two-thirds of the cases (239 to 136), whether the meter requires pronunciation of *a* or the reverse. In the few cases where it is possible to read the pāda metrically either way, we have given the written text the benefit of the doubt, assuming that it was pronounced when written, not pronounced when omitted in writing. They are not numerous enough to affect the result, and our procedure seems justified by the evidence of other cases where there is no ambiguity.

#### *Prose passages*

§905. In the prose variants the school texts of SV. show a considerable preponderance of elided over written *a* (12 to 1), and the same tendency, tho less decisive, is noticeable in the Taittirīya school, which shows elision in two-thirds of the cases (49 to 25). Other texts show no very marked tendency in either direction. MS. has a majority for *a* written (21 to 15), but its school texts are nearly even. The totals for all prose passages are 105 written, 151 elided. Contrast this with 232 written, 163 elided among the metrical variants (213 to 117 where the meter shows that *a* was pronounced).

#### *Table of final a written or omitted after c and o*

§906. The figures in the following table are worth quoting, tho perhaps not to be taken too absolutely. As stated above, when the meter permits either pronunciation or elision of *a*, we assume consistency of writing and pronunciation. Repetitions of the same formula in the same text, with or without modulations in the adjoining words are not counted.

TEXTS	METRICAL PASSAGES				PROSE PASSAGES	
	Writing and pronunciation consistent		Writing and pronunciation inconsistent		a written	a elided
	a written and pronounced	a not written, not pronounced	a not written, but pronounced	a written, not pronounced		
RV	21	0	4	0	0	0
RVKh	1	0	1	0	0	0
RV school texts	14	2	11	1	9	14
SV	1	0	4	0	0	0
SV school texts	3	0	8	1	1	12
AV	25	6	12	0	2	3
AV school texts	4	1	1	0	1	2
VS	10	2	6	2	13	13
VSK	2	1	0	0	0	2
ŚB	8	0	5	1	8	10
Other Vāj school	5	1	4	0	0	3
TS	19	6	7	2	10	20
TB	17	2	9	0	3	8
ApŚ	10	0	7	4	8	11
Other Tait school	10	3	6	2	4	10

TEXTS	METRICAL PASSAGES				PROSE PASSAGES	
	Writing and pronunciation consistent		Writing and pronunciation inconsistent		a written	a elided
	a written and pronounced	a not written, not pronounced	a not written, but pronounced	a written, not pronounced		
MS	24	6	9	3	21	15
Maitr. school	14	5	2	0	9	7
KS	20	8	16	3	15	18
Late and misc	5	3	5	0	1	3
Totals	213	46	117	19	105	151

§907. We now proceed to list the variant passages, beginning with the metrical ones, and first with those in which the meter indicates that the *a* was pronounced, whether written or not (59 items)

so *adhvarān* (AV. Kauś. 'dhvarān) *sa rtūn kalpayāh* RV AV TS MS  
KS ŚB. Kauś.

*anumate 'nu* (KapS † *anu*) *manyasva na idam* (AV. 'nu *idam manyasva*)  
AV KS. KapS. (quoted in note to KS.). *anumate 'nu manyasva*  
(prose) GG. KhG. HG. ApG

*nir amum bhaja yo 'mitro asya* TB.: *niṣ tam bhaja yo amitro asya* AV.  
*tatra śīśrye 'ja ekapādah* AV.† 13 1. 6: *tasmān chīśrye aja ekapāl* TB  
*teṣām yo ajyānum* (PG. 'jyānim) *ajūm āvahāt* (SMB Conc *ajūm*  
*āvahāt*, but Jørgensen as other texts) TS SMB PG. BDh  
*rco akṣare* (NrpU. 'kṣare) *param vyoman* RV. AV. GB. TB. TA. ŚvetU.  
NrpU. N.

*yasmāj jāto na paro 'nyo* (ŚŚ *anyo*) *ast* JB. ŚŚ : *yasmād anyo na paro ast*  
*jālah* PB : *yasmān na jālah paro anyo ast* (NrpU. 'st) VS TB  
ApŚ MahānU. NrpU.

*ye agnayah* (TS KS TB. ApŚ 'gnayah) *samanasah* (KS adds *sacetasah*)  
VS TS MS. KS. ŚB TB. ApŚ MŚ

*tam tvā viśve avantū* (AV. 'vantu) *devāh* AV. ApMB. HG. A very poor  
pāda but intended for *trīṣṭubh*.

- yo 'syēse dvipado yaś catuṣpadah AV.: ya īse asya (MS. KS. \* īse yo asya)  
dvipadaś catuṣpadah RV. VS TS MS KS (both)
- vaśvānaro aṅgirasām (AV. 'ṅgi°, AŚ aṅgirobhyah) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.
- śucih śukre ahany ojasinā (MS ahann ojasine, KS †śukro ahany ojasye;  
AŚ 'hany ojasinām) TS. MS KS AŚ.
- sūryo ahobhir (KS. suryo [misprint] 'hobhir) anu tiāratu KS TB.
- so asmān (MŚ asmān) adhipatiṁ karotu TS. MŚ.. so 'smān adhipatiṁ  
kṛnotu ŚŚ
- svām tanvaṁ (TS TB. tanvam) varuno 'suṣot (TS. TB. aśīśret) TS. MS.  
KS. TB. It would be forcing probabilities to compress the MS. KS.  
reading to an anuṣubh.
- agnir ajaro 'bhavat saḥobhiḥ MS. agnir amṛto abhavad vayobhiḥ (KS.  
saḥobhiḥ) RV. VS TS KS ŚB. ApMB
- na tā arvā repukakāto aśnute (AV. 'śnute) RV. AV. KS. TB AŚ Many  
AV. mss. read aśnute
- adhi bruvantu te 'vaniv (TS TB. ApŚ avanti) asmān RV. AV. VS TS.  
MS KS TB. ApŚ.
- anūkair dveṣa ardaya (ŚŚ 'rdaya) MS. ŚŚ
- annam payo relo asmāsu (ŚB. 'smāsu) dhātā (MS. ApŚ. dhehi) VS MS.  
KS ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.
- anyam te asman (NṛpU. 'sman) nī vapantu senāh RV. TS. NṛpU.
- anyo- 'nyo (Vait.-anyo) bhavati varno asya TB. Vait
- avāṣṭyo apo (TB. 'po) achā samudram RV. MS. KS. TB.
- pra vartaya divo aśmānam (AV. 'śmānam, v. l. aś°) indra RV. AV.
- prothad aśvo na yavase 'viṣyan (TS aṛiṣyan) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.  
ŚB.
- namo astu (MŚ 'stu) parāyate AV. MŚ
- prāñico agāma (TA. prāñjo 'gāmā) nṛtaye hasāya RV. AV. TA.
- payo grheṣu payo 'stu tan nah MŚ.: payo vaśeṣu payo astu tan mayi  
AB TB. AŚ. ApŚ
- ye agnayah pāñcajanāyāḥ (MŚ puriṣinah) VS ŚB MŚ : ye 'gnayah  
puriṣyāḥ (KS. °ṣinah) TS KS ApŚ. JUB.
- dhātā samudro apa (AG. 'va) hantu pāpam AG. PG.: dh° sa° abhayaṁ  
kṛnotu MG
- śīśū kṛdantau pari yāto adhvaram (AV. arnavam, and 'rnavam) RV. AV.  
MS TB.
- namo astu (VS. ŚB. KŚ PG NilarU. 'stu) sarpebhyah RVKh. VS. TS.  
MS KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ PG. ApMB HG. MG. NilarU
- ye 'do (MS amī) rocane divah RVKh. TS MS. ApMB
- yo asyāḥ pṛthivyās tvaci TB ApŚ.: yo 'syāḥ (so all mss. but one, and so  
Come., but ed. † asyāḥ) pṛthivyā adhi tvaci MŚ.

*yo nah svo* (AV *svo yo*) *aranah* (SV *'ranah*) RV SV AV AG ŚG Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 40, thinks of inserting *yo* in RV., tho he fails to note that AV reads so

*vaṣṣvānaro adabdhās* (AV. *no adabdhās*, TA. *me 'dabdhās*, MS ApŚ *'dabdhās*) *tanūpāh* AV. VS MS ŚB TA ApŚ SMB.

*ko ambādādate* (AŚ *'mbā°*) *dadat* MS AŚ

*mayā so annam* (AV *'nnam*) *atli yo vipāśyati* RV AV

*indra vājeṣu no 'va* (TB *ava*, KS *vaha*) RV AV SV ArS MS KS TB

*yad vā me api* (LŚ *'pi*, Vait *apa*) *gachati* AŚ Vait LŚ

*ye agnayo dīvo ye prthivyāh* MS ApŚ MŚ *ye 'gnayo dīvo ye 'ntarikṣāt* KS (wrongly printed as prose in ed.)

*ye agnidagdā ye anagnidagdāh* (TB Poonā ed † *'nagnu°*; so v 1 of AV)

RV AV. TB AŚ. *ye agniṣvāllā ye 'nagniṣvāllāh* (VS *anagnit°*)

VS. TB ApŚ

*sā tvam asy amo 'ham* (ŚB BrhU PG. *amo aham*, ApMB *amūham*,

MG *āpy amo 'ham*) KS JUB ŚB BrhU AG ŚG PG ApMB

MG *sa tvam asy amo 'ham* AB

*kikasābhyo anūlyāt* (ApMB *'nū°*) RV AV ApMB

*te asmat* (TS *'smat*) *pūśān pra mucantv enasah* (TS *anhasah*) AV TS

*dīvo antebhyas* (KS *'nte°*) *pari* RV SV KS.

*yo adya* (PB *'dya*) *saumyo* (AV *senyo*) *vadhah* AV PB AŚ —Ppp

*'dya* acc to Roth

*vyāghro vāyāghre adhī* (TB *'dhi*) KS TB *vyāghro adhī vāyāghre* AV

*ye anneṣu* (VS KS *'nneṣu*) *vividhyanti* VS TS MS KS

*varṣiṣṭhe adhī* (KS *'dhi*) *nāke* TS KS TB

*rājā me prāno amṛtam* (TB *'mṛtam*) VS † MS KS TB

*īdam* (KS *ā mā*) *varco* (AŚ *rādho*) *agninā* (KS *'gninā*) *datam āgāt* (AV

*āgan*, KS *etu*) AV MS KS TB AŚ

*vṛṣāyamāno 'vrnūta* (AV *av°*) *somam* RV AV TB

*śatātaye 'bhīmāhsāhe* (PG *abhi°*) TS KS MŚ SMB PG

*kṛtvāno* (KS *kurvāno*) *anyān* (TS KS ApŚ † *anyān*, MS *anyan*, KŚ †

*'nyān*) *adharān sapatnān* AV TS MS KS KŚ ApŚ

*śṛṇvanti* (PB *°tv*) *āpo adha* (PB *'dhah*) *kṣarantūh* RV PB

*so adhvarā* (AB *'dhvarā karati*) *jātavedāh* AB ŚB Cadenced prose, cf

*kṛnotu so*

*annapale 'nnasya* (MS KS MŚ MG *an°*) *no dehi* VS TS MS KS ŚB

TB ApŚ MŚ PrānāgU AG ŚG MG SMB Intended for

tristubh

*ayam yo asya yasya ta idam śraha* MŚ *ayam yo 'sī yasya ta idam śraha*

KS ApŚ

[*yo asya kauṣṭhya jagatah* MŚ *yo 'sya kauṣṭhya* (KS °[ha] ja° KS TA. ApŚ. So Conc ; but Van Gelder's ed reads 'sya for MŚ without v 1]

[*anamitram no* (VSK *me*) *adharāk* (AV °rāl) AV. VSK.† KS Conc 'dharāk for VSK ]

[*bṛhaspate abhiṣaster* (AV ed 'bhi°) *amuñcah* AV. VS TS MS KS TAA But read *abhi°* in AV , see Whitney's note ]

§908. In the next group, a much smaller one, containing 10 items, the *a* seems not to have been pronounced, whether written or elided: *namo 'stu* (TS KS *astu*) *nīlagrīvāya* (NīlarU. *nīlaśikhandāya*) VS TS KS NīlarU BrhPDh

*vīśvasmar bhūtāya dhruvo* (TS ApŚ *bhūtāyādhuvaro*) *astu* (TS 'sī, MŚ † 'stu) *devāh* (TS omits) TS KS ApŚ MŚ

*ye apsu śadānsi* (KS 'psu sa°) *cakṛre* MS KS

*ye te 'ryaman* (KS *arya°*) *bahavo devayānāh* TS MS KS † 10 13a

*vājinām vājo 'vatu bhakṣo asmān* VSK : *vājinām bhakṣo avatu vājo asmān* ApŚ

*yo 'gnim* (AŚ *agnim*) *hotāram avṛthāh* TS AŚ ŚŚ †

*jātavedo maruto adbhis* (TB 'dbhis) *tamayitvā* TB ApŚ

*kṣāmad devo 'ti duritāny* (TA MahānU *ati duritāty*) *agnih* AV. TA. MahānU

*aghorebhyo 'tha* (MS *atha*) *ghorebhyah* MS TA MahānU.

*yās ca devyo antān abhito tataniha* SMB . *yās ca gnā devyo 'ntān abhito 'tatananta* (mss *tatantha*) MG See §63 The meter is poor in any case

§909. We now come to the third group of metrical variants, 24 in number, in which the surrounding conditions are so flexible metrically that the *a* may either be pronounced or not (in which case we assume that it was pronounced when written, and not pronounced when not written); or in which there are further changes in the pāda which alter the metrical conditions

*anv adya no anumatih* (AV Kauś 'nu°) AV MS ŚŚ MŚ Kauś

*yān agnayo anvalapyanta* (TS 'nva°) *dhiṣṇyāh* AV TS MS

*ye asmin* (KS 'smin) *mahaty arnave* MS KS MŚ

*jyok kṣatre 'dhi jāgarat* AV *jyog rūṣṭre adhi jāgarat* HG

*jyok śrotre 'dhi* (HG *adhi*) *jāgarat* AV HG

*antarikṣe adhy* (TS KS 'dhy) *āsate* TS MS KS MŚ

*sarvābhyo abhayam* (TB 'bhayam) *karat* RV AV TB N

*garbho asy* (MS 'sy) *oṣadhīnām* AV VS TS MS KS. ŚB Vait —Ppp. also 'sy (Barret JAOS 48 38)

*tanvo adya* (MS 'dya) *dadhātu me* AV MS

*vasanto asyāsīd* (VS 'syāsīd) *ājyam* RV AV VS TA The meter of VS (with *ājyam*) seems easier

*satyam it lan na tvān* (MS 'van) *anyo asti* (MS. 'sti) RV MS KS TB  
The meter of MS (*tvāvan?*) is inferior

*ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti* AV *yo asmān abhyaghāyati* AV

*ūrubhyām te aṣṭhivadbhyām* (ApMB 'ṣṭhī°) RV AV ApMB

*te asmā agnayo* (MS 'ye, v. 1 'yo) *dravnam dattvā* MS ApŚ *te 'smā agnaye dravnān dattvā* KS. The meter of MS ApŚ is very poor  
*sviṣṭm no abhi* (KŚ 'bhi) *vasīyo* (AV *vasyo*) *nayantu* AV TS KŚ  
*sviṣṭam no 'bhi vasyo nayantu* KS MŚ

*sūryāyā ūdho 'dityā* (VSK † KŚ † *adityā*, KS. *aditer*) *upasthe* VSK  
TS KS. ŚŚ KŚ

*eko vo devo apy* (AV 'py) *atiṣṭhat* AV MS. *eko devo apy atiṣṭhat* TS KS

Only MS is certainly inconsistent (*a* written but not pronounced)

*bheṣajam gave 'śvāya* (MS *aśvāya*) VS TS MS ŚB LŚ *bheṣajam gave 'śvāya puruṣāya* KS In the last the attaching of *puruṣāya* to this pāda makes the elision of *a* better metrically

*mā va eno anyakṛtam bhujema* RV. *mā vayam eno 'nyakṛtam bhujema* KS In both forms of this variant the writing and pronunciation are consistent

*tām u dhīrāso anudṣya yajante* VS. ŚB (*a* not pronounced) *tām dhīrāsah kavayo 'nudiṣyāyajanta* MS (*kavayo* looks like a secondary intrusion, cf KS in next form; without it *a-nu°* would have to be pronounced) *tām dhīrāso anudṣya* (VSK 'dṣya) *yajante* (KS *anudṣyāyajanta kavayah*) VSK. TS KS TB (*a* pronounced)

*anyāns te asman* (KS *anye 'sman*) *nvapantu tāh* MS KS Both writings are metrical VS TS have *anyam asman nva° tāh*, which is inferior to both MS and KS

*yad vāto apo* (MS. MŚ 'po) *aganṛgan* (TS KSA ApŚ *agamat*) VS TS. MS KSA ApŚ MŚ. Writing and pronunciation are consistent in all texts except VS, where one of the initial *a*'s must be omitted in reading, tho both are written

*yo agnau rudro yo apsu antah* AV (intended for *triṣṭubh*, reading *agnau*, *apsu*, and perhaps *rud-r-o*, but more likely a syllable short) *yo 'gnau rudro yo 'psu antah* ŚirasU. (meant for *anuṣṭubh*, 'gnau, 'psu). *yo rudro agnau yo apsu* (MŚ *rudro 'psu yo 'gnau*) *ya oṣadhīṣu* TS ApŚ MŚ (*triṣṭubh*; 'gnau, 'psu—inconsistent with the writing of TS ApŚ). *yo rudro agnau yo apsu*, (then as new pāda, correct Conc) *ya oṣadhīṣu yo vanaspathīṣu* KS (writing and pronunciation consistent).

so *asmān pātu sarvataḥ* AV.: so 'smān pātu (prose) TS

§910. There follow the prose variants, which number 53.

*abhayam vo 'bhayam no astu* (AB. AŚ. *me 'stu*) AB AŚ ŚŚ.: *abhayam me astu* (AB.† 'stu) AB. ApŚ

*iṣe rāye* (ApŚ. *rayayai*) . . . *dyumnāyorje* (VS ŚB.† *dyumna ūrje*) 'patyāya (VS.† ŚB.† *apa°*, TB.† *patyāya*, ApŚ. °*yorjapatyāya*) VS MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ ApŚ

*etāni te aghnye* (PB. 'ghnye) *nāmāni* TS PB : *etā te aghnye nāmāni* VS. ŚB. MŚ. In the last, an attempt has been made to make metrical a passage which was most assuredly prose to begin with. This metrical form is not counted in our table, the *a-* may or may not have been pronounced (*aghnye* or 'ghnye).

*vīvarto aṣṭacatvārīṣaḥ* (MS 'ṣṭā°) MS KS · *vīvarto 'ṣṭā°* VS TS ŚB *yo 'smān* (MS MŚ *asmān*) *dveṣṭi yaṁ* (AV adds *ca*) *vayam dvīṣmaḥ* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB. TA MahānU KBU JUB AŚ. ŚŚ LŚ KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. HG. BDh This extremely common phrase seems always to be written with *asmān* in texts of the Maitr. school, with 'smān in all others, if the editions are to be trusted For other formulas containing it see the Conc under it, and also: *tam abhi śoca yo 'smān* etc.; *agne yat te tapas (tejas, 'rcis, śocis, haras)* etc ; *tasya nāmnā vṛścāmi* etc , *ny aham tam mṛdyāsam yo tasmān* (ApŚ 'smān) etc MS ApŚ † 6 18 2; *abhy aham tam bhūyāsam* etc.; *prāham tam atibhūyāsam* (ApŚ †*abhi°*) etc ; *vy asau yo* etc.; *durmitrās* (or the like) etc.

*devānām tvā patnīr devīr* . *sadhasṭhe aṅgīrasvad* (TS. 'ṅgī°) VS TS MS. KS. ŚB. The same with *aditiṣ tvā* ('tis tvā), *dhiṣanās tvā*, *varūtrayo* (etā), *gnās tvā*

*ākūtyai prayujē 'gnaye* (MS. KS *agnaye*) *svāhā* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ The same with *medhāyai manase*, *sarasvatyai pūṣne*, and *dikṣāyai tapase*

*agneḥ* (also, *indrasya*, *viśveṣām devānām*) *priyam pātho 'pīhi* (TS *apīhi*) VS 8 50, VSK 8 22 4, TS ŚB. 11 5 9. 12

*yo matasyā dīśo abhidāsāt*. (five formulas) MS *agnim* (also, *indram*, *matrāvaruṇau*, *somam*) *sa* (TB *sa dīśām devatānām*) *rcatu yo matasyai* (KS °*syā*) *dīśo 'bhidāsati* KS TB. ApŚ.

*namo agrīyāya* (VS KS 'gryāya, MS. 'grīyāya) . . VS. TS MS KS *namo agrevadhāya* (MS KS. 'gre°) . . VS. MS TS. KS.

*namo aparasadbhyaḥ* (PB and v 1 of MŚ. 'para°) PB. MŚ

*namo 'śvebhyo* (TS *aś°*) 'śvapatiḥbhyāś *ca* . . VS. TS † MS KS

*namas te astu* (PB. JB LŚ SMB. 'stu) VS TS MS KS AB PB JB



- ŚB TB TA. TAA AŚ ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ MŚ AG Kauś SMB. ApMB  
 ApG Occurs frequently, and apparently always with *astu* except  
 in SV texts which read *'stu*  
*namo vo 'stu* (AŚ ŚŚ *astu*) VS PB AŚ ŚŚ Vait SMB Here, in  
 curious contrast with the preceding, the SMB reads *astu* according  
 to Jørgensen's edition (not in the Conc), while *'stu* is read by VS.  
 and Vait  
*tebhyo namo astu* (PG *'stu*) VS MS KS PG ŚB  
*namo 'gnaya* (ApŚ *agnaya*) *upadraṣṭre* ŚŚ ApŚ  
*namo astu* (VS ŚB *'stu*) *rudrebhyo ye antarikṣe* (VS KS ŚB *'ntari°*)  
 . VS MS KS ŚB MŚ Also *namo astu* (VS ŚB. KŚ *'stu*)  
*ru° ye divi* (and, *pṛthivyām*) VS MS KS ŚB KŚ MŚ  
*namo mahadbhyo arbhakebhyaś* (KS *'rbha°*) *ca* . VS KS . *namo*  
*brhadbhyo 'rbhakebhyaś ca* MS MŚ  
*namo rathibhyo arathibhyaś* (TS *'ralhe°*) *ca* VS TS  
*yo no anṭi śapatī tam elena jeṣam MŚ* *yo me 'nti dūre 'rātīyati tam*  
*elena jeṣam TS*  
*rudro 'gnīl* (MS *agnīl*) MS. TA ŚŚ  
*rudro 'dhipatīh* (MS *adhi°*) MS TA  
*īasyāpo apsarasa* (KS † *'psa°*, MS *'psarasā*) *ūrjo nāma* (TS *'psaraso*  
*mudāh*) VS TS MS KS ŚB  
*dhūrta* (KS *°te*) *namas te astu* (KS *'stu*) KS ApŚ *dhūrte namante*  
*(?) astu MS*  
*praty etā vāmā yajamāno 'grabhād* (ŚŚ *agra°*) KB ŚŚ.  
*prāno agnih* PrānūgU *prāno 'gnih* MU  
*madhu hutam indratame agnau* (LŚ *'gnau*) VS ŚB LŚ *hutam havir*  
*indratame 'gnau* MS AB TA AŚ ŚŚ  
*ye devā dwibhāgā* (MS *°gāh siha*) *ye antarikṣabhāgā* (TS KS *'ntari°*)  
 . TS MS. KS  
*śivam prajābhyo 'himsantam* (KS † *ahin°*) *sadhasṭhe* (VS ŚB *°sthād*)  
*agnim* (TS *'gnim*) . VS TS MS KS ŚB —KS punctuates  
 before *agnim*, so that elision of *a* is impossible  
*śaṭūr abdo ayavabhīh* (TS ApŚ *'yāvabhīh*) VS TS ŚB ApŚ  
*samadhāh-samudho 'gne-gna* (ŚŚ *°dho agna*, MŚ † *°dho 'gnā*) *ājyasya*  
*vyantu AŚ ŚŚ MŚ samudho agna* (MS *agnā*) *ājyasya* . . MS  
 KS TB MŚ  
*suyame me adya* ApŚ . *sūyame me 'dya* MS  
*agnir adhi vryatto asyām* KS *agnir vryatto 'syām* TS  
*agne yat te 'rcis* (MS *arcis*) *tena* . . AV MS KS ApŚ  
*aṅgīraso me asya* (KS *'sya*) *yajñasya prālaranuvāhar ahaṣuḥ* MS KS

- tam* (KS † *iat*) *tvendragraha* *saha yan me 'sti* (ApŚ *astī*) *tena* KS  
 ApŚ *tam tvā pra viśāmi* *saha yan me 'sti tena* AV  
*dīśo abhy alhūd ayam* MS KS MŚ *dīśo bhy ayam rājābhūt* TS TB  
 Semblance of meter, perhaps to be classed with metrical variants  
*anumitraś* (TS *antyami*°) *ca dūre-amitraś* (MS 'mitraś) *ca gaṇah* VS  
 TS MS KS  
*andho ačetaḥ* (TS ApŚ 'chetah) VS TS KS ApŚ Ed of KS 'chetah,  
 but the sole ms *aśchetaḥ*  
*apāgne agnim* (TS MS TB MŚ ApŚ 'gnim) *āmādam jahī* VS TS MS  
 KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ  
*apsu dhaulaśya . yo aśvasanaś* (KS 'śva°) MS KS : ..yo  
*bhakṣo aśvasanir* TS  
*aśvibhyām tirohnyūnām* (MŚ *tirohnyūnām*) *somānām anubrūhi* ApŚ  
 MŚ Also *tirohnyūnām* (MŚ *aśvibhyām tirohnyūnām*) *somān pras-*  
*thitān preṣya* ApŚ MŚ  
*ūrdhvo adhvaro asthāt* (VS ŚB 'dhvara āsthāt, KS 'dhvare sthāh, ApŚ  
*adhvare sthāt*) VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ  
 - *āpo devīr agrepuvo agrepuvo . TS TB devīr āpo 'greguvo 'grenīyo*  
 MS MŚ *devīr āpo agrepuvāh premam . KS*  
*ye devāḥ purasado* (so also TS, for which Conc † *parah*°) 'gninetrā  
 (MS *agni*°) TS MS. KS BDh  
*dhūrva tam yo 'smān dhūrvatī* VS TS ŚB TB *dhvara dhvarantam yo*  
*asmān dhvarāt* MS  
*agnis te 'gram* TS *agniś te agram . MŚ*  
*somo 'smākam* (KS *asm*°) *brāhmanānām rājā* VS VSK TS MS KS  
 ŚB TB MŚ ApŚ  
*svadhā pītrbhyo 'ntarikṣasadbhyah* (AV *antar*°, GG † 'ntarī°) AV ApŚ.  
 MŚ GG HG  
*yo asmi so asmi* AV *yo 'smi sa san yaje* MS KS AB *yo 'ham asmi sa*  
*san yaje* TB ApŚ  
*tutho vo viśvavedā vibhagatu varṣiṣthe adhī* (KS 'dhi) *nāke . TS MS.*  
 KS  
*nirasto aghaśansah* (ApŚ 'gha°) KS ApŚ  
 [devo *narāśanso 'gnau* (ŚŚ † 'gnā) *vasuvane vasudheyasya vetu* AŚ ŚŚ  
 Conc quotes *agnā* for ŚŚ]  
 [yena *turyena brahmanā bṛhaspataye 'pavathās* JB *yena rūpena*  
*prajāpataye 'vapathās* (Conc *ava*°). KS]  
 §911. Very sporadically, other forms of sandhi between final *e* and  
 initial *a* occur among the variants For a single case of *y* as 'Hiatus-  
 tilger' developed between *e* and *a*, see §338 In addition, there are a few

variants which seem to point to a possible resolution of *e* into *ay* before *a* and *ā*; but formal differences are always concerned, so that the variation is never one of sandhi pure and simple.

*tve ā* (SV. *twāyā*) *bhūṣanti vedhasah* RV SV. A loc in RV is replaced by an instr. in SV, with resolution of *e* to *ay*, this time however before long *ā*.

*ubhe id asyobhayasya* (AV *asyobhe asya*) *rājatah* RV. AV Followed by *ubhe yatete ubhayasya* (AV. *ubhe asya*) *puṣyatah* RV. AV The verse is mystic and obscure. If the AV. text is right, it seems to have understood the original *ubhay-* as representing *ubhe*, perhaps under influence of suggestion from the preceding *ubhe*; so that we should have just the reverse of the resolution in question. Whitney translates the prior pāda according to the RV reading, but keeps the AV. reading in the second.

§912. By a misquotation in the Conc we would seem to have a single similar case of *av* for *o* before *a*:

*dyāvāprthivī uro antarikṣa* VS VSK MS KS ŚB; the Conc quotes *urav* for *uro* in VSK. But the actual text is *urv*. If the text as printed (with *antariṣa*, not *\*kṣam*) is right, it is an illogical blend of this with the other form of the variant, *dyāvā<sup>o</sup> urv antarikṣam* AV. TS.

#### SANDHI OF *a*-VOWELS WITH FOLLOWING *r*

§913. The variants indicate the following school tendencies. Rig-vedic and Vājasaneyin texts write *a-r* for both *ā* and *a* followed by *r*. This is prescribed by RPr. 136 (2 11) and VPr 4 48 (which gives *a-r* for *ā-r* and makes no reference to *a-r*, implying no change).

§914. Taittiriya texts and KS write *ar* for both *ā* and *a* followed by *r*, as prescribed by TPr. 10 8. So does LŚ in the single variant noted.

§915. The rule of APr 3 46 is like that of TPr, *ar* for both *ā-r* and *a-r*. But the mss of AV, according to Whitney's note on this passage, follow this rule in general only when the *r* is not followed by a sibilant, when a sibilant follows they generally write *a-r* (because of *svaṛabhakti*, Whitney on APr 1 101). There are exceptions in the mss, and the Berlin edition, says Whitney, does not always follow either the mss or the Prātiśākhya rule, nor any consistent practice. As to the variants noted, the Berlin edition (and consequently the Conc) agrees throughout with what Whitney tells us is the general practice of the mss, namely, *ar* for both *ā-r* and *a-r* except when a sibilant follows, in that case *a-r*. Both Vait and Kauś sometimes write *ar* even when a sibilant follows, the instances recorded are few.

§916. Maitrīyaṇiya texts regularly write *ā-r* and *a-r* without change. Occasionally, however, they seem to shorten *ā* to *a*; so in one variant, see *yad dīdayac* (*°yañ*) etc., §918. Two variants occur in which final *a* is lengthened to *ā* before *r* in MS, these may be regarded as cases of rhythmic lengthening of final *a*, cf. §§452 and 458. They are found below in §919. *yatrā ṛṣayo jagmuh* and *yenā ṛṣayas tapasā*. There is even one variant in which complete sandhi, *ar*, is apparently found for *ā-r* in MS.

*savitre tvarbhumate* (VS ŚB *tva ṛbhu°*, MS *tvarbhū°*) VS MS ŚB TA. This sandhi is unique among the MS variants. It is perhaps worth noting that two mss. read *svarbhu°*, but p p *tvā, ṛbhu°*. Cf. §549, and Wackernagel I §267aα, note, which is somewhat misleading or at least incomplete as regards MS.

§917. It may be noted that in metrical passages the meter regularly indicates complete fusion (as if *ar*) in all variants, even for texts which write the *r*-vowel separately.

There are a very few real or apparent exceptions to the above rules, besides those noted for MS, attention will be called to them as they occur.

§918. The following are the cases concerning *ā* followed by *r*.  
*savitre tvarbhumate* (VS ŚB. *tva ṛbhu°*, MS *tvarbhū°*) . VS MS ŚB TA. See §916.

*yad dīdayac chavasa* (MS. *°yañ śavasa*; TS *°sā*) *ṛlaprajāta* (KS *chav-asarta°*) RV VS TS MS KS AB. This is the only case in which MS shortens *ā* to *a*; see §916. The TS reading is due to the fact that the word happens to end a *kandikā*, which always suspends all sandhi; it is no real exception to the Tait practice.

*dvā yantārā bhavalas tatha ṛtuh* (TS. KSA *tathartuh*, MŚ *tathā ṛtuh*) RV. VS TS KSA MŚ

*agnīṇihvebhyaḥ* (MS *agnihvarebhyaḥ*) *tvartāyubhya[h]* (MS *tvā ṛtā°*) .. TS MS KS

*yatha tnam samnayāmasi* (AV *yatharnam samnayanti*) RV AV.

*yatha ṛtava* (AV TA. *yathartava*) *ṛtubhir yanti sādhu* (AV *sālam*, TA *lptāh*) RV AV. TA

*śāha ṛṣabham* (MS *śāhā ṛṣ°*, TB *śvāharṣ°*) VS MS TB

*viśvakaarma ṛṣih* (MS *°mā ṛṣih*, KS *°marsih*) VS MS KS ŚB

*tapasarṣayah* (MahānU. *°sarṣayah*) *swar* (TB *svaṛ*) *anvavindan* TB TA MahānU. The MahānU. reading is exceptional, but is repeated in the comm., which calls special attention to the sandhi, referring to Pāṇ 6 1 128.

*yayo rathah satyavartmarjuraśmih* AV · *yo rām ratha ṛjuraśmih satya-dharmā* TS MS KS Here only AV has this sandhi, the other texts stand for *rathas* plus *ṛju*° Note, however, that the meter favors the pronunciation *ratharju*°, with double crasis, even in the YV texts

[*viśvādhiro rudro maharsih* (TA Conc *maharsih*, but Poona ed correctly *maharsih*) TA MahānU]

§919 The rest are cases of short *a* followed by *r*

*yatra ṛṣayo* (MS *yathā ṛ*°, KS *yatrar*°) *jagmah* VS MS KS ŚB

On the MS forms of this and the next cf §916

*yena ṛṣayas* (MS MŚ *yenā ṛ*°, TS KS ApŚ *yenar*°) *lapasā* VS

TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ KŚ MŚ Cf prec

*yatrarṣayah* (Kauś *yatra ṛs*°) *prathamajā ye* (Kauś °*jāh*, om *ye*) *purā-nāh* TS TB ApŚ Kauś

*śāradena* (also, *śaśirena*, *vasantena*, *hemantena*) *ṛtunā* (KS TB °*nar-tunā*) VS MS KS TB KŚ

*ṛtuṣṭhā* (MS °*āh*, KS °*ās*) *stha ṛtāvṛdhah* (KS *sthartusprāh*) VS MS KS ŚB

*ṛtava* (KS °*vas*) *stha ṛtāvṛdhah* (KS † *sthartā*°) VS KS ŚB *ṛtasthā sthartāvṛdhah* TS

*medhām sapta ṛṣayo* (ApMB *saptar*°) *daduh* ApMB RVKh But Scheftelowitz reads *saptarṣayo* also in RVKh

*srāhākṛtasya sam u tṛpnuta ṛbhavah* (TB [so Poona ed] ApŚ *tṛpnu-tarbhavah*) RV TB ApŚ

*brāhmanam adya ṛdhyāsam* (KS *adyardh*°) MS KS MŚ

*tasya ṛksāmāny* (TS KS *tasyaḥ*°) VS TS MS KS ŚB

*tvām adya ṛṣa ārṣeya ṛṣinām* (KS † TB *adyarṣa ārṣeyarṣinām*) VS MS KS TB

*avartyai badhāyopamanthitāram* (TB *avartyai tvadhā*°, so Poona ed) VS TB

*yathāham bharata ṛṣabha* (ŚŚ *bharatarṣ*°) AB ŚŚ The only irregular case in ŚŚ or any RV text among the variants No *v* 1 is recorded

*yebhyo na rte* (TS KS *narte*) *pavate dhāma lūmcana* VS TS MS KS ŚB

*tarunasya ṛtasadanam* (KS °*syarta*°) *asī* VS KS ŚB

*varunasya ṛtasadany* (ApŚ °*syarta*°) *asī* VS ŚB KŚ ApŚ

*tṛṭiyasya saivanasya ṛbhumato* (ApŚ °*narṣyarbhū*°) KŚ ApŚ MŚ

*tenarṣinā* (MS AŚ *tena ṛṣinā*) TS MS TB AŚ ApŚ

*śrūta ṛsim* (TB *śrutarṣim*) *ugram abhīmātīṣīham* RV MS TB

*śivo me saptarṣin* (KŚ MŚ *sapta ṛṣin*) TS Vait KŚ MŚ Note  
ar in Vait even before a sibilant, cf §915

*satyaś* (VS *śukraś*) *ca rīpāś* (TS KS *carla*°) *cātyanhāh* VS TS MS KS  
*saptarṣayah* (VS MS *sapta r*°) *sapta dhāma priyām* VS TS MS KS

TB In TS 1 5 3 2b *sapta rṣ*° is read without sandhi merely because a *kandikā* ends here, it is no real exception to the rule  
*sapta rṣayo* (TS KS *saptar*°) 'srjyanta VS. TS MS KS ŚB'

*saptarṣinām* (ApŚ Kauś *saptar*°) *sukṛtām yatra lokah* Vait KS MŚ  
 ApŚ Kauś Note *ar* in Kauś even before a sibilant (one ms *ar*),  
 cf §915

*saptarṣin* (ApŚ *saptarṣin*) *jīva* ApŚ KS  
*upahūtā dhenuh* (ŚB *gāvah*) *saharṣabhā* (ŚB °bhāh, AŚ ŚŚ † *saharṣabhā*)

TS TB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Irregular sandhi in ŚB  
*upa mā* (AŚ ŚŚ *mām*) *dhenuh saharṣabhā* (AŚ ŚŚ *saharṣ*°) . TB  
 AŚ ŚŚ

*indrartubhir brahmanā vāvṛdhānah* TB ApŚ · *indra r̥bhūbhīr brahmanā*  
*samvīdānah* ŚŚ

*indro vidyāt saha r̥sbhīh* (KS *saharṣ*°) RV AV KS ApMB In ApMB  
 we must certainly read *saharṣibhīh* with four mss, in accord with  
 Tait usage, Winternitz prints *saha r*° with only one ms

*upa r̥sabhasya* (TB LŚ *uparṣ*°) *retasī* (AV *vad retah*) RV AV TB LŚ  
*indrāya r̥sabhena* VS *indrāyar̥sabhenāśvibhyām sarasvatyaī* TB  
*rnān no narnam ertsamānah* AV *nen na rnān rnava it samānah* TA  
*nem na rnān rnāvān īpsamānah* MS Only AV has this sandhi  
 (*na, rnām*), the others *nas, r-*

*yatrā sapta r̥ṣin* (TS KS *yatra saptarṣin*) *para ekam āhuh* RV VS TS  
 MS KS N

*yathauka r̥ṣir* (KS °*karṣir*) *vijānate* KS TA ApŚ Only KS. has this  
 sandhi, the others *eka(h) r̥ṣir*, two words

#### SANDHI OF FINAL *n*

§920. On this subject the variants throw little new light School  
 tendencies are seldom discernible, when they do seem to appear, other  
 known facts sometimes throw doubt on the value of this evidence

##### I Final *n* before initial vowels

§921. All the variant passages concern forms which originally (pre  
 historically) ended in *s*, except a small group, mainly locative singulars  
 of *n*-stems, in which the ending *n* (appearing as *nn*) varies with *ny*  
 These, of course, really concern morphology and not phonetics, they  
 hardly belong in this place

1. Final *ān* before vowels

§922. The Prāśākhya in general (RPr. 284 [4. 26], VPr. 3 141, Apr. 2. 27) make *anusrāra* the rule, but with numerous exceptions. Whitney's note says that AV. more often retains *n*. TPr. 9. 20-24 gives detailed rules and exceptions, without any generalization; Whitney's note (p. 225) states that TS. retains *n* five times out of six.

§923. Our variants are as confused as would be expected from these statements. It happens that those occurring in TS. show *anusrāra* more often than *ṛ*; but this is probably accidental in view of Whitney's statement just quoted. Maitr. texts and KS. show about as many cases of one alternative as of the other. But as to Maitr. texts when they change *ṛ* to *anusrāra*, they generally also shorten the preceding *ī* to *ṛ*; cf. Schroeder, MS., Einleitung, p. XXIX. When this shortening of *ī* is the only difference in the readings of a variant, we have not troubled to record it. The variants fall naturally into three divisions: accusatives plural, nominatives singular, and *s-aorists* (only one of the last).

§924. The cases involving accusatives plural in *ān* are:

*agnis tār* (MS. † *tār*, KS. † *tār*, TS. TA. *agnis tār*) *agre pra* ... AV. TS MS. KS. TA. The same with *vāyus* (AV. † *tār*).

*agne devā* (MS. *devān*, ŚG. *devān*) *ihā raha* RV. AV. SV VS TS MS KS. TB. AS. SS. ApS. ŚG. The isolated form of ŚG. is suspicious (misprint or error?).

*aj anyā* (VS ŚB. *anyān*) *agān nānyā* (VS. ŚB. *nānyān*) *upāgām* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MS. ApS.

*adhā* (VS. ŚB. *adhā*) *supatnān* (KS. *twice† 'nān*; TS. *twice† 'nān*, once *'nār*) *indro me* VS TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApS. MS.

*asvān* (MS. KS. *asvān*) *u devā* ... RV. SV. TS. VS. MS. KS

*idāśmān anu vāsān* *chīrta* ApS. MS.: *idāśmān anu vāsān vātana* AV.

*urayāmī sātān* (MS. *sātān*, AV. *sātān*) *aham* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

*daś devā soma* ... *devā* (TS. KS. ApS. *devān*) *upāgāh* VS KS TS ŚB. ApS.: ... *devān upāgāh* MS.

*kurāṇo* (KS. *kurāṇo*) *anyān* (TS. KS. ApS. † *anyān*, KS. *'nyān*) *adhārān* *supatnān* AV. TS. MS. KS. KS. ApS.

*janābhyas* (KS. *'jābhis*) *tasvān* (KS. *'rān*) *utā* VS. TS. KS. *janāb* *ibhān* *tasvārā* (p p. *'rān*) *utā* MS

*pradāśān* (MS. *'śār*, GB. Vait. *'śān*) *alam-tu* TS GB ŚB Var. KS. ApS. MS.

*mā so asmān avahāya parā gāt* TS . *ned eṣo asmān avahāya parāyat* MS  
*maṛṣo asmān avahāya parāgāt* KS  
*yān* (AV TS MS KS Vait *yān*) *āvaha uśato deva devān* AV VS TS  
 MS KS ŚB. KŚ Vait  
*yā devīr antān abhito 'dadanta* AV *yās ca devīr* (SMB *devyo*) *antān* etc.  
 ApMB. SMB. HG *yās ca gnā devyo 'ntān* etc MG  
*rakṣohāmutrān* (VS °trān) *apabādhāmānah* RV AV SV VS TS MS.  
 KS  
*vāyo devān* (MS KS *devān*) *rtubhah kalpayāti* VS TS MS KS  
*sarvān* (MS °van) *agnīnr apsuṣado huve vah* (MS omits *vah*) TS MS.  
 AV . *śvān agnīn apsuṣado havāmahe* AV.  
*sarvān* *apa yajumasi* Kauś . *sarvān* *ava yajāmahe* KS † TB TAA. ApŚ  
*so asmān* (MŚ. *asmān*) *adhīpatīn karotu* TS MŚ . *so 'smān adhīpatīn*  
*hṛnotu* ŚŚ

*ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti* AV *yo asmān abhyaghāyati* AV

§925. Nominatives singular in *ān* are concerned in the following:  
*agnih praviḍvān* (MS °van, KS °vān) *iha tat* . . MS KS. ApŚ  
*idāvān* (MS. °vān) *eṣo asura prajāvān* RV. TS MS KS  
*iṣṭo yajño bhṛguḥ* . *āśīrvān* (ApŚ °vān) *atharvabhīh* KS ApŚ  
*clitvān* (MŚ °vān) *anu manyatām* TS KS MŚ  
*pumān enam tanuta ut hṛnati* RV *pumān enad vayatṛ udgrnati* AV  
*vśalyo vānavān* (TS MS KS *bā*°, MS. °van, v 1 °vān, KS NīlarU  
 °vān) *ula* VS TS MS KS NīlarU  
*payasvān* (TS TB ApMB °vān) *agna āgamam* AV VS TS MS KS  
 JB ŚB TB LŚ ApMB

*pra yo jajñe vidvān* (AV *vidvān*) *asya bandhum* (AV.° *dhuḥ*) AV TS KS  
*haviṣmān* (KS °mān) *astu sūryah* VS TS MS KS ŚB  
 [adha *tvīṣmān* *abhy aṣasā* . . RV SV † (Cone *tvīṣmān* for SV)]

§926. We have noted only a single case involving an aorist form  
*sarvān* (MS °van) *agnīnr apsuṣado huve vah* (MS. omits *vah*) TS MS  
 KS ŚB

## 2 Final *in* and *ūn* before vowels

§927. For this sandhi RPr 289 (4 29) requires *īnr*, *ūnr*. The other  
 Prs allow this also in specific cases, but it is very rare in other texts than  
 RV See APr 2 29 and Whitney's note, TPr 9. 20 and Whitney's  
 note, VPr 3 140 The variants include very few cases, not enough to  
 justify deductions

*sarvān* (MS °van) *agnīnr apsuṣado huve vah* (MS. omits *vah*) TS MS  
 AB *śvān agnīn apsuṣado havāmahe* AV



*padā panīnr* (SV *panīn*) *arādhasah* RV SV AV  
*ṛtūnr* (TB *ṛtūn*) *anyo vidadhaḥ* RV AV MS TB  
*ṛtūn* (AV *ṛtūnr*) *utsrjate vaśi* AV SV TB AŚ ŚŚ  
*[tisro bhāmīr dhārayan* (MS °yans) *trīnr uta dyūn* RV TS MS KS AŚ.

In this variant the printed text of MS reads *trīnr*, with nasa consonant *n*, instead of *tīnr*. This reading, which the Conc ignores, is no doubt merely a slip, or a bad writing, for *trīnr* ]

### 3 Final *nn* varying with *ny* before vowels

§928. As remarked above, §921, this is really a morphological matter, not one of phonetics. The few cases are chiefly locatives singular of *n*-stems

*asmīn brahmany asmīn karmany*. AV *asmīn brahmany asmīn kṣatṛe* (ŚŚ adds 'smīn karmany) KS ŚŚ *asmīn brahmann asmīn karmann* (PG *karmany*) TS ApŚ PG. *te nah pānīv asmīn brahmany asyām pūrodhāyām asmīn karmany*. MS

*ātmann* (IśāU °ny) *evānupaśyati* VS IśāU

*śucīh śukre ahany ojasīnā* (MS *ahann ojasīne*, KS † *śukro ahany ojasye*, AŚ 'hany ojasīnām) TS MS KS AŚ.

[*dīvye dhāmann* (once °ny acc to Conc) *upakūlah* (once °lā) TB (both)

But Poona ed *dhāmann* both times]

[*trīṇye dhāmany abhy* (VS *dhāmann adhy*) *arayanta* VS TS MahānU

So Conc, but TA MahānU both have *dhāmāny*, acc plur]

One isolated case concerning verb forms

*ajany agnir holā* (ApŚ *ajann agnih*) KS ApŚ See VV I p 51

## II Final *n* before initial consonants

§929 Before voiceless mutes, as is well known, the usage varies. The insertion of a sibilant, before which *n* becomes *anusvāra*, is commoner in later texts than in RV

### 1 Final *n* before *c*

§930. RPr 228 (4 4) requires *ñ*, but numerous exceptions are mentioned, cf 293f (4 32) VPr 3 133 and APr 2 26 require *nś*, and so does TPr 5 20f, with a few exceptions. Whitney's note on APr 1 c says that this rule is universally followed in the mss and text of AV, a statement which is true only if the twentieth book of AV be excluded from consideration (the Pr in fact does not deal with Book 20). In AV 20, and occasionally elsewhere, we find *n* represented by *anusvāra* without an inserted sibilant. The variants are

*acṛitvāñ* (AV °vāñs) *cikituṣaś cid atra* RV AV  
*anadvāñs* (TS °vāñ) *ca me* VS TS KS *dhenus cānadvāñs ca* MS MS  
*asmāñs* (RV KS *asmāñ*) *calre mānyasya medhā* RV MS KS Most  
 mss of MS *asmāñ* (with dental *n*), v 1 of KS *asmāñs*  
*ghoṣenāmivāñs cālayata* (PB °mivāñ *cālayadhvam*) TB PB ApŚ  
*tām arayanś candī amasī svadhābhīh* MS KS *yām arayanś* (TS °yāñ)  
 etc VS TS ŚB  
*mahāh pitum papivāñ* (AV 20, °vāñ) *cārv annā* RV AV  
*vajriñ* (AV 20, SV *vajrin*) *citrābhīr ūtibhīh* RV AV SV MS  
*asmāñ* (SV. *asmāñ*) *citrābhīr avalād abhiṣṭibhīh* RV. SV

## 2 Final *n* before *l*

§931. The usage fluctuates here also RPr 295 (4 33) implies that it is exceptional to insert the sibilant, by quoting a few cases in which this is done So also TPr 6 14 In the few variants found, the RV and TS schools, and KS, generally keep the nasal unchanged On the other hand APr 2 26 and VPr 3 134 require *ns*, tho both allow exceptions The variants from these schools are not inconsistent herewith, and Maitr texts seem also to favor *ns* But the number of variants is too small to be conclusive Besides the writings *n* and *ns*, a couple of cases of *n* alone without the sibilant occur, as before *c*, above, and before *j*, below, probably this is to be regarded as a bad writing for *n*

§932. The following variants occur,  
*agnir āyusmāñ sa vanaspatibhīr āyusmāñ* (PG KS °māñs) *tena* (KS *tasyā*) TS KS PG ApMB (in the last with punctuation after *āyusmāñ*)  
*aśmans* (KS *aśman*) *te kṣut* VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ  
*ihava san tatra sato vo agnayah* TB *ihava san* (MŚ *sans*) *tatra santam tvāgne* TB AŚ MŚ  
*tasmīn* (Vait MŚ °mīns) *tad eno* RV TAA Vait MŚ  
*tiso bhūmīr dhārayan* (MS °yans) *trīnr* (MS text *†trīnr*) *uta dyūn* RV TS MS KS AŚ  
*paśūns* (RV *paśūn*) *tāñs calre vāyavyāñ* RV AV VS TA  
*pūsañ* (ŚB TB *pūsañs*) *tava vrate vayam* RV AV VS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ  
*śarman* (MS *śarmans*) *te syāma* MS KS TA *tava syāma śarmans trivarūtha* VS *tava syām śarman trivarūtha* TS  
*dhāman* (AG *dhāman*) *te vīśvam* RV VS KS AŚ ApŚ AG ŚG  
*brahmanś* (MŚ KS *brahmāñs*) *tvam* (MŚ *tvam me*) *brahmāsi* VS MS KS ŚB MŚ *brahmāñ* (TB °māñ) *tvam iṣjan brahmāsi* TS TB ApŚ (in the last with punctuation after *brahmāñ*)

[*brahman tvam asi* MahānU . acc to Conc *brahman* etc in TA but the Poona ed of TA reads *brahman*]

### 3 Final *n* before *j*

§933. The usual statements (e.g. Wackernagel I §280a) make no mention of any other possibility than assimilation of *n* to *ñ*. This is prescribed by the Prāṭisākhya RPr 228 (4 4), APr. 2 11, TPr 5 24, VPr 4 92. For *ñ* the spelling *n* occurs very commonly in mss of many, perhaps most, texts. Thus in the AV. mss, according to Whitney (note to APr 1 c), it is the commonest writing in this case, and has been generalized in the Berlin ed., Whitney, however, feels it as merely another way of writing *ñ* before *j*, and as such it is doubtless always to be taken. A modern editor would no doubt prefer to write *ñ*. We find, in fact, *n* in all the AV. variants, and also in SV in the two variants recorded there. (But in ArS once *ñ*.) Compare the like writing before *c* and *t*, above.

§934. The variants from VS and ŚB, following Weber's editions, print dental *n* before *j*, not *ñ*. Why Weber adopted this practice does not appear. His note on VPr. 1 c (ISl 4 237) seems to indicate that at least the excellent Chambers mss follow the Prāṭisākhya. Perhaps some of his other mss keep dental *n* if he gives information on the subject we have not noted the fact. Altho we can hardly attribute any importance to the recorded readings of VS and ŚB on this point, we report them in accordance with Weber. Note that the comm on VPr 4 92 quotes as an example of the rule *ayam vājāñ jayatu*, VS 5 37, which Weber prints *vājān*.

§935. According to Von Schroeder's edition, MS. also reads *n*, not *ñ*, before *j* in all the variant passages noted. The sole variant noted from another Maitr. school text is MS 1 6 3 15b, where Knauer's edition reads *qrhāñ jugupalam yuam* with a majority of his mss, but against that which he regards as the best, its reading is *qrhān*, which is the reading found in the corresponding MS passage according to Von Schroeder.—KS usually reads *ñ* but once *n* (*yat te asmin* etc., below). Most other texts read *ñ*, except in so far as they show *n* (cf. above).

§936. The following are the variants  
*adyā devāñ* (VS *devān*) *juṣṭatamo hi gamyāh* RV VS TS KSA  
*akūś ca sarvāñ* (TS KS *sarvāñ*) *jambhayan* (KS \**ya*) VS TS MS KS  
*āyusmān* (PG ApMB \**māñ*, RVKh VS \**mān*) *jaradaṣṭir* RVKh  
 AV VS AG. PG ApMB Scheftelowitz reads *āyusmān* for  
 RVKh. The mss of PG have corruptly *āyusyam*

- lam agañ (AV *agan*) *janayopanah* RV. AV N.  
*garbhah samjāyase punah* MS : *garbhe sañ* (VS ŚB *san*, KS *sam-*) *j° p°*  
 RV VS TS KS ŚB
- tam arcisā sphūrjayañ* (AV °*yan*) *jātavedah* RV AV.  
*tvam elāñ* (AV *elān*) *janarājño dvir daśa* RV AV  
*te asmin* (TS KS *asmiñ*) *javam ādadhuḥ* VS. TS MS. KS ŚB  
*devān* (RV TB. *devāñ*) *jigāti sumnayuḥ* RV MS ŚB TB  
*paśyañ* (AV °*yan*) *janmāni sūrya* RV. AV ArS N  
*pitṛñ* (KŚ *pitṛn*) *jinva* TS KS PB Vait KŚ ApŚ . *ojasā pitrbhyah*  
*pitṛn jinva* MS
- prajāḥ kṛnvan janayan virūpāḥ* MS *prajā vikṛnvañ* (ApŚ *vikurvañ*)  
*janayan virūpam* (ApŚ. °*pāḥ*) KS ApŚ  
*praty ajātān* (AV °*tān*, TS KS. TA °*tāñ*) *jātavedo nudasva* AV. VS.  
 VSK TS MS KS TA
- māre asman maghavañ* (SV. °*van*) *jyok kah* RV SV  
*yat te asmin ghora āsan juhomi* KS . *yod adya te ghora āsan juhomi* MS :  
*yasyās te ghora āsan ju°* VS ŚB *yasyās te asyāḥ kṛ ūra āsañ ju°* TS.  
 ApŚ Exception in KS
- yāns* (TA Poona ed. *†yās*) *te soma prānāns tān* (Poona ed *tān*, MahānU  
*tāñ*) *juhomi* TA MahānU
- vibhrājañ* (AV SV. °*jan*) *jyotiṣā svah* RV. AV SV.  
*vṛtrāni vṛtrahañ* (AV. °*han*) *jahi* RV AV.  
*satyāñṛte avapaśyañ* (AV. °*yan*, MS °*yan*) *janānām* RV AV. TS. MS  
 ApMB. This is quoted by Apr. 2 11 as an example of ñ before *j'*  
*saptarṣiñ* (KŚ *saptarṣin*) *jinva* KŚ ApŚ  
*[grhān* (MŚ *grhāñ*, read *grhān*, see above, §935) *jugupatam yuvam* MS  
 MŚ ]

#### 4 Final *n* before *ś*

§937. Before *ś*, the regular sandhi of *n* requires ñ, which however is often written *n*, and seems regularly to be printed so in the editions of SV and AV. The *ś* changes to *ch* (representing *t-ś*). But in the single variant noted from the YV Samhitās, TS alone has this regular ñ-*ch*, MS and VS keep *ś* unchanged, MS writing ñ before it and VS. *n*, the sole ms of KSA reads like VS, but von Schroeder emended to ñ-*ch* in his edition. This exceptional treatment is due to the fact that a mute follows *ś*, in which case *ś* is retained by VPr. 4. 94. We begin with this variant

*ādityāñ chmaśrubhiḥ* (VS and ms of KSA °*tyān śma°*, MS °*tyāñ śma°*)  
 VS TS MS KSA,

*asmiñ* (AV. *asmiñ*) *chūra savane mādayasva* RV AV.  
*tām nah pūṣaṇ chivatāmām crayasva* IIG : *tām pūṣaṇ* (AV *pūṣan*)  
*chi°* . . RV. AV. ApMB  
*divi ṣaṇ* (AV. *ṣaṇ*, SV. *san*) *chukra ālatah* RV AV SV  
*maghavaṇ* (AV. SV. PB. TB. Conc °*van*, TB Poona ed °*vañ*) *chagdhī*  
 . . . RV. AV. SV. PB TB. TA ApŚ. MahānU.  
*yāucchreṣṭhābhīr maghavaṇ chūra jīva* RV . *yāvucchreṣṭhābhīr maghavan*  
*chūra* AV.  
*yaj te rājan* (AG. *rājan*) *chitam havih* RV. AG. ŚG.  
*sūro na ruruḥvāñ* (SV. °*vāñ*) *chatātmā* RV SV.  
*parānciṣā mūradevāñ* (AV. °*vāñ*) *chṛṇīhi* RV AV  
*pratyāñcam arham anayañ* (AV. °*yañ*) *charibhih* RV. AV.  
*śatam hemantāñ* (AV. °*tāñ*) *chalam u vasantāñ* RV AV. N.

### 5 Final *n* before *s*

§938. Before *s*, the insertion of *t* after final *n* is required by APr 2 9 and TPr 5 33, and authorized by 'some' according to RPr 236 (4 6), of the divergent views recorded in VPr 4 14f. It is quite common in all texts, likewise the analogous insertion of *k* after final *n̄* before *s*. Cf Wackernagel I §282 The Concordance ignores altogether the writing of *t* in such cases. It has not seemed profitable to try to collect and sift its occurrences. We therefore record here only a few stray cases in which final *n* before *s* varies with *anusvāra*, most of them concern *san*· *sam*, in the latter case the preposition *sam* being felt as involved.

*brahman* (IŚ \* *brahman*) *śloṣyāmah praśāstah* KB GB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ  
 Vait IŚ. (bis) ApŚ MŚ

*sasavān san* (MS *sam*) *stūyase* . RV VS TS MS KS ŚB The  
 p p. of MS *san*, all samh mss *sam* The other texts all actually  
 read *sant*, except KS *san*

*pumānsam vardhatām mayi* ŚG. (Conc says that this is an error for  
*pumān samvañ°*, but the text is correct, see §97). *pumān sam-*  
*vatatām mayi* PG

*jihvā pavitram aśvināsan* (TB °*nā sam*) *śvasvoti* VS MS KS TB.

§939. To these may be added a couple of cases—probably not a  
 complete list—in which *k* is alternatively added after final *n̄* before *s*  
*pratyāñ* (VS TS. MS † ŚB \* TB *pratyāñk*) *somo atidrutah* (with var)  
 AV VS VSK MS TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ. Poona ed of TB.

*pratyāñ*  
*prāñ* (VS. TB *prāñk*) *somo atidrutah* VS VSK ŚB. TB. ApŚ Again  
 Poona ed. of TB *prāñ*.

6. Final *n* before *p*

§940. The only cases noted concern *n̄nṣ* or *n̄nh* for *n̄n*, since this variation really concerns final *s* before *h* and *p*, we quote the variants below under that heading, §965

7. Final *n* before *l*

§941. Only a single case has been noted, AV writes *jayam* (*jayan*) for *jayan* according to the edition, but Whitney and the Conc would read *jayan*. In any case it is purely a matter of orthography. *samjayan* (AV. ed. *jayam*) *kṣetrāni*. . AV TS MS KS KŚ

8. Final *n* before *y*

§942. See RPr. 287 (4. 28), VPr 3 135, Wackernagel I §281a, Macdonell 77. 2d.

*dadhanvān* (MS KS °vān, VS ŚB TB °vā) *yo naryo apsv antar ā*  
RV SV. VS MS KS. ŚB TB

9. Final *n* before *l*

§943. Two variants

*agnīṣ tān* (VS *tān*, AŚ *tāl*) *lokāt pra nudāty* (etc.) *asmāt* VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ  
ApŚ SMB · *agnīṣ tān asmāt* AV MŚ Inconsistent with  
RPr 227 (4. 4) and Wackernagel I §281b, the VS reading also  
inconsistent with VPr 4 13, which requires nasalized *l*. Cf further  
APr. 2. 35, TPr. 5 26. A nasalized *l* is required by all authorities  
and was probably pronounced in all texts

*eṣa me 'muṣmin* (GB. 'muṣminl, Gaastra) *loke prakāśo 'sat* PB GB †  
2 5 8

[*viṣnus tryaksarena trīnl lokān* (VSK *trīn imānl lokān*, TS † *trīn lokān*)  
.... VS VSK. TS]

10. Final *n* before *v*

§944. One variant

*puru tvā dāśvān* (SV. *dāśvān*) *voce* RV SV N Cf RPr 287 (4. 28),  
APr 2 28, Wackernagel I §281a, Macdonell 77 2d

CHANGE OF DENTAL *n* TO LINGUAL *n*

§945. The variants of course mainly concern the change of *n* to *n* under the influence of a lingual sound in a preceding word (in the same word the lingualization occurs almost invariably). In general, the

greater degree of psychological propinquity between the alterant sound and the *n*, the greater is the likelihood of lingualization. That is, both verbal and nominal compounds show a tendency to be treated as single words for the purposes of this change; and enclitics, and other monosyllabic particles, tend to be regarded as parts of the preceding word (For a few cases of variation between *n* and 'spontaneous' *n*, not conditioned in the normal way, see §§163, 165, 170)

§946. The school tendencies which appear are capricious and unstable, one sometimes has a feeling as if Taittiriya texts, in particular, took a perverse delight in violating their own general principles

§947. (1) The *n* is the initial of monosyllabic words, especially enclitics; or in forms of the enclitic pronoun *ena-*. Here we find that Sāmavedic and Maitrāyaṇīya texts rarely alter to *n*, while Taittiriya texts generally alter to *n*, but there are exceptions in both cases. Other schools seem to show no definite tendencies among the variants

§948. We have separated the cases in which the alterant sound is a final *r* of the preceding word from those in which it occurs earlier in that word. But so far as the variants indicate, we find no reason to suppose that lingualization was any more apt to occur in the former case than in the latter. This is, indeed, what we should expect on the analogy of the classical rule, by which lingualization is not in the least dependent on close proximity of the alterant to the altered sound. Note that after a final *r*, Taittiriya texts keep dental *n* in a case or two where all other texts (in one instance even SV and MS, which generally avoid lingualization) show lingual *n*, and yet, as we have said, Tait texts generally favor lingualization

§949. In the following cases the alterant sound is final *r*:  
*svaṛ na* (TS. ApŚ *svaṛ na*) *gharmah* (ApŚ \* *gharma*) *svāhā* VS TS. KS  
 ŚB ApŚ. The same with *jyotih*, *śukrah*, *sūryah*, *arkah*; all in the same passage, but not all in the same texts (see Conc.) Only TS has *n* in the rest (they are not in ApŚ)

*svaṛ na* (TS *svaṛ na*) *jyotih* RV SV VS TS MS KS  
*asya sutaśya svaṛ na* (AŚ ŚŚ *na*) AV SV AŚ ŚŚ  
*āśir na* (MS MŚ *nā*) *ūrjam* AV MS Vait MŚ  
*anuttam ā te maghavan nakir nu* (MS *nu*) RV. VS MS KS The mss  
 of MS read corruptly *nakṛnu*, p p *nakih*, tu  
*vytrahūr no* (TB *no*) MS TB. (two variants in the same passage)

§950. In the rest the alterant sound is not final in the preceding word.  
*pra no naya vasyo aha* RV. *pra no naya pratarani vasyo aha* RV  
*pra na* (SV MS PB *na*) *āyūṁsi* RV AV SV VS TS VSK MS  
 KS PB TB. TA AŚ. ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś N

- pra na* (SV *na*) *indo* . RV SV.  
*pra nah* (SV. *nah*) *pinva* RV. SV  
*pra nu* (TA ApMB HG *nu*, Kauś *no*, read *nu*) *vocam cikituṣe janāya*  
 RV TA SMB ApMB Kauś PG HG MG. Jorgensen reads  
*nu* for SMB, but with v 1 *nu*, which should undoubtedly be read  
 in accord with the usage of SV texts  
*pra no* (also, *no*) *jāyantām mithunāni rūpaśah* Kauś (both)  
*pra no* (TS † JUB. *no*) *jīvātave suva* VS TS KS ŚB MŚ JUB Conc  
 wrongly *no* for TS 5 5 7 5 Note JUB *no*, contrary to SV usage  
*pra no* (TB. *no*) *navyabhis* RV MS KS TB  
*pra no* (AV TS *no*) *yachatr aryamā* RV. AV VS TS MS KS ŚB  
*pra no* (AV. TS *no*) *yacha* (KS *rāśva*) *viśaspate* (AV *viśām*°, TS  
*bhuvas*°, VS ŚB *sahasraṇi*) RV AV VS TS, MS KS ŚB  
*parainān* (AV °*nān*) *devah savitā dadātu* RV AV  
*pari nah* (SV *nah*) *śarmayantīyā* RV SV  
*pari no* (SV. *no*) *aśvam aśvavit* RV SV  
*pari no* (VS MS *no*) *rudrasya* . VS TS MS KS TB *pari no heṭi*  
*rudrasya* ..RV. VSK.. *pari no hedo* . RV  
*ataś cid indra na* (SV. *na*) *upa* RV SV ŚŚ  
*indra enam* (KS *enam*) *prathamā adhyatīṣṭhat* RV VS. TS KS  
*indra enam* (AV. *enam*) *parāśarīl* AV TB ApŚ  
*sam indra no* (AV. MS KS. Kauś *no*) *manasā* ...RV. AV VS TS MS  
 KS ŚB TB ŚŚ. KŚ Kauś  
*sumitrā* (etc) *na* (KS *na*) *āpa* ..VS TS MS KS ŚB TB TA.  
 MahānU AŚ ŚŚ. LŚ BDh ApŚ. KŚ MŚ  
*uruṣyā no* (MS *no*) *aghāyatak samasmāt* RV VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ. N.  
*tebhūh* (RV also *tena*) *somābhū* (TA °*bhū*) *rakṣa nah* (TA *nah*) RV.  
 (bis) TA  
*śikṣā no* (TS *no*!) ..RV AV VS TS KS AB Note that TS per-  
 versely avoids lingualization, despite its general tendency  
*devīh* (AV *dai*°, KS *trayīṣ*) *śad urvīr uru nah* (only RV *nah*, AV. ed  
*nah*, but read *nah*, see Whitney's note, KS.† *nas*) *kṛnota* RV AV TS.  
 KS ApMB  
*asthūrī nau gārhapatyam* . MS KS : *tayor* (ApŚ. *tayor nāv*) *asthūrī*  
 (MŚ °*ri nau*) *gārḥ*° . ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ . *asthūrī nau gārhapatyāni*  
 ...Kauś *asthūrī nau* (VSK *no*, ŚŚ *no*) *gārhapatyāni*  
 VS. VSK. ŚB ŚŚ . *asthūrī no* (TS TB *no*, KS *nau*, MŚ [van  
 Gelder] †*nau*) *gārhapatyāni santu* RV. TS MS KS TB MŚ. In  
 the first-quoted version, the two best mss of MS read *nau*, in  
 accord with MS usage, but the MŚ form of it (*tayor* etc) has *nau*  
 according to all Knauer's mss



§951. (2) The *n* occurs in a longer word, or in the second part of a compound, the alterant being in the preceding word or the prior member of the compound. Note that in compounds initial *n* is nearly always, and medial *n* often, lingualized in the RV just as in simple words. Wackernagel I §170

§952. We begin with cases in which the *n* is initial. Here lingualization is standard and regular in verb forms from roots in *n*- compounded with *pra* (and certain other prepositions, Wackernagel I §169). When SV shows three times forms of *pra-nu* with dental *n*, it is therefore exceptional. But otherwise, with independent words, lingualization is only sporadic. Among the variants, TS twice lingualizes the *n* of *nāman*; and the *n* of *nāsalya* is twice lingualized, once in VS and once in MS. (1) despite the tendency of MS to avoid lingualization)

*abhi pra nonumo* (SV *no*<sup>o</sup>). RV SV SV

*abhi pra nonuvur* (SV. *nonavur*) RV SV

*tvām abhi pra nonumah* (SV *no*<sup>o</sup>) RV SV KB

*pra nāmānu* (TS *nā*<sup>o</sup>). RV. TS MS KS

*atharnam jarimā nayet* HG *yatharnam jarase nayāt* AV

*tasmād vār nāma* (TS *nāma*). AV TS MS KS

*gomad ū ṣu nāsalyā* (VS *nā*<sup>o</sup>) RV VS AŚ

*nāsalyā* (MS *nā*<sup>o</sup>) *bhaṣajāśvina* VS MS TB. Preceded in all by

*bhaṣaṇ*, which may be meant for part of this *pāda*

*punar āgāh punarṇava* (AV *ṇava*, and *ṇavaḥ*) RV AV (bis)

*uṣtro ghr̥nāvān vārdhr̥ṇasas* (MS *ghr̥nāvān vārdhr̥ṇasas*) VS MS.

*gr̥dhrah śit̥kakṣī vārdhr̥ṇasas* (KS *ms vārdhr̥ṇasas*, ed. em. *vārdhr̥ṇ*<sup>o</sup>)

.. TS KSA

*sahasranīthah* (SV *nīthah*) *padavīh lavīnām* RV SV

§953. Of the rest, in which *n* is not initial, there are only a few sporadic cases

*sādhyebhyaś carmanam* (VS *ṁnam*) VS VSK TB. The form *ṁna* occurs in RV

*agne deva paṇibhur vīyamānah* (MS MŚ *ṇah*; VS ŚB *guhyamānah*)

KS *idhyamānah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ TB

*abhūr āpīnām* (HG *ṇām*, v. l. *ṇām*) ApMB HG

*dyutadyubhur namasyair iyanā* MS *mitajñubhur namasyair iyanā* RV

*devaśrīh śrīmanāh* (VSK TS *ṇāh*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

*agneḥ puṇṇavāhanah* (MS *puṇṇiya*<sup>o</sup>, VS † ŚB † *vāhanah*) VS TS MS

KS ŚB

§954. (3) The alterant is in the same part of the same word as the *n*, so that lingualization would be expected. The variation is due

(a) to secondary origin of the alterant sound, due to sandhi, in some texts the analogy of the uncompounded word keeps the *n* dental-  
*suṣumnah* (TS N. °*nah*) *sūryaraśmah* VS TS MS KS ŚB In TS

N there is thought of the simple *sumnah*

(b) to the use of the word as first member of a compound, in one text the *n*, in the seam of the compound, is felt as final and hence not lingualized, while in the other it is treated as internal and lingualized-  
*amṛṇmayam* (ApŚ *amṛn*°) TB ApŚ

#### FINAL *s* AFTER NON-*a* VOWELS, BEFORE INITIAL *t*

§955. On this point the various schools show markedly different tendencies. As to the Prātiśākhya rules RPr 349 requires *s* regularly before *tvā* and *te* (but cf 356), and 350-354 allows it also before other words, mostly pronouns. APr 2 84, 85 also makes *s* the rule especially before pronouns, but allows various exceptions, according to Whitney, *s* is commoner in AV VPr 3. 75, 76 (cf. 79ff) likewise makes *s* the rule particularly before monosyllables (mostly pronouns). TPr 6. 5 allows the change to *ś* in only a few specified cases

§956. Wackernagel I §236b says that the change to *ś* occurs, outside of compounds, mainly before pronouns, and 'die andern Samh kennen solches *ś* im Satz ausser in den mit dem RV gemeinsamen Stellen nur vor Pronominalformen'. This statement is copied by Macdonell 78, 2, b. It is, however, not quite correct, as is shown by the following two variants, in which SV shows *ś* for RV *s*, not before pronouns. These are, incidentally, the only variants where this sandhi occurs before other than pronouns.

*dhanuṣ tanvantī* (RV *dhanuṣ ta*°) *paunsiyam* RV SV.

*uṣā apa svasus tamah* (SV *†svasus tamah*) RV AV SV AŚ

§957. All the other variants concern cases with following pronouns (Cf *agneṣ tvā tejasā sūryasya* MG, to which the parallels in other texts show *s*, because no pronoun follows *agneṣ tejasā sūryasya*. MS KS AB TB TA) They show that the schools of RV, AV, VS, and TS follow fairly well the rules of the Prātiśākhyas to their respective Samhitās. To be sure, only one case happens to concern RV, and that is exceptional in showing *s*, but the RV school texts show 12 cases of *s* to 1 of *ś*. AV shows 4 of *s* to 1 of *ś*, and its school texts 3 to 0. VS has 17 to 2, and other Vāj texts (incl VSK) 22 to 1. TS, on the other hand, is unanimous for *s* (24 cases), and so are its school texts (28 cases). This is the only school which, on the evidence of the variants, overwhelmingly prefers *s* but KS also has 14 of *s* to 8 of *ś*. SV itself has

only one instance (of *ś*), and its school texts have 2 of each MS is as unanimous for *ś* as TS is for *s* (20 cases, and 16 from MŚ and MG) Summarizing the schools of RV, AV, VS, and MS regularly write *ś*, that of TS always, and KS usually, *s*, the variants from SV are indecisive

§958. There follows the list of variants, all before pronouns  
*anśur-anśus te* (TS KS ApŚ °śus te) *deva somā pyāyatām* VS TS MS

KS AB GB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ ApŚ MŚ

*agnis te 'gram* (MŚ *agnis te agram*) TS MŚ

*agnis te tanvam* . MŚ *agnis te tanuvam* (KS *tanvam*) TS KS TB

ApŚ *agnis te tvacam* VS ŚB KŚ

*agnis te tejo* AŚ MŚ *agnis te tejo* TS TB JB ApŚ

*agnis te* (TS *agnis te*) 'dhipatī VS TS MS KS ŚB

*agnis tvābhi* (TS *agnis tvā*) *pātu* . VS TS MS KS ŚB

*agnis tvā* (TS KS *agnis tvā*) *śrīnātu* VS TS MS KS ŚB

*agnis tvā* (MS *agnis tvā*) *hwayati* TS MS KS TB

*agnis itan agre* MS . *agnis tām* (AV *tām*, TS TA [but not KS †])

*agnis tām* *agre* AV TS KS TA

*agnes tvā* (KS ApŚ *agnes tvā*) *tejasā sādāyām* VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

KŚ MŚ.

*agnes tvā* (TS KS. *agnes tvā*) *mātrayā* TS MS KS MŚ

*agnes tvāsyena* (TS ApŚ. *agnes tvā*°) VS VSK TS GB ŚB KB

ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ

*aditis te* (TS KS TA ApŚ °tis te) VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ApŚ

KŚ MŚ

*aditis tvā* (TS KS ApŚ [but not MŚ †] °tis tvā) VS TS MS KS

ŚB ApŚ MŚ KŚ

*avatatya dhanus tvam* (TS KS NilarU °nus tvam) VS TS MS KS

MŚ NilarU

*ropāya mā* (VāDh *mām*) *śevadhī te* (N °dhiś te) VāDh ViDh N

*tābhiś tvam* (KS TA *tābhiś tvam*) *ubhayībhiś samvidānah* MS KS TA

*ebhiś tvam putram janaya* ŚG *tais tvam putram* (putrān) *vindasva*

AV ApMB

*dyaus tvā* (ŚŚ *dyaus te*) *pitā prthivī mātā* AV ŚŚ

*prajāpatīś tvā sādāyatu* VS ŚB MS MŚ *prajāpatīś tvā sō*

TS TB TA ApŚ KS

*prajāpates tvā* (MŚ °tes tvā) *prānena* TB ApŚ MŚ

*rābhos te* (SV °bhoś te) *tsatah* RV SV

*bahis te* (AV KS *bahis te*) *astu* AV TS KS ApŚ

*rhaspates tvā* (TS TB °tes tvā) VS VSK TS ŚB TB

*brhaspatiḥ tvā* (TS KS ApŚ °*tis tvā*) *sumne* VS TS MS KS ŚB.  
ApŚ MŚ

*brhaspatiḥ tvā* (SMB HG °*tis tvā*) *niryunaktu* . AG ŚG. SMB HG  
MG

*brhaspatiḥ tvā* (TA °*tis tvā*) *viśvair* . MS TA.

*brhaspatiḥ tvā* (TS ApŚ °*tis tvā*) *sādayatu* . TS MS ApŚ MŚ

*brhaspatiḥ tvopasīdatu* (TA ApŚ °*tis tvā*) MS TA ApŚ MŚ

*manoḥ tvā* MS KŚ. MŚ : *manos tvā* . KS TB ApŚ

*varūtrīḥ tvā* . VS ŚB *varutrīḥ tvā* . KS

*vāyus tātān* (MŚ *tan*, KS *tān*, TS TA *vāyus tān*) *agre* . AV TS KS  
TA MŚ

*vāyus te* (TS *vāyus te*) *'dhipatiḥ* VS TS MS

*vāyus te* (TS *vāyus te*) *vāgyn yuñ* TS KSA

*vāyus tvābhipātu* (TS *vāyus tvā*) . VS TS MS KS ŚB

*śvebhīr arcibhiḥ tvam* (TS. °*bhis tvam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

*savitus tvā* (AG ŚG °*tuḥ tvā*) *prasava* . VS ŚB KŚ AG ŚG

*svadhīus te* (ŚG °*tiḥ te*) *pitā* VS ŚG ApMB

#### FINAL *s* BEFORE INITIAL *k* AND *p*

§959. Here the rules of the Prātisākhya (ApPr 260 [4 14] ff, APr. 2 62ff, TPr 8 23-35, VPr 3. 10f, 20ff, especially 29, 36) give a mass of detailed prescriptions, which may be summarized thus. in compounds *s* (or *ṣ* after non-*a* vowels) prevails, otherwise *h* (or *upadhmānīya* and *jihvāmūlīya*) But there are numerous exceptions to both parts of the rule

§960 European grammarians have added practically nothing (cf Macdonell 78 2, c) Wackernagel I §286c, β, note, thinks he detects a tendency for the ending of the first part of an āmredita compound to be made like that of the second part, so as to make the two exactly alike in form, where that is possible

§961. Among the variant formulas we find only one which concerns an āmredita, and very few others concerning compounds They show no clear tendency to be treated differently from uncompounded words, but in view of the traditional distinction just mentioned, we shall list them separately The sole āmredita noted is the following.

*paraṣaḥ-paraṣas* (KS *paraṣas-paraṣas*, TS TA MahānU *paraṣaḥ-paraṣaḥ*) *pari* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA MahānU Note that in the VS and MS schools the final sound is dissimilar in the two parts of the compound, altho a *p* follows in both cases, and that the distinction made by these schools is exactly the reverse of that laid

down in the *Prātisākhya*s, namely: we find *h* in the prior member, *s* in the last member. VPr. 3. 36 mentions this as an exception; likewise TPr. 8. 33, which states that *h* remains in compounds when the following vocable contains *s* or *dh*, covers the case; this might be regarded as a kind of dissimilation, but is probably merely an artificial rule made up to cover actual occurrences.

§962. The other compounds noted are the following (in the first the *s* is preceded by *a*, in the others by *i* or *u*):

*sādyasakṛīṣ* . . . ApMB.: *sadyahkṛīṣ* . . . ŚG.

*śociṣkeṣam* (MS.\* *śociḥ*°) *purupriya* RV. VS. TS. MS. (both) KS.

*upahūto bhūyasi haviṣkarāṇe* (MS. *haviḥ*°, but p p. *haviṣ*°) MS. AŚ. ŚŚ.:  
*bhūyasi haviṣkarāṇa upahūtaḥ* (TB.\* °*tā*) TS. TB. ŚB.

*āyukṛd āyuhpatnī* . . . ApŚ.: *āyukṛd āyuspatnī* . . . AV.

§963. In uncompounded words, contrary to the statements of the *Prātisākhya*s, the variants indicate if anything that *s* or *ṣ* is commoner in most texts than *h*. Perhaps, however, the numbers are not sufficiently large to justify such an inference. The Taittiriya school, to be sure, seems definitely to prefer *h*, especially after *a*-vowels; but most other schools show a majority for *s* or *ṣ* in both groups (curiously, and perhaps by mere accident, the Maitrāyaṇīya school shows a majority for *s* after *a*-vowels, but for *h* after others). We give the lists for what they are worth, separating the two classes. The statistics for all occurrences among the variants—including the few cases of compound words mentioned above—are as follows:

	After <i>a</i> -vowels		After non- <i>a</i> -vowels		
	<i>h</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>ṣ</i>	<i>s</i> (dental)
RV.	7	9	3	12	
RV. school	5	12	1	2	
SV.	5	4	3	2	
SV. school	1	3	1	3	
AV.	4	7	1	8	
AV. school	0	4	0	1	
VS.	3	15	5	7	
VS. school	3	16	4	8	
TS.	21	2	2	4	
TS. school	24	7	16	6	2
MS.	6	15	10	5	1
MS. school	2	2	5	1	1
KS.	9	9	5	7	1
Others	0	2	0	1	

	After <i>a</i> -vowels		After non- <i>a</i> -vowels		<i>s</i> (dental)
	<i>h</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>ṣ</i>	
Total RV. school	12	21	4	14	
Total SV. school	6	7	4	5	
Total AV. school	4	11	1	9	
Total VS. school	6	31	9	15	
Total TS school	45	9	18	10	2
Total MS school	8	17	15	6	2
Total all texts	90	107	56	67	5
Total all minus TS school	45	98	38	57	3

### 1. The *s* is preceded by an *a* vowel

§964. Here *s* remains in a majority of variants in all schools except that of the Taittirīyas, the latter is nearly unanimous for *h*. Besides the two cases concerning compounds (§§961f), the following occur.

*soma* (SV *somas*) *paṭi rayīnām* RV. AV SV.  
*sa no dīwā sa riṣah* (VS MS. *riṣas*) *pātu naktam* RV. AV. VS TS MS  
 KS TB

*śam nas* (RV *nah*) *karato aśvinā* RV. TB ApŚ  
*manyāśaś śam ca nas* (TS *nah*) *kṛdhī* VS TS. MS. KS AŚ ŚŚ. N.  
*devīh* (davih) *śad . . . uru nah* (*nah*) *kṛṇota* RV. AV. TS. ApMB..  
*trayīṣ śad . . . uru ṛnas* kṛ° KS  
*uru kṣayāya naś* (TS. *nah*) *kṛdhī* RV AV. VS VSK. TS MS. KS. ŚB.  
 AŚ. ŚŚ.

*varivas* (RV. °*vah*) *kṛnvan* . . RV. SV.  
*ayam no agnir varivas* (TS KS AŚ. ApŚ °*vah*) *kṛnotu* VS. TS MS KS  
 ŚB AŚ ApŚ MŚ

*urvī rodasī varivas* (TS. KS °*vah*) kṛ° TS. MS KS  
*dīvah* (VS *dīvas*) *parjanyaḍ* . . VS TS MS KS  
*dīvah prthivyāh pary antarikṣāt* TS KS TB ApŚ *dīvas* etc RV. AV.  
 MS

*dīvah prthivyāh pary oja udbhṛtam* VS TS KSA. *dīvas* etc RV. AV.  
 Vait Kauś

*dīvah prṣṭham svar* (*suvar*) . TS MS KS : *dīvas* etc AV. VS ŚB  
*dīvas* (SV *dīvah*) *prṣṭham adhi* RV SV

*dīvas* (SV *dīvah*) *prṣṭhāny* AV SV.  
*dīvah* (RV *dīvas*) *prṣṭham* (PB °*the*) . . RV PB TA ApŚ

*abhi priyā dīvas padā* (SV. *dīvah kavīh*) RV. SV.  
*agne tvam sūktavāg* . . *dīvas* (TS TB *dīvah*) *prthivyoh* TS. (fragment)  
 MS ŚB. TB. AŚ ŚŚ

- parameṣṭhī tvā sādāyatu divah* (VS. ŚB. *divas*) *prsthe* ... VS TS MS  
KS ŚB ApŚ
- śrñāhi viśvataḥ prati* RV.: *śrñāhi viśtatas pari* SV. Add to VV I §275  
*giriṇa na viśvatas* (SV. °*lah*) *prthuḥ* . . RV. AV. SV.
- yathā nah śreyasas* (TS °*sah*) *karat* VS TS MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ
- yathā no vasyasas* (TS °*sah*, LŚ. *vasīyasas*) *karat* VS TS MS KS. ŚB  
LŚ.
- viśvābhyo mā nāṣṭrābhyaḥ* (VS.† ŚB PG † °*bhyas*, MS. *danṣṭrābhyaḥ*)  
*pāhi* (TS TB *pāta*, PG. *paripāhi* . . .) VS. TS MS ŚB. TB  
TA PG.
- yeṣām apsu sadas* (TS ApMB *sadah*) *kṛtam* VS TS ŚB. NīlarU  
ApMB † 2 17. 6c
- mitrās* (RV *mitrah*) *pānty adruhaḥ* RV. SV.
- prthivyāḥ samprcas* (TS TB ApŚ °*cah*; VS ŚB. *samsprśas*) *pāhi* VS.  
TS MS ŚB TB. ApŚ AŚ.
- nānā hi vām devahitam sadas* (TB ApŚ *sadah*) *kṛtam* VS MS. KS  
AB. ŚB. TB ApŚ AŚ.
- diva oṣadhayas* (TS. °*yah*) *pari* RV. VS TS. MS.
- ubhe ca no* (etc) . . . *añhasaḥ* (MS ŚB.† AŚ. °*sas*) *pālām* (TB Conc  
*syātām*, Poona ed. *añhasaḥ spātām*!; AŚ. text, *ṭañhasa syātām*)  
MS ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ
- indraḥ* (ŚŚ *indras*) *patis* . . . AV. AA ŚŚ
- idāyās* (ApŚ *idāyāḥ*) *padam* . . . AV. AŚ. ApŚ MŚ SMB. Vait Kauś  
*apah* (TS. TB ApŚ *apas*) *pīnva* VS TS. MS. KS. ŚB TB. KŚ ApŚ.  
MŚ. Note the perverseness of the Tait texts in reading *s*, contrary  
to their usual rule, against all other texts!
- agne trātar ṛtas* (SV. *ṛtah*) *kaviḥ* RV. SV.
- pūsādhvanah* (VS. KS ŚB °*nas*) *pātu* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ
- prāṇasya tvā* . . . *tanuvah* (MS *tanvas*) *pāhi* MS TA
- prastu brahmaṇas* (MŚ °*nah*) *patnī* TS ApŚ MŚ.
- ṣan morvīr anhasas* (ŚŚ. °*sch*) *pāntu* . . ŚB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ

## 2. The *s* is preceded by a non-*a* vowel

§965. Here the variants are less numerous, and there seems to be a larger element of chance. In general, however, *ṣ* prevails. The dominance of *h* in the Tait school is less marked; TS itself has only half a dozen variants, a majority of which happen to contain *ṣ*. More curious is the fact (which may be accidental, since the total number of cases is not very large) that the Maitr. school this time favors *h*, tho after *a*-vowels it shows a majority for *s*. Nevertheless, in the three

variants where the preceding vowel is an *r*-vowel, MS alone shows *ṣ*, other texts *h*. These all concern the single form *nṛn*, acc plur of *nṛ*, the vowel *ṛ* alters the *s* across the intervening nasal which becomes *anunāsika* (cf §940 above)

*hoṭā yakṣad uṣāsānaktā* . *nṛnh* (MS *nṛnṣ*) *patibhyo* .. MS KS TB  
*hoṭā yakṣan narāśansam nṛśastam nṛnṣpranetram* (TB. *nṛnh*°) MS TB  
*nṛnh* (MS *nṛnṣ*) *pāhi* RV SV VS. MS) KS ŚB.

§966. Anomalously, dental *s* is preserved without change in two variants, both times before a form of root *kṛ* (does the form *skṛ* exercise an influence here?)

*supṛppalā oṣadhīs* (ApŚ °*dhīh*) *kṛdhī* MS KS ApŚ MŚ.

*śam agnir agnibhis* (RV °*bhīh*) *karat* RV. TB ApŚ

§967. Besides these and the cases concerning compounds (above, §962), we find the following variants:

*dyauih* (RV. *dyauiṣ*) *pitāh pṛthiv mātāh adhruk* RV MS. TB.

*dyauih pitā* ... TB ApŚ : *dyauiṣ pitā* . AV.

*dyauih pṛṣṭham pṛthivī śarīram* ŚŚ 10 17 4 (as two separate mantras):

*dyauiṣ pṛṣṭham antarīkṣam* .. ŚB KŚ

*upahūto dyauiṣ* (TB. ApŚ. *dyauih*) *pitā* VS ŚB TB. ApŚ

*upa mām dyauiṣ* (TB ApŚ *dyauih*) *pitā hvayatām* VS ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

*jyotiṣ* (MS LŚ *jyotih*) *paśyanta* (MS ° *tā*) *uttaram* RV MS KS ChU.

LŚ

*jyotiṣ* (SV. °*tih*) *paśyanti vāsaram* RV. SV KS

*yas tāni veda sa pituṣ* (VS and most mss of AV *pītuḥ*) *pitāsāt* AV. VS :

*yas tā vijānāt sa pituṣ* (TA. *savituh*) *pitāsāt* RV. AV TA N : *yas tad*

*veda savituh* (MahānU *sa pītuḥ*) *pitāsāt* TA. MahānU

*aham id dhi pituṣ* (MG. *pītuḥ*) *pari* RV AV SV Vait MG

*sa idhāno* (KS ms *edh*°, ed. emends) *vasuṣ* (MS *vasuh*) *kavh* RV SV.

VS TS. MS. KS.

*haviṣ* (HG MG *havih*) *kṛnwantah parvatsarīnam* (HG † SMB. † °*nām*,

MG °*yam*) AV SMB ApMB HG MG

*yasya dvārā manuṣ* (SV *manuh*) *pitā* RV SV.

*mṛtyoh* (VSK. °*yoṣ*) *pāhi* VS. VSK MS KS ŚB MŚ

*citrah śiśuḥ* (MS *śiśuṣ*) *pari* ... RV. VS. TS. MS. KS ŚB

*āyoh patmane svāhā* KS.: *āyoṣ patvane svāhā* ApŚ

*āviṣ* (MS *āvih*) *kṛnuṣva dāvyāny agne* RV VS TS. MS KS

*apālām* . *triṣ* (ApMB MG *trih*) *pū*° RV. AV. JB. ApMB MG.

*parne vo vasatiṣ* (TS MS °*tih*) *kṛtā* RV. VS TS MS KS ŚB

*nih kravyādam nudāmasi* (MS *nudasva*) AV MS . *nṣ kravyādam sedha*

VS TS. KS ŚB TB ApŚ : *nṣ kravyādam anīnaśāt* RV. AV. MG.



[*śrādāṣ* (AV. °*duḥ*; but most mss., SPP., and Whitney °*duṣ*) *kīlāyam*  
*madhūmān utāyam* RV. AV. AB. ApŚ.]

#### ALTERATION OF FINAL *r* BEFORE *h* AND *p*

§968. Among the variants occur only three *pādas* belonging here, and they all concern the word *śarpati*. This occurs in that form in RV. (three times), AV. and KS. (once each), while in SV. (three times) and PB. (once) it occurs in the form *śrāpati*. This accords with RPr. 258 (4. 12), which requires *śr* before any voiceless sound in composition (otherwise *h*). APr. ignores the case, which does not come within its purview since it occurs in Book 20, which the Pr. does not treat. The *pādas* are:

*yuram hi śthah śarpati* (SV. PB. *śrāpati*) RV. SV. PB.

*dātrasy āgne śarpatiḥ* (SV. *śrāpatiḥ*) RV. SV. KS.

*śarpatiṃ yad iṃ rāde* SV.: *śarpatiṃ yad iṃ rāde* RV. AV.

#### FINAL *s* BEFORE INITIAL SIBILANT (NOT FOLLOWED BY A CONSONANT)

§969. In this case RPr. 251, 253 allows either *h* or retention of the sibilant, except in cases where the initial is altered to *ṣ* by the influence of a non-*a* vowel preceding the final *s*, in which case the final *s* must be assimilated to *ṣ*. A violation of this rule is permitted in Aufrecht's edition and Müller's *editio princeps* in the first variant quoted below, *riṣṣaharāṇo* . . .; Müller's editions of 1873 and 1877 read *niṣṣat*° in accordance with the Pr. rule. VPr. 3. 8 f. quotes opposing views of different authorities and does not decide between them; according to Weber the mss. of both VS. and VSK. generally write *h*. APr. 2. 40 requires assimilation of the sibilant, but according to Whitney the mss. of AV. generally write *h*, and the edition usually follows them. TPr. 9. 2 also requires assimilation of the sibilant, but Whitney says that the mss. of TS. generally write *h*, and this practice Weber seems to have generalized in his edition.

§970. The few variants recorded in the Concordance indicate that in most texts *s* in these circumstances appears as *h*, whether absolutely final or in compounds. In KS. however it is always retained or assimilated, according to Von Schroeder's edition (cf. his *Einleitung*, p. XII): the Concordance rarely takes note of this habit of KS, and it has not seemed worth while to collect such cases here. Among the variants, the RV. retains or assimilates the sibilant in about half the cases (five in all); but in several of these Müller prints *h* instead. According to the Concordance (based on the Bibl. Ind. edition), TB. also

retains the sibilant three times; but in all of these the Poona ed. has *h*. ApMB. also retains or assimilates the sibilant (see Winternitz, p. xlviii); but again the Concordance usually ignores this. All other texts would seem to write *h*. [But it is impossible to say how much this is due to editorial systematization on the one hand, and on the other to the failure of the Concordance to record readings with the sibilant, which evidently did not seem to Bloomfield worth recording when he was preparing the Concordance. In this opinion I agree with him; and I consider the following list of variants of extremely slight value. F. E.]

§971. The following variants have been noted:

*naḥṣahamāno* (SV. *naḥṣa*°) *yamate nāyate* RV. SV. On the RV. reading see the preceding paragraph

*vaḥṣahsu* (RV. *vaḥṣassu*; but Muller °*hsu*) *rukṃā upaśiśṛyānāḥ* RV. MS. TB.

*vardhanam puruṣṣidhe* (SV. °*naḥṣidhe*) RV. SV.

*pr̥sūtūr̥ṣu śravassu* (AV. and Müller's RV. °*hsu*) *cā* RV. AV.

*vṛṣā na kruddhah patayad rajassv* (AV. and Müller's RV. °*hsv*) *ā* RV. AV.

*havr̥ hav̥ṣṣu vandyah* (SV. *hav̥ḥṣu* †*vandyah*) RV. SV.

*kṛṣānta* (TB. *pr̥yā ta*) *ā bar̥huh* (KS.† TB. °*hs*, but TB. Poona ed. °*hkh*) *sīda* RV. AV. KS. TB.

*ulo aranyān̥h* (TB. °*nis*, but Poona ed. °*n̥h*) *sāyam* RV. TB.

*upa nah* (KS.† TB. *nas*, but TB. Poona ed. *nah*) *sūnavo girah* RV. SV. VS. KS. TB.

*īdam devānām idam u nah* (KS. *īdam nas*) *saha* TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ MS.

*satyā eṣṣm* (AG *etā*) *āśiṣah* (ApMB. °*ṣas*) *santu* . . . VS. VSK. AG. SMB Kauś ApMB. HG.

#### FINAL *s* BEFORE SIBILANT PLUS CONSONANT

§972. RPr 255 (4. 12) prescribes the dropping of the *s* before sibilant plus surd consonant. So also VPr. 3. 12 TPr. 9. 1 quotes a rule of one teacher to the same effect, the comm. and Whitney regard this as intended to be binding, and according to Whitney the mss. of TS. generally follow it APr. contains no such prescription, but the AV. mss. observe the practice in a majority of cases; and Whitney says that it has been observed uniformly in the Berlin edition (see his note on APr. 2 40). This appears to be not quite true; cf. the variants *hotrā-vidah stomataṣṭāso* . . . AV. 18 3 47b, and *madhvah ścotanty* . . . AV. 20. 88. 3d

§973. None of the Prātiśākhya authorize the dropping of final *s* before sibilant plus sonant consonant; but the comm. on TPr. 9 1 says that 'some' prescribe the dropping even then.

### 1. Final *s* before sibilant plus surd consonant

§974. The usage varies somewhat arbitrarily in manuscripts and editions, and it is not always clear to what extent editors have been guided by the actual readings of the mss. Aufrecht's edition of RV follows the Prātiśākhya rule, dropping *s* before sibilant plus surd; but Müller's edition always prints *h*, at least in the variant pādas, and we believe otherwise. Benfey's edition of SV. is apparently not wholly consistent. of the two variant pādas noted, one drops the *s*, the other reads *h*. On AV see above, §972. In TS, Weber's edition apparently always drops the *s*; at least the variants record no contrary case. The same is true of Weber's edition of VS. Von Schroeder's edition of MS always prints *h*; but the editor tells us (Einleitung to Vol 1, p XLII) that this was done in defiance of his mss., which generally follow the custom of most texts and drop *s*. On MŚ. and MG cf. Knauer, Einleitung to MG, p xxxviii, it appears that the mss. of these texts vary greatly, but that Knauer undertook to print *h* generally; among the variants we have noted only one case where he failed to do so, *yas te drapsa skandati* MŚ 2 4. 3. 29a. The mss. of KS usually, and von Schroeder's edition apparently always, keep the final sibilant, assimilating it to a following palatal or lingual sibilant; in most cases the Concordance ignores this habit of KS, quoting its readings with *h* like those of MS.

§975. Most other texts seem usually to drop the *s*, at least in the repeated mantras. But evidently the mss. of many of them are inconsistent. It will be noted, in our list of variants, that TB especially varies, seemingly at random, and that the Bibl. Ind. and Poona editions are often at variance on the point. ŚŚ likewise shows a number of cases of *h* where other texts drop the sibilant. Instructive is the repetition in the same text of ŚG. of the mantra *mā no hunsīh* (*hunsī*) *sthaviram*, with and without *h*; we must assume that so careful an editor as Oldenberg followed his mss. in both cases, and he reports no *v* l to either.

§976. [In recording the variants on this point, I have taken the liberty of applying certain *paribhāṣā* rules. It would certainly have been futile to record individually all the cases in which Von Schroeder and Knauer insert *h* in MS, MŚ, and MG against the evidence of their mss.

Likewise in the case of KS there would be no point in recording every occurrence of the retained or assimilated sibilant, altho in this case the editor appears to have followed the general custom of his mss. The Concordance itself, as stated above, usually ignores this habit of KS. When, therefore, in the following list, a variant is stated to be found in MS, MŚ, MG, or KS, it is to be understood, in default of statement to the contrary, that the printed editions of the three first-named texts read *h*, and that of KS reads *s* (or *ś*, *ṣ* when these sibilants follow). Likewise in quotations from the RV. it is to be understood that the form quoted, without sibilant or *h*, is found in Aufrecht's edition, while Muller's edition in every case reads *h* — I would add that in view of the evidently arbitrary way in which this matter is treated both in mss. and by editors generally, I cannot attribute very much significance or importance to the variants recorded — F E ]

§977. The list of variants concerning final *s* before sibilant plus surd—to be interpreted in accordance with the *paribhāṣā* just stated—is as follows—

*pra tad viṣṇu* (TB Poona ed *viṣṇuh*; AV † *viṣṇu*; ŚŚ [prātika] † *pra tad viṣṇur itī*] *stavate* . . RV. AV VS MS KS. ŚB TB ApŚ. ŚŚ NrpU

*ya* (ŚŚ *yah*) *śrīnām* . . VS TS KSA. ŚŚ

*viṣṇo* (TB *viṣṇoh*) *stupo* (*stūpo*) 's VS TS MS KS ŚB. TB ApŚ. MŚ.

*viṣṇo* (TB *viṣṇoh*) *śhānam aśi* VS TS MS KS ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ

*samsrāvabhāgā* (or, *samsrava*°, TB. °*bhāgāh*) *stheṣā* . . VS TS MS KS ŚB TB MŚ

*huta* (TB *hutah*) *stokah* TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ

*hotrāvida* (AV. °*vidah*, TB °*ṛdha*, Poona ed. °*ṛdhah*) *stomataṣṭāso* . . RV AV. MS TB.

*vipra* (TB Poona ed 1 3 3 6 °*cah*) *stha* VSK KS. ŚB. TB. (both readings) KŚ ApŚ. MŚ The same with *sampṛca* . .

*andha śhāndho* . . VS. ŚB KŚ. *ambha* (ApŚ *ambhah*) *śhāmbho* . . TS. MS KS ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ MG

*ā na* (ŚŚ *nah*) *stuta* . . RV ŚŚ.

*āyu stha* ApŚ : *āyuh stha* TB

*ṛtava* (TB °*vah*) *stha* . . VS KS. ŚB. TB

*indravanta* (AB °*tah*) *stuta* (*studhvam*) AB GB. Vait

*dīva* (TB. *dīvah*) *skambha*° . . VS VSK KS. TS ŚB TB ApŚ.

*pra va* (KB. ŚŚ. *vah*) *spad* . . RV KB ŚŚ

*prokṣitā* (TB. Conc °*tā* and °*tāh*, Poona ed both times °*tāh*) *stha* VS. TS. MS KS TB. ŚB. KŚ MŚ.

*balaviññāya* (SV. °yah) *sthavirah* . . . RV. AV SV. VS TS MS. KS  
*brhadbhīr vāja* (TB. Poona ed. *vājah*) *sthavirebhur* . . . RV. MS. KS TB  
*brhaspah* (TB. Conc. °ti and °tiḥ, Poona ed. both times °tiḥ) *stotram* VS.

MS. KS. TB

*madhva* (AV. °vah) *ścotanty* . . . RV. AV.

*mā no hinsīh* (and, *hinsi*) *sthaviram* . . . ŚG (both)

*mānta* (ApŚ. *māntah*) *sthur* . . . RV. AV. AB. JB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*mā na stena* . . . RV. KS.: *mā va* (TB. Poona ed. *va* and *vah*) *stena* . .

RV. AV. VS. TS MS. KS ŚB. TB.

*yas te drapsa* (ŚŚ. Vait. *drapsah*; MŚ *drapsa*) *skandati* . . . RV VS TS

KS. GB. ŚB. Vait MŚ ŚŚ.

*ye devā devasūva* (TB. °vah) *stha* . . . TS TB.

*vāyava* (TB. °vah) *stha* VS TS. MŚ KS. GB. ŚB. TB KŚ. ApŚ MŚ

*upāyava* (TB °vah) *stha* TS. KS. ŚB. TB KŚ ApŚ

*prāṇah sthaḥ* TB.: *prāṇa sthaḥ* ApŚ.

*stokā* (TB Poona ed. *stokāḥ*) *ścotanti* . . . RV. MS. KS. AB. TB.

*subhūtakṛta stha* ApŚ.: *subhūtakṛtah stha* AŚ

*sūryatvacasa* (TB. Poona ed. °sah) *stha* VS. TS MS KS ŚB TB MŚ

*gṛa* (ApŚ. *gṛah*) *stomāsa īrate* RV. AV. SV. MS ApŚ

*cakṣu* (TB. *cakṣuh*) *sthaḥ* . . . TB ApŚ

*cita* (TB. *citah*) *stha* TS. MS. ŚB TB. ApŚ MŚ

*cita* (ApŚ. once out of four times, and TA twice out of three times acc to Conc., all three times acc. to Poona ed, *citah*) *stha pari* . . .

VS. TS KS TA. ApŚ. KŚ.

*prati tvā diva* (TB. *divah*) *skambhanir vettu* (TB Poona ed. *vetu*) TS. TB.

[*trinave* *†maruta* (Conc. °tah for VS) *stutāḥ* (°tam) VS. MS. KS.]

[*dhrwam asi dhrwata* (Conc. °tah for ApMB) *sthitam* ApMB. HG]

## 2 Final s before sibilant plus sonant consonant

§978. Here the regular usage of nearly all texts, and the prescriptions of all the Prātiśākhya, require *h*. In KS, just as before sibilant plus surd, the final *s* is retained, or assimilated to an initial palatal or lingual sibilant, again, as in the preceding group, the Concordance usually ignores this, and quotes KS as reading *usarga* like other texts. The only text noted which regularly drops the final *s* is ApMB, see Winternitz's Introduction, p. xlviii. It appears, however, that the mss of some other texts show the same dropping of *s* not infrequently. Especially is this true of AV; see Whitney's note on APr 2 86, and on his Translation of AV., 6 121 1. The Bibl. Ind. editions of TB and TA show the dropping of *s* a number of times, but the Poona editions of the same

works print *h* in most of these cases. There is even one case in MS which seems to have eluded the editorial vigilance of von Schroeder: *syonā* (for *syonāh*, so ApŚ) *syonena ghr̥tena mā samukṣata*, MS. 4. 2 5. Otherwise the variants which show lack of *h* are rare and sporadic

§979. [Again, as in the preceding section, the following list is to be interpreted with two *paribhāṣā* rules, viz : 1 KS. always retains or assimilates the sibilant, tho this fact is usually not recorded in the Concordance.—2 Variants in which the sibilant is dropped in ApMB alone are excluded from the list, since this dropping takes place universally in that text —F. E.]

§980. The variants of final *s* before sibilant plus sonant consonant are as follows:

*svapnaḥ svapnādhīkarane* RVKh.: *svapna svapnābhīkaranena* AV. The latter is to be understood with *svāpna(h)* nom., not voc.; Edgerton, *AJP* 35 438ff.

*medasaḥ* (VSK. °sa) *svāhā* VS. VSK. MS TB

*yā devy asīṣṭake prānadā . . . cakṣurdās* (ApŚ. °dā) *śrotadā . . . dyaurdās* (ApŚ. °dā) *svardāh . . .* KS. ApŚ : *yā devy asīṣṭaka āyurdāh . . . cakṣurdāh śrotadāh* MS.

*saṁjñānam naḥ* (TB. *na*, but Poona ed *naḥ*) *sve*° . . . RVKh AV. MS. KS. TB

*ādityebhyaḥ preṣya . . . mahasvasarasya* (MŚ *mahaḥ sva*°) . . . ŚB. MŚ. ApŚ. See Knauer's note, and pw., Addendum to Vol. 5, s v. *mahasvasara*.

*avidahantāḥ* (TB. °ta) *śrapayata* TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*uśasaḥ śreyasīḥ-śreyasīr dadhat* ApŚ · *uśasa śreyasī-śreyasīr dadhat* TB. Conc, but Poona ed as ApŚ

*jyog ajlā* (MŚ. *jīvā*, SMB *jīlā*, but Jørgensen *ajlā*) *ahatāḥ* (SMB. °tā) *syāma* TS KS MŚ. PG SMB

*śrotapāḥ* (AŚ °pā) *śrotām . . .* TS MS AB AŚ.

*svaḥ* (TS. ApŚ. *svaḥ*) *ṇa* (TS ApŚ *na*) *gharmaḥ* (ApŚ.\* °ma) *svāhā* VS. TS KS ŚB ApŚ. (both)

*stutah* (TB *stuta*, but Poona ed *stutah*) *śravyaṇm . . .* RV. MS. KS. TB.

*syonāḥ* (MS. °nā) *syonena ghr̥tena mā samukṣata* MS ApŚ

*supānīḥ* (TA °nī, but Poona ed °nīḥ; ŚŚ *subāhīḥ*) *svaṅguriḥ* VS TS. MS. KS ŚB TA ŚŚ

*citīḥ* (TA. °tī, but Poona ed °tīḥ) *sruk* MS. TA ŚŚ MŚ

*paro maratāḥ parah* (ApŚ all mss, and TB Conc. *para*, but TB. Poona ed. *parah*) *śvā* VS TS MS KSA TB. ApŚ MŚ

*pary āvarite duṣvapnyāt* (KŚ *duḥṣva*°, v 1 *duṣva*°) AV. KŚ See Whitney's note on 6 121 1c for the spelling of this word in the AV. mss.

*duṣvapnyam durīlam nih* (AV. \**ni*) *ṣvāsmat* AV. (both). Whitney, however, would read *niḥ* in both places—with the *Prātisākhya*, but against nearly all the mss

*duṣvapnahan duruṣṣaha* (Poona ed. *duṣṣvap° duruṣṣaha*) TA. *duḥvapnahan duruṣṣahā* MahānU Cf preceding two

*aślonā* (AV. comm. *aśro°*) *aṅgair ahrulāḥ* (TA *aślonāṅgair ahrīā*, Poona ed *ahrulāḥ* with v. 1 *°tā*) *svarge* AV TA.

*snuṣṭ sapatnā* (TB. com. and Poona ed. text *°nāḥ*) *brahuro 'yam astu* (AŚ *'ham asmi*) TB AŚ *sapatnāḥ*, nom pl masc (!), seems to be intended in both

#### INITIAL *s* VARYING WITH *ṣ*

§981. Nothing approaching general rules on this subject comes out of the *Prātisākhyas* (RPr. 318 (5 1) ff, APr 2 96 ff, TPr 6 1 ff, VPr. 3 53 ff) The variants hardly throw much new light on the excellent treatment in Wackernagel, I §§204-7 In practically every case the altered *s* is preceded by an *i* or *u* vowel; TS reads *ṛkṣama* for *ṛksama* of other texts (§985), and in a few cases *ṣ* appears after *a*-vowels, always owing to the influence of analogy from other words where an *i* or *u* vowel occurred (§984) *Visarga* after *i* or *u* does not interfere with the alteration. Wackernagel I p. 237, bottom.

§982. In compound verbs the change was regular in all texts (Wackernagel I §204), and we find no variants except one or two compounds of the copula (§987), and except forms where the augment intervenes between the altering sound and the initial *s* In these latter cases *ṣ* is extremely rare in RV, but becomes common in the other *Samhitās* (Wackernagel I §205a), two of our variants show *ṣ* under such circumstances for RV. *s* (§983). The largest group of variants concerns noun compounds Here the conditions are confused. the change is quite common, yet by no means universal, in all periods of the Vedic language (Wackernagel I §206). We find in the variants no evidence of school or other tendencies; earlier *s* is replaced by later *ṣ* and vice versa, so far as we can see quite at random. Next comes a somewhat smaller group of cases in which 'light words', monosyllables or forms of the copula, are concerned. Lingual *ṣ* in these is common in the RV, but relatively rare later (Wackernagel I §207), accordingly we find that in most of our variants a later text substitutes *s* for earlier (generally RV) *ṣ*; but the reverse is also found (§987) Finally, there are a very few sporadic cases of longer uncompound words, in these the change is very rare in post-Rigvedic language, yet our variants show at least one case of *ṣ* in TB substituted for *s* of RV. (§988)

§983. The following are the variants concerning augmented forms of compound verbs. As stated above, there are no other variants of compound verbs except a few of the copula, see §987.

*vy aṣṭabhnā* (VS ŚB *aṣṭabhnā*, MS *aṣṭabhnā*, KS *aṣṭabhnā*, TS. *aṣṭabhnād*, TA. *aṣṭabhnād*) *rodasī* . RV. VS VSK TS MS. KS. ŚB TA

*ād id dhotāram ny asādayanta* (TB *aṣā°*) RV VS TB.

*abhy aṣṭhām* (TS KS ApŚ *aṣṭhād*, MS *aṣṭhām*) *viśvāḥ prtanā arāṭīḥ* AV TS MS KS MŚ. ApŚ.

*tena dasyūn vy asahanta devāḥ* TS KS : *tena devā vy asahanta śatrūn* AV *yasmād bhīṣā nyaśadah* (ŚŚ *nyaśadah*) TB. ŚŚ ApŚ

§984. Coming to noun compounds, we mention first the few anomalous cases in which an *a* vowel precedes, so that the change to *ṣ* is irregular. Four of them contain the Rīgvedic words *prtanāṣah* (*°sāḥ*, *°sāhya*), which are several times changed in later texts to the more regular *°sah* etc Whitney's statement (*Grammar*, 186a) about this form is not correct, as the variants show The *ṣ* is evidently due to the analogy of compounds like *śatrūṣah*, *bhūrīṣah*, *abhīṣah* etc.—The only other case contains the TS form *saṣṭubh*, which is obviously analogous to *triṣṭubh*, *anuṣṭubh*, as noted by Wackernagel I §206b:

*samstup* (TS *saṣṭup*) *chandah* VS TS MS KS ŚB.

*ā vīram prtanāṣaham* (SV *°saham*) RV AV. SV.

*tam agne prtanāṣaham* (TS *°saham*) RV. TS.

*prtanāṣāhyāya* (TB *°sāhyāya*) ca RV AV. VS TB.

*uccairvāṇi prtanāṣāḥ* (HG *°sāham*) RVKh HG

§985. Twice in the same passage of TS occurs the stem *ṛkṣama*, for *ṛksama* of the others; this is the only case where the alteration is due to a preceding *k* (cf Wackernagel I p 237, top):

*jagatyā ṛksamam* (TS *ṛkṣamam*) VS TS MS KS. ŚB

*ṛksamāc* (TS *ṛkṣamāc*) *chukrah* VS TS MS KS. ŚB.

§986. The remaining cases concern a preceding *i* or *u* or diphthong In GB 1 5 25d, quoted in Conc as *viṣkandham enam vidhṛtam prajāsu*, Gastra reads *viṣkandham viṣṭam*

*abhiwīro abhiṣatvā* (KS *°ṣatvā*) *sahojāḥ* (AV MS † KS *sahojit*) RV. AV SV. VS TS MS KS Many mss of AV, followed by the comm and SPP's ed., also read *abhiṣatvā*

*stotā me goṣakhā* (SV. *gosakhā*) *syāt* RV AV. SV

*prthivīśadam* (MS *prthivī°*, VS † *°śadam*) *tvāntarīkṣasadam* (VS † adds, *dviśadam devasadam*) . VS TS. MS KS. ŚB TB

*deva savitah susāntram* (ApŚ *suśāv°*) . . PB KŚ ApŚ.



*rayisthāno* (AV. °sthāno) *rayim asmāsu dhehi* RV. AV.  
*susamiddho* (RV. *susa*°) *na ā vaha* RV. SV PB. LŚ.  
*susamiddho* (KS TB. *suṣa*°) *varenyah* VS MS KS. TB.  
*susamiddham* (TB. *suṣa*°) *varenyam* VS TB  
*suṣadam* (ŚŚ. *susatyam*) *id gavām* . AV. ŚŚ.  
*ye triṣaptāh* (MS. *tris*°) *pariyanti* AV. MS  
*triṣaptāso* (TB. *tris*°) *marutah* . AV TB  
*utkulānikūlebhyas triṣṭhanam* VS : *utkulānikūlabhyām trisṭhanam* TB.  
*amba nṣpara* (TS. ApŚ *nṣvara*, KS *nṣvara*, MS *nṣmara*) VS. TS.  
 MS. KS ŚB. ApŚ In VS ŚB. divide *nṣ-para*; the rest belong here.

*somanetrebbhyo* . . . *uparīsadbhyo* (VSK °sadbhyo) . . VS. VSK. ŚB  
*ye devāḥ somanetrā uparīsado* (VSK. °sado) . VS VSK ŚB . *ye*  
*devā uparīsado* (KS ° das) . MS KS.  
*vrajam gacha gosthānam* (VS ŚB TB *gosthānam*, but TB. Poona ed  
 °sth°) VS. TS MS KS ŚB. TB ApŚ. MŚ  
*kṛṣṇagrīvāḥ śitakakṣo 'ñyisaktihas* (MS °saktihas) *ta aindrāgnāḥ* VS MS.  
*añyisaktihāya* (KSA † °saktihāya) *svāhā* TS KSA  
*duṣṣvapnahan duruṣyaha* (Poona ed *duṣṣvap*° *duruṣyaha*) TA . *duḥsvap-*  
*nahan duruṣvāhā* MahānU.

§987. Next we come to the group of monosyllables or forms of the copula. In one or two of these *s* of RV. is replaced by *ṣ* in a later text: *druhaḥ pāsān* (TS KS. *pāśam*) *prati sa* (KS *ṣū*) *mucīṣta* RV. TS. MS KS.

*apo su* (MS. *ṣu*) *myakṣa* . . . RV. MS

But in most of them the change is in the opposite direction:

*kṛdhī ṣv* (TS. *sv*) *asmān* . . RV TS MS KS  
*prati śma* (SV. *sma*) *deva riṣatah* (SV *ri*°) RV SV MS KS TB  
*prati śma* (AV. *sma*) *rakṣaso daha* (AV *jahi*) RV AV.  
*asti hi śmā* (TS MS KS. *astu sma*) *te śuṣmnn awayāḥ* RV. VS TS. MS.  
 KS. ŚB.

*vayam ghā te api śmasi* (SV. *smasti*) RV SV.  
*anupūrvam yatamānā yati śha* (AV *śha*) RV AV.  
*divi ṣaṇ* (AV *ṣan*, SV *san*) *chukra ātatah* RV AV SV  
*dvi sad* (RV. *śad*) *bhūmy ā dade* RV SV VS  
*ūti ṣa* (SV. *sa*) *bṛhato divah* RV SV.  
*pari ṣya suvāno akṣāḥ* RV . *pari sya svāno akṣarat* SV. cf *pari sya*  
*suvāno avyayam* RV.

*tasmād āpo anu śhana* (TS *śhana*) AV. TS MS. KS.

§988. Finally, we come to the few sporadic cases of longer uncon-

pounded words. Note that in the first a later text introduces § where RV. has s:

*trīni śatā trī sahasrāṇy* (TB. *śa°*) *agnim* RV. VS. TB.

*ye apsu śadāṁsi* (KS. *'psu sadāṁsi*) *cakrīre* MS KS.: *teṣāṁ apsu sadas kṛtam* RVKh.

*apsu dhautasya te deva soma* (TS. *tr soma deva te*) *nṛbhīḥ śtutasya* (KS. *nṛbhīḥ stu°*, TS. PB. *nṛbhīḥ sutasya*), . . . TS MS KS. PB. The mss of MS. read *nṛbhi*, which von Schroeder as always (cf. §974) changes to *nṛbhīḥ*; but the presence of final *h*, as noted above, would have no influence here in any event

*pari bhrātuh pari śvasuh* HG. ApMB.: *pari mātuh pari śvasuh* PG

*vāyo ve* (TS. ApŚ *vīhi*) *stokānām* (VSK *°nām juṣānah*, KS. *śtokānām*)

VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. ApŚ. KS † 3. 6 (with *ṭve*, not *veṣ*).

#### SECONDARY CRISIS, AND HIATUS

§989. Secondary crisis or double sandhi occurs rarely among the variants. Most of the cases quoted below are capable of different morphological or lexical interpretations without assumption of double sandhi. There are however a few cases where it is clearly found, and we shall begin with one from MG, which according to Knauer (p. xxxviii f.) has it quite frequently:

*dhruvā strī patikule iyam* (MG *°kuleyam*) SMB MG. In SMB, also, the v. 1 *°kuleyam* is recorded, as well as *°kula iyam*, which is the regular form and would seem preferable to the reading adopted by the editor, *°kule iyam* (with complete hiatus).

*uc chuṣmā oṣadhīnām* (AV. *chuṣmauṣ°*) RV. AV. VS TS. MS. KS.

Whitney would 'probably' read *chuṣmā* (for *°māh*) *oṣ°*; this is supported by Ppp, cf Whitney's note and Barret, JAOS 35. 50 f. *viśvādityāḥ* [pratīka] MG. This probably refers to the formula *viśva* (PG text *ṭviśve*, with hiatus) *āḍityā vasavaś ca devāḥ* (MG. *sarve*) AG. PG MG. All mss of MG (in the pratīka) read *viśvād°*.

*sahasradhāre 'va* (AV. *°dhāra eva*) *te sam asvaran* RV. AV. KS. ApŚ.

Whitney, note on AV. 5. 6. 3, suggests that RV. stands for *°dhārāḥ*, with double sandhi. The RV p p reads *°dhāre, ava* Oldenberg, *Noten*, would read *avate* as one word, keeping *°dhāre* of p.p. The whole verse is difficult and obscure

*anāmayaṁdhi* etc, see §344.

§990. All the remaining cases permit, if they do not compel, interpretations of both forms of the variant without assuming double sandhi.

They are, however, similar enough to the foregoing to be worth quoting in this context:

*ado ma āgachatu* ApŚ . *ado māgachatu* MS KS MŚ. (not ApŚ which in 4. 13 8 reads *†ma āga\**)—In ApŚ. *me*, in the others *mā*

*māgadhaḥ punścali kitavaḥ klibo 'śūdrā abrahmanās* (VSK. . . 'śūdrā-brāhmanās) *te prajāpatyāḥ* VS. VSK. Two separate words in VS, a compound in VSK. So also in the following; cf the section on False Divisions, which contains other somewhat similar cases that might perhaps also be mentioned here

*aślonā* (AV. comm *aśro\**) *aṅgair ahrutāḥ* (TA *aślonāṅgair aḥṛtā*, Poona ed. *ahrutāḥ*, v. 1 'tū) *śarge* AV. TA 'Unmanned in limbs', or 'with unmanned limbs'. Cf preceding

*ākrayāyā ayogūm* VS.: *ākrayāyūyogūm* (so Poona ed text and comm) TB. Different genders: fem in VS, masc in TB.

*saha ojah* (VS *sahaujah*; VSK *sahojah*) VS VSK. AB GB AŚ Vait In VS. VSK. *saha* plus *ojas* (on VSK.'s sandhi see §731); in the others, *sahas* plus *ojas*. The latter form is probably original

*yathauka ṛṣir* (KS 'larṣir) *viṇāte* KS TA ApŚ. See §919, end *yā* (MS. *ya*) *ṛṣavo yātudhānām* VS TS. MS ŚB. NīlarU. ApMB *yeṣu vā yātudhānāḥ* KS. Serpents are referred to: 'who are mis- siles of sorcerers' is certainly original, yet KS makes reasonable sense: 'either in whom are sorcerers' . . . (correlative with the following, which see). But it is clearly based on *yā* (or *ya*) *ṛṣavo*, mispronounced with secondary crasis

§991. From a purely external standpoint, the variants concerning hiatus are indistinguishable from those concerning double sandhi: or they may be called the converse of them. In the cases of double sandhi, the form with hiatus is regular, in those we are about to give, it is irregular. A fitting bridge between the two is formed by a group of variants in which a secondary text resolves a long vowel or diphthong incorrectly, leaving a secondary hiatus, or at least one whose historicity is questionable:

*uta śravasā* (MS. *śravasa ā*) *prthivīm* VS TS MS TA. The p p of MS reads *śravasah*, ā; but both meter and sense show that the MS has a stupid blunder.

*yad indra citra mehanā* (SV. PB *ma iha na*) RV. SV PB AŚ ŚŚ N

See §832

*vasneva* (KS *vasna ira*) *vikrīṇārahai* VS TS MS ŚB AŚ. Since the uncombined form was a neuter nom -acc plur of an *a*-stem (*vasna*), it seems that we are to understand it as *vasnā* (so MS p p), rather

than *vasna* We have, then, in KS. perhaps a case of what may be called partial sandhi, that is shortening of a long vowel before a following vowel, as in  $\bar{a}-r = RV$  etc.  $a-r$ ; cf. Wackernagel I §267b for such shortenings before other vowels than  $r$ . Otherwise KS. would be a mere blunder, like MS in the preceding Cf. the next. *sapatnā vācam manasā* (AŚ. °sa) *upāsātām* TB AŚ 'His (or, my) rivals shall obey his (or, my) word with their minds'. Both texts must intend *manasā*; TB. has complete hiatus, while AŚ. (if the text is correct; we have not much faith in the edition) shows 'partial sandhi'; see under the preceding variant. The meter is against fusion. See also the variant *praty etā vāmā* (*sunvan*) etc., §357.

§992. The rest concern cases of complete hiatus, except in so far as they may be capable of different formal or lexical explanations It will be noticed that the meter sometimes favors the hiatus, as in the variant last quoted:

*bhūyo vā atah somo rājārhatī* (MŚ. *rājā arhatī*) ŚB KŚ ApŚ. MŚ. All Knauer's mss read thus for MŚ.; Knauer suggests *pluti*. The passage seems to be prose, but with hiatus as in MŚ it could pass for a fair jagatī pāda

*pavasva deva āyushak* (RV. *devāyushak*) RV. SV. PB. The accent in SV. (*devā*) indicates a nom. form; but Benfey translates a voc. In any case SV. is secondary, and metri gr.

*pāpmānam uta vāgham* (SMB. *vā agham*) SMB. ApMB HG. Another case of hiatus for metrical reasons

*ā pūṣā etv ā vasu* TS : *ā puṣṣam etv ā vasu* AV. Hiatus for metrical reasons in TS.; in AV the meter is improved without fusion.

*tatra indro brhaspathi* VS.: *tatrā* (SV. *tatra*) *no brahmanaspathi* RV. SV  
Hiatus metri gratia in VS

*tan mā* (Vait *mā*) *āpyāyatām punah* GB. Vait. Not only the hiatus, but the meaning of the verb is strange in Vait. Garbe and Caland take it with active meaning, which it has according to BR. only in one epic passage (Mbh 5. 508) In GB. (with *me*) there is no hiatus and the verb is intransitive, both improvements But if *mā* be read, hiatus is necessary to give good meter.

*sam tvā rinanti* (Vait *rinanti*) LŚ KŚ Vait The hiatus in Vait may be connected with pronunciation of *r* as *ri*, see §676

*punantu rṣayah* TA MahānU. Hiatus in both forms

*dāvya hotāragna* (MS. °gnā, ŚŚ *hotārā agna*) *ājyasya vītām* MS. KS. AŚ ŚŚ Probably ŚŚ stands for *hotārā*, not °rāu, and therefore has hiatus, see §885d. For *hotārāu* we should expect °rāv in ŚŚ

*achdrā usyah padānu takṣuh* TS : *achdroṣigah kavayah padānutakṣuh* (see §627) KS. Keith, 'flawless abodes', as if *achdrā* went with *padā* as in KS ; but TS p p *achdrāh*, with *usyah*, and so comm *abhīm* (SV. *abhī*) *ṛtasya dohanā anūṣata* RV. SV. Cf *abhīm ṛtasya* (SV. *abhy ṛtasya*) *sudughā ghṛtāscutah* RV. SV. On *m* as "Hiatus-tilger" see §309

*pitrbhyah svadhāstu* (MahānU *svadhā astu*) TA MahānU

§993. With the last variant belongs the next group, all in like contexts; in them we might indeed think of nominatives of the radical *ā* declension (in *ās*) varying with nominatives of the derivative *ā* declension in *ā*. But the uncombined forms occur only in Tait texts, and according to TS p p. and TPr 5 2, 10 13, are to be regarded as uncombined forms of *-mā*, without *s*.

*māsi* MS MŚ. *mā asi* TA ApŚ Likewise (in MS TA) *pramā*, *unmā*, *vimā*, *sammā*, *pratimā*.

*sahasrasya pramāsi* (TS *°mā asi*) VS TS MS KS. ŚB The same with *pratimā*, and *sahasrasyonmā*.

§994. The next is different in character:

*manāsi* (KS *manā asi*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ N. All texts have a curious feminine stem (the gender doubtless due to attraction to parallel feminines in the context) which is supposed, no doubt correctly, to mean the same as the normal neuter *manas*. In KS it has the form of a feminine *s*-stem (nom *manā's*) In the others it becomes an *ā* stem

§995. The next group contains textually dubious cases:

*pitarāś ca upāsate* (VS *copā°*) RVKh VS The hiatus improves the meter, but Scheftelowitz reads *copāsate*, with all his authorities except the late Prayogaratna, which reads *copa āsate*, with hiatus in a different place

*yā medhā apsarāsu* (MG. *medhāpsarahsu*) RVKh MG The meter is better, tho still poor, with hiatus. However, most of Knauer's mss read *medhā aps°* in MG, and on the other hand Scheftelowitz reads *medhāps°* in RVKh without report of variant; he also reads *°psarassu*

*devā brahmāna āgachata āgachata* GB, Conc *de° bra° āgachatāgachatagachata* LŚ But Gaastra reads for GB *āgachatāgachata*, he notes a v l *āgachatā āga°*.

*vibhur vibhāvā suśakhā* (AV. *sakha ā*) *sakhīyate* RV AV. So the mss of AV, leaving *sakha* unaccented; SPP. follows them; the vulgate ed reads *sākhā ā'* It seems at least possible that the AV. mss correctly

present the Atharvan tradition; the verse is addressed to Kāma, so that a vocative *sakhe* is conceivable. If we were to accept the vulgate text, we should have a case of hiatus. Whitney in his Transl. assumes *sākhā'* (fusion of *sākhā* and *ā'*).

§996. The variants concerning the pronoun *sa* followed by a vowel constitute a special case. Here crasis was originally the rule, but (especially in late texts) there is a tendency to approach the Classical Sanskrit rule which requires hiatus. The variants are not numerous; in some of them the meter favors hiatus, notably in the first where the RV. itself (tho it writes a combined form) seems by its meter to call for hiatus:

*semām* (AV. *sa imām*) *no havyadātṛm juṣānah* RV. AV. VS TS. MS.

KSA. Oldenberg, *Noten*, thinks that RV. should probably be read *sa imām*.

*agnir vidvān sa yajāt sed u hotā* (AV. Kauś. *sa id dhotā*) RV. AV. TS MS KS ŚB. Kauś. Here both forms are metrically correct, since AV. omits the particle *u*.

*sa imām* (ŚG. *semām*) *devaḥ pūṣā* (also *aryamā*, and *varunah*) ŚG AG SMB.

*soma āyusmān sa oṣadhībhir* (PG. *sauṣa°*) *āyusmān* TS. KS PG ApMB  
This passage is prose. PG is hyper-archaizing



## INDEXES





## INDEX OF SOUNDS, SOUND GROUPS, AND LETTERS

Note—Here are indexed all sounds, combinations, and letters which are treated as varying from a phonetic or graphic standpoint. In so far as they have semantic significance, they are to be sought rather in the following Sanskrit Index. For example, *ā* as a sound, and *ya* as a phonetic combination (which varies with *i*, *ī*, and *e*), are treated here; but *ā* the preposition or privative prefix, and *ya* the suffix, are listed in the Sanskrit Index. All references in all the Indexes are to sections.

- a*, epenthetic, 755, 763, elided before *e*, *o*, 709, 731; sandhi of initial (after *e*, *o*) 891-911, sandhi of final, with *r*, 913-7, 919 —and *ā*, 422-512; *i*, 570-596; *ī*, 600, *u*, 601-618; *ū*, 621; *r*, 631-4; *a* plus nasal, and *ā*, 300-2
- aya*: and *e*, 744-6
- ayi*: and *ai*, 747
- ar*: and *ir*, 573, 575, *ur*, 605, 615, *r*, 647-651; *rā*, 806
- ar*: and *ur*, 601-4
- ava*: and *ū*, 750, *o*, 743-9
- ari*, *ere*: and *e*, 747
- ā*, sandhi of final, with *r*, 913-8 —and *a*, 422-512, *i*, 599, *ī*, 597-8, *u*, 620; *ū*, 619, *r*, 632; *prā*, 873; *a* plus nasal, 300-2
- āyā*: and *e*, 747
- ār*: and *r*, 652
- i*, epenthetic, 751-764. —and *a*, 570-596; *ā*, 599, *iya*, 734; *ī*, 513-545; *u*, 622-7; *r*, 635-640, *e*, 686-694, *ai*, 699-700, *du*, 878; *ya*, *yā*, 733-8; *yu*, 736, 738; *i* plus nasal, and *ī*, 300-2
- iy*: and *y*, 766-798
- iya*: and *i*, 734; *e*, 747
- iyē*: and *e*, 747
- ir*: and *ar*, 573, 575, *r*, 653
- ī*: and *a*, 600; *ā*, 597-8; *i*, 513-545, *u*, *ū*, 628; *r*, 638; *e*, 695-8, *ai*, 701-2, *ya*, 734-5; *yā*, 737; *yu*, 738; *i* plus nasal, 300-2
- īy*. and *y*, 786
- u*, epenthetic, 759, 761, 765 —and *a*, 601-618; *ā*, 620, *i*, 622-7; *ī*, 628; *ū*, 546-569, *r*, 641-3, *l*, 645; *o*, 713-9; *au*, 724, *va*, *vā*, 739-742; *ri*, *vī*, 743
- ur*. and *ar*, 605, 615; *r*, 654
- uv* and *av*, 601-4; *v*, 766-798
- ū*. and *a*, 621, *ava*, 750, *ā*, 619; *ī*, 628, *u*, 546-569; *r*, 644; *ī*, 644, *o*, 720-3, *au*, 725-7; *ra*, 739; *vī*, 743
- ūr* and *r*, 655
- r*, sandhi of, with preceding *a*, *ā*, 913-9 —and *a*, 631-4; *ā*, 632, *i*, 635-640, *ī*, 638; *u*, 641-3, *ū*, 644, *o*, 646; *ar*, 647-651; *ar*, 652; *ir*, 653; *ur*, 654, *ūr*, 655, *ra*, 656-8, 660, 662-5, *rā*, 657-9, 661; *ri*, 666-676; *rī*, 677, *ru*, 678-684
- r* and *ū*, 644
- l*: and *u*, 645
- e*. and *cya*, 744-6, *ari*, *ave*, *āyā*, 747; *i*, 686-694; *iya*, *iyē*, 747, *ī*, 695-8, *ai*, 703-712; *ya*, *yā*, 803
- ai*: and *ayi*, 747; *i*, 699-700; *ī*, 701-2, *e*, 703-712
- o*, sandhi of final, 885, 887, 889 *f*. —and *ava*, 748-9, *u*, 713-9, *ū*, 720-3; *r*, 646; *au*, 728-732; *ia*, *vā*, 804
- au*, sandhi of final, 885-6, 888 —and *u*, 724; *ū*, 725-7; *o*, 728-732
- h*, present or absent, 378-384
- n*(*m*), present or absent, 300-310, as hiatus-bridger, 308-9
- l*, optional between final *ñ* and initial *s*, 939 —and *kh*, 81; *g*, 45-9, *gh*, 83; *c*, 126-7; *ch*, 128a; *d*, 135; *t*, 137-142; *p*, 148-153a; *bh*, 152
- ś*: and *kś*, *khy*, 190-1

- kṣ*, followed by evanescent *y*, 332, 335;—and *kṣ* *khy*, 190-1; *ch*, 184; *ts*, 140; *ps*, 153-5; *bj*, 196; *ś*, 297
- lh*: and *l*, 81; *g*, 82; *gh*, 70, *ch*, 129, *t*, 143; *dh*, 147; *b*, 151; *ś*, 296; *s*, 295; *h*, 124
- lhy*: and *kṣ*, *kṣ*, 190-1
- g*: and *k*, 45-9; *lh*, 82; *gh*, 83; *c*, 128; *j*, 130-4; *d*, 144-5; *p*, 153; *b*, 151-2
- gdh*: and *dhv*, or *ddh*, 875
- gh* and *k*, 83; *kh*, 70, *g*, 83; *th*, 147; *dy*, 868; *dh*, 147; *pv*, 875; *h*, 123
- ñ*, sandhi of final, 939.—and *n*, 146
- c*: and *k*, 126-7; *g*, 128; *ch*, 84; *j*, 50-7; *t*, 155-6; *d*, 158; *p*, 162; *bh*, 878; *v*, 866; *ś*, 195; *s*, 194
- ch*: and *k*, 128a; *kṣ*, 140, 183-4; *lh*, 129, *c*, 84; *ts*, *ps*, 140, 183, 185-6; *ś*, 195
- j*: and *g*, 130-4; *c*, 50-7; *jh*, 85; *t*, 156-7; *d*, 159; *dh*, 160, *y*, 192-3; *v*, 876; *ś*, 195, *h*, 196
- jh*: and *j*, 85
- t*: and *lh*, 86-8; *d*, 58; *t*, 164-5, 167-8, 170; *th*, 170
- th*: and *t*, 86-8; *c*, 876
- d*: and *l*, 125; *t*, 58; *t*, 169-170; *th*, 165; *d*, 165-170; *dh*, 169; *r*, 272; *l*, 270-1
- dh*: and *dh*, 168, 170
- n*: and *n*, 163, 165, 170, 945-54; *l*, 273
- l*, optional between final *n* and initial *s*, 938.—and *k*, 137-142, *kh*, 143; *c*, 155-6; *j*, 156-7; *t*, 164-5, 167-8, 170, *d*, 169-170; *th*, 89-96; *d*, 59-68; *dh*, 97-8; *n*, 871; *p*, 180; *bh*, 177; *l*, 878; *s*, 874
- tr*: and *v*, 876
- ts*, followed by evanescent *y*, 333.—and *lś*, 140; *ch*, 183, 185; *ps*, 180, end
- th*: and *gh*, 147; *t*, 170; *d*, 165; *t*, 89-96, *dh*, 71-8; *y*, 877
- d*: and *g*, 144-5, *c*, 158; *j*, 159; *d*, 165-170, *t*, 59-68; *dh*, 99-110; *b*, 179, *bh*, 177-8; *y*, 161; *r*, 272a, *l*, 273; *r*, 869
- du* and *i*, 873
- ddh*: and *gdh*, *dḥhy*, *dr*, 875
- dbhv* and *ddh*, 875
- dy*: and *gh*, 865
- dr*: and *ddh*, 875
- dh*: and *kh*, 147; *gh*, 147, *j*, 160, *d*, 169; *dh*, 168, 170, *t*, 97-8; *th*, 71-8, *d*, 99-110; *p*, 177; *bh*, 172-6; *h*, 122
- dhv*: and *gdh*, 875
- n*, sandhi of final, 920-944; present or absent, 300-311; as hiatus-bridger, 309.—and *n*, 146, *v*, 163, 165, 170, 945-954; *t*, 871; *m*, 181; *r*, 860-5, *l*, 878
- p*, rhythmic lengthening of *a* before, 433, 460, 464-6.—and *k*, 148-153a; *g*, 153; *c*, 162; *t*, 180, *dh*, 177; *ph*, 111, *b*, 69; *bh*, 112-4; *m*, 203-5, *y*, 867; *r*, 198, 200-2; *ś*, 872, *s*, 874
- pt*: and *s*, 874
- ply*: and *pr*, 878
- pr*: and *pty*, 878; *śn(y)*, 878, *s*, 874
- prā*: and *ā*, 873
- pv*: and *gh*, 875
- ps*: and *kṣ*, 153a; *ch*, 183, 186, *ts*, 180, end
- ph*: and *p*, 111, *bh*, 79, *v*, 199
- b*: and *lh*, 151; *g*, 151-2, *d*, 179, *p*, 69, *v*, 206-219; *m*, 241
- bj* and *kṣ*, 196
- bh*: and *k*, 152; *c*, 878; *t*, 177, *d*, 177-8; *dh*, 172-6; *p*, 112-4; *ph*, 79; *m*, 242, *v*, 220-2; *s*, 874; *h*, 116-121
- m*, present or absent, 300-312, lengthening of *a* and *u* before, 464-5, 468, 549, as hiatus-bridger, 309.—and *n*, 181; *p*, 203-5; *b*, 241; *bh*, 242; *v*, 223-240; *s*, 870
- y*, present or absent, 36, 313-347; as hiatus-bridger, 36, 338-344, after two consonants, 314-5, 321-2, 332-7; after palatals, *lś*, etc., 332-7; assimilation to adjoining consonant, 408.—and *iy*, 766-795, *ty*, 786; *j*, 192-3; *th*, 877, *d*, 161; *p*, 867; *r*, 244, *l*, 245, *v*, 246-255, *ś*, 877, *h*, 256
- ya*, *yā*: and *i*, *ī*, 733-8; *c*, 803
- yu* and *i*, 736, 738; *ī*, 738, *ri*, 805
- yā*: and *ci*, 805
- r*, final, before *l*, *p*, 963; present or absent, 343-357; as hiatus-bridger, 353; after two consonants, 357, assimilated to adjoining consonant, 407; rhythmic lengthening of *t* and *u*

- before, 515-6, 550 —and *q*, 272; *d*, 272a; *n*, 860-5, *y*, 244; *l*, 257-265; *v*, 266-8; *h*, 269
- ra*: and *r*, 656-8, 660, 662-5, *ri*, 573
- rā* and *ar*, 806, *r*, 657-9, 661
- ri*: and *r*, 666-676, *ra*, 573
- rī*: and *r*, 677
- ru* and *r*, 678-684
- l*, assimilated to adjoining consonant, 409 —and *q*, 270-1; *n*, 273; *t*, 878; *d*, 273, *n*, 878; *y*, 245, *r*, 257-265
- v*, present or absent, 358-371; as hiatus-bridger, 358-362; after two consonants, 367, 370, assimilated to adjoining consonant, 408, 410, rhythmic lengthening of short vowels before, 464-8, 515-6, 520, 547, 550-1; variation of *a* and *u* before, 601-4 —and *uv*, 766-798, *c*, 866, *j*, 876; *h*, 876; *tr*, 876, *d*, 869, *p*, 198, 200-2, *ph*, 199, *b*, 206-219, *bh*, 220-2; *m*, 223-240, *y*, 246-255, *r*, 266-8; *ś*, 876; *h*, 269
- va* and *u*, 739, 741-2, *ū*, 739, *o*, 804
- vā*: and *u*, 739-740, 742, *o*, 804
- vi* and *u*, 743; *yu*, 805
- vī* and *u*, *ū* or *yū*, 743, 805
- ś* and *kś*, 297, *kh*, 296; *c*, *ch*, *j*, 195, *ś*, 288-292, *s*, 275-287
- śc*: and *sy*, 188
- śn(y)* and *pr*, 878
- ś*, rhythmic lengthening of *i* and *u* before, 515-6, 547; for *s* final after non-*a* vowel before *t*, 955-8, for initial *s*, 981-8 —and *kh*, 295; *c*, 194, *p*, 872; *y*, 877; *v*, 876; *ś*, 288-292; *s*, 293-4; *h*, 299
- s*, present or absent, 372-7; final after non-*a* vowels before *t*, varies with *ś*, 955-8; final before *k*, *p*, 959-967, final before initial sibilant, 969-971; *dillo*, before sibilant plus surd, 972-7, and plus sonant, 972-3, 978-980, initial *s* varies with *ś*, 981-8 —and *t*, *p*, *pt*, *pr*, *bh*, 874; *m*, 870, *ś*, 275-287; *ś*, 293-4; *h*, 298-9
- sy*. and *śc* or *s* plus consonant, 187-9
- h*, present or absent, 385-7. —and *kh*, 124; *gh*, 123; *j*, 196; *dh*, 122, *bh*, 116-121; *y*, 256, *r*, *v*, 266, *ś*, *s*, 298-9

## SANSKRIT INDEX

Note —Here are indexed the most important words, roots, stems, and formative elements which are treated in this book as having semantic value (cf Note at the head of the Index of Sounds etc ) with this exception, that (to save space) words which occur *first* in their respective mantras are, as a general rule, *not* listed here, since they can be located in the Index of Mantras The Index of Mantras is therefore to some extent supplementary to this Index, and should be consulted if a word sought is not found here Of course, not all variant words could be listed here, even with this deduction It has been the intention to include (a) those of greatest interest and importance, and (b) those which could least easily be found by other means Nor are the references in this Index completely given to all occurrences of the variant word; only those references are given which deal with the matters most apt to be sought in connexion with the words listed The Index of Mantras will supply complete references to all occurrences —In this Index the colon ( : ) is used in the sense of 'varying with' or 'as a substitute for' References are to sections

a-*privative, lengthened*, 470-1  
 aṅśadhri °dri, 99  
 akūpāra, 198  
 agni agra, 863-4  
 agneyāni, 357, 692  
 agra agni, 863-4  
 aghṛni āgh°, 473  
 āghṛni āgh°, 300, 473  
 acha achā, 461  
 atatantha, adadanta, 63  
 adham. sadam, 110  
 adhi abhi, 172  
 anapatyatām. anapad°, 59  
 anavapṛgna, 55  
 anaśyato, °śvato, °śśato, 255, 408  
 anaśrū anaśśū, 407  
 anūkyā. anūpya, 151  
 antarikṣa, 517  
 apas āpas, 498  
 apikakṣa apipakṣa, 151  
 aptu(bhih), 152  
 abbhuvā abhva, 392, 790  
 abhi adhi, 172  
 abhiśastipūvā °pū u, 740  
 abhiṣnāt, 142  
 abhva abbhuvā, 392, 790

arśat arsat, 288  
 av (root), 253  
 avaṣa °ta, 164  
 avākā, 496  
 avithura avidhura, 77  
 aviśvaminvām aviśvavinām, 236  
 aśita as°, 277  
 aśn(y)uṣni, 337  
 aśrivi asrivi, 277  
 aṣṭ(h)iva, 86  
 -as -ās (in s stems), 502  
 asamheya, 121, 124  
 askra āskra, 473  
 asyate aśy°, 278  
 ā, *preposition, present or absent*, 508-9,  
 652, 694, 698, 711, 718, 722, 730  
 ā- a-, *privative*, 470-1  
 -ā, *stem final, shortened*, 493  
 ākkhūdate, 401, 405  
 āghṛni āghṛni aghṛni, 300, 473  
 āṇḍhuh āṇḍhuh, 122  
 āpas apas, 498  
 āvabhūva, 215  
 āvṛt rāvat. rāvaṣ, 168, 632  
 -ās -as (in s stems), 502  
 āskra askra, 473

- āsyaṇ, 328  
 iksva iyaṁsya, 734  
 indh: id, 169  
 id: indh, 169; —: vid etc., 169, 360  
 ugra: ūgra, 567  
 uttara: ʾrā, 476  
 ud-ac: ud-aḥ, 53  
 uramīdha: ʾdhra, 353  
 uruṣā, 743, 791  
 urv-: ūrm-, 228  
 urviyā: urvyā, 767, 791  
 ulumbara: ʾla, 265  
 ulba: ulva, 219  
 uṣṇan (=muṣṇan?), 401  
 ūgra: ugra, 567  
 ūrm-: ūrv-, urv-, 228  
 ʾnanti: rinanti, 676  
 ʾṣabha: ʾṣṣ, 359  
 etagva: edagva, 59  
 kakūṭha: kakkāṭa, 88, 401, 607  
 kakud. kakubh, 178  
 kakubha: kakuba, 120  
 kakkāṭa: kakūṭha, 88, 401, 607  
 : katkāṭa, 139  
 kanānakā: kanī°, kanīnikā, 595, 597  
 kayāda: kravyāda, 355  
 kariṣa, 152  
 kavysvāhana: kravya°, 353  
 kahys: gahya, 49  
 kāsṭhā gā°, 48  
 kirika: girika, 49  
 kulīṣa: kilv°, 216  
 kīrṣā: kīrṣā, 290  
 kulāṅga: kuluṅga, 607  
 kulikaya kulikā: kulipaya, 149, 802  
 kulmah = kurmah, 263  
 kuvala: kvala, 767, 782  
 kuṣṭhā: kuṣṭā, 86; —: guṣṭhā, 49  
 kuha: guha, 49  
 kūvara, kūvara, 198  
 kṛnatti: gr°, 48  
 kṛtadvasu, 95  
 kṛtta. kṛta, 401  
 kṛtsnāmi: grathnāmi, 47  
 kṛmi: krimi, 668  
 kṛvi: krivi, 673  
 kṛṣṭi: gr°, 46  
 ketu, ketas. cetu, cetas, 126  
 kevarta kai°, 708  
 krayi: kravi, krivi, giri-, 47  
 kravyavāhana: kravya°, 353  
 kravyāda. kayāda, 355  
 krimi: kṛmi, 668  
 krivi: kṛvi, 673; —see krayi  
 kruñca: krañca, 724  
 kliba. kliva, 219  
 kvala. kuvala, 767, 782  
 kṣā. kṣā, khyā, 190  
 kṣayana: kṣena, 744  
 kṣā. kṣā, khyā, 190  
 kṣiyant. kṣyant, 767, 795  
 kṣu, 183  
 kṣudra(ka): kṣullaka, 262  
 kṣena. kṣayana, 744  
 kṣyant kṣiyant, 767, 795  
 khagalya khrḡ°, 199, 631  
 kharva khalva, 265  
 khid: chid, 129  
 khūlya: khilla, 408  
 khrḡalya: khag°, 199, 631  
 khyā: kṣā, kṣā, 190  
 gabhasti, 151  
 gambh-: gah-, 120  
 galgā: galdā, 144  
 gahya: kahya, 49  
 gāṣṭhā: kā°, 48  
 giri-, see krayi  
 girika. kir°, 49  
 guggulu. gulgulu, 409  
 gulph: guṣp, 111  
 gulbadhānah, 260  
 guṣṭhā: ku°, 49  
 guha: kuha, 49  
 gūh for guh, 558  
 gr. pr, 153  
 grnatti: kṛ°, 48  
 grṣṭi: kṛṣṭi, 46  
 gotrabhū. ʾbhṛd, 636  
 grathnāmi kṛtsnāmi, 47  
 grabh-: grah, 115-6  
 ghoṣad, 83  
 canikhudad, 126  
 car: tar, 155  
 carīṣṇu jar°, 57  
 cākupāna cākīp°, 645  
 cikītau, 45

- citra évitra, 195, 369  
 cidākoh, 47  
 cubuka, 84  
 cetu, cetas ketu, ketas, 126  
 cyu(t)·scut etc., 336  
 chud khid, 129  
 chubuka, 84  
 jakṣuḥ·ca°, 55  
 jagrbhā, 116  
 janman·manman, 856  
 jariṣnu·car°, 57  
 jaṣa jaṣa, 85  
 jāgrāma jāgrāma, 674  
 jagatnū, 45  
 jinv. pinv, 852  
 jmann. dyām, 159  
 jyām. dyām, 159  
 jyt·dyut, 159  
 jhaṣa·jaṣa, 85  
 ta tya, 345; — tva-, 365  
 tanakmi tanacmi, 127  
 tap tam, 204  
 tar. car, 155  
 tarutra·tarudra, 59  
 tādiknā·°tā, 141  
 titiyagdhī titigdhī, 733  
 tiṣṭhato (for °tu), 715  
 tevi (devī), 21, 66  
 tya·ta, 345, tyam tvam, 252  
 -tra·-trā (adv. suffix), 451-2  
 tva- ta-, 365  
 tvam·tyam, 252  
 tvīṣ dviṣ, 60  
 -thā -thā (adv. suffix), 453-5  
 dā dhā, 100-6  
 dips dhips (dabh), 107  
 dāś viś, 869  
 duruṣyaha, °ṣaha, °ṣṣaha, 255, 408  
 durbhūtam °dam, 59  
 durhanāyataḥ durhṛn°, 4, 631  
 dūraka dūragā, 46  
 drbā drvā drubā, 219, 679  
 devayat·deva-yaḥ(-ya), 170  
 devakāmā devrk°, 633  
 dyām jmann, 159, — jyāu, 159  
 dyut·jyt, 159  
 drāghuyā, 240, 764  
 drubā drvā drbā, 219, 679  
 dviṣ tvīṣ, 60  
 -dha·-dhā (adv. suffix), 453-4  
 dhavanī dhamanī, 144, 225  
 -dhā -dha (adv. suffix), 453-4  
 dhā dā, 100-6, — dhṛ, 350  
 dhāman nāman, 855  
 -dhrī·-dhi, impv. ending, 518  
 dhita·bhṛta, 175, 639  
 dhīps dips (dabh), 107  
 dhur dhūr, 557  
 dhūr(u)ṣadam, dhūr(u)ṣāh-, 759  
 dhṛ dhā, 350  
 dhṛṣat, dhṛṣad, 60, 110  
 dhenukā °gā, 48  
 -na -nā (instrum. ending), 458  
 naptī naptī, 357  
 navakṛt navagat, 46  
 nahṛṣa nahuṣa, 642  
 nāth·nādh, 76  
 nāman dhāman, 855  
 nicāṣkuna nicuṣk°·nicumpuna, 150.  
 605  
 niṣaṅgadhi °thi °ti, 77, 93  
 nyemur (ni yemur), 767, 770  
 nyantar (nyantar), 767, 770  
 paḍbīṣa °vīṣa [°vīṣa], 217, 302  
 padbhūh·pad°, 166  
 pad pād, 499  
 parasvi °spi, 198  
 parīta parītta, 404  
 palakṣa, 69  
 paṣṭhavāh prṣ°, 631  
 pānsura °la, 261  
 pād pad, 499  
 pitar pitār-, 500  
 pitṛya pitrya, 674  
 pinv jinv, 852  
 pīvas etc pīb°, 211  
 puñjīṣṭa·°ṣṭha, 86  
 purikaya, see puli°  
 puritatā, puri°, puli°, puli°, 263, 532  
 purīṣa, 152  
 purutama °dama, 60  
 puruṣa pū°, 566  
 pulikaya, puri°, pulikā, pulirīya, 149,  
 802  
 pulitatā, see puri°  
 pūruṣa pu°, 566

pr. gr, 153, —. bhr, 112  
 prūcanti vṛjanti, 57, 200  
 pṛnami pṛnajmi, 55  
 pṛthvi °vi, 524  
 pṛṣṭhavāḥ paṣ°, 631  
 pṛṣvā prūṣvā, 680  
 prakkhidate, 401, 405  
 prakhān praghān, 70  
 pratadvasu, 95  
 pratyajagrāham, 808  
 pratita° pratitta, 404  
 prapharvi °vi, 524  
 prayakṣu: prayatsu, 140  
 pravṣivāḥsam, 808  
 prasutah prasupah, 180  
 prā, for pra, 429, 439, 465, 512  
 pru. plu, 261  
 prūṣvā° pṛṣvā, 680  
 prorn(u)vāthām, 767, 797  
 plu° pru, 261  
 phaliga, 46  
 badabā, 219  
 badh vadh, 209  
 bandhura° van°, 213  
 bala° vala, 210  
 bal(i)h° valh, 214, 762  
 baṣkiha: vaṣ°: bāṣka, 219  
 baḥiṣṭha° vah°, 214  
 bākura° vā°, 216  
 bāna vāna, 218  
 bāla vāla, 214-5  
 bāṣka, see baṣkiha  
 bīja° vīja, 216  
 bṛh: vṛh, 212, 215  
 bṛhat° mahat, 241, 634  
 bhū hu, hū, 119  
 bhūyāma° bhūyāma, 377  
 bhr° pr, 112; —. hr, 117  
 bhrta° hita° dhita, 118, 175, 639  
 -ma° -mā (*endings of nouns*), 459-460  
 maṅgīradāsakau, °gau(h), etc., 49  
 mathavya, 78  
 man° van (*roots*), 227; (*suffixes*), 240  
 mant, *lengthening of u before*, 549  
 mant. vant, vin, vari (*suffixes*), 238-9  
 manthilava, 77, 597  
 mand: vand, 229  
 manman° janman, 856

mayas° vayas, 232  
 marūka, 81  
 maṣmaṣā, masmasā, 294, 632  
 mahat bṛhat, 241, 634  
 mahānaghnī (°nagnī), 83  
 -mā -ma (*noun endings*), 459-460  
 māṭṛk (māḍṛk), 21, 66  
 mānthāla, °lava, māndhāla, mānthil-  
 ava, 77, 597  
 mārgmī° mārjmi, 131  
 mṛddha mṛdhra, 407  
 mṛsmṛsā, 294, 632  
 medm° vedm, 231  
 medh-: vedh-(ved-), 109, 230  
 -ya, *noun suffix*, 313-326, —. iya, 784-7  
 -ya -yā, *gerund suffix*, 456-7  
 yati yatti, 401  
 -yin -vin, 246-7  
 yunagmi: yunajmi, 131  
 yup. lubh, 113, 245  
 yuva-: yuvā- (*pronoun*), 504  
 raghuṣyadaḥ. °tah, 64  
 ratha-kṛtsa° °kṛtsna, °gṛtsa, 46  
 rabh labh, 262  
 rayyās, rayyai: rāyas, rāye, 396  
 rarāṣa° lalāṣa, 265  
 rāyas, rāye: rayyās, rayyai, 396  
 rāvat° rāvat° āvṛt, 168, 632  
 rīpanti° rīnanti, 676  
 riṣ° liṣ, 261  
 riṣak° riṣat, 142  
 rohita° lohita, 262  
 labh rabh, 262  
 lalāṣa. rarāṣa, 265  
 liṣ: riṣ, 261  
 lubh° yup, 113, 245  
 loka. loga, 46  
 lohita rohita, 262  
 vadabā, vadavā, 219  
 vadh badh, 209  
 van° man (*roots*), 227, (*suffixes*), 240  
 vanasad. vanarṣad vanṛṣad, 650  
 vaniṣṭu° °ṣṭhu, 86  
 vant mant (*suffixes*), 238-9; *lengthen-*  
*ing of a, i, before*, 467, 520  
 vand mand, 229  
 vandhura° ban°, 213  
 vayas mayas, 232



- varivah· variyah, 249, 541a  
 vari. vatī, mati (*suffices*), 239  
 vala· bala, 210  
 valh. bal(i)h, 214, 762  
 vaṣkīha. baṣ°, bāṣka, 219  
 vas: viś, 281, 576  
 vastya pastya, 198  
 vahiṣṭha· bah°, 214  
 vākura: bā°, 216  
 vācam: vājam, 51-2  
 vāna bāna, 218  
 vāyosāvitra, 716  
 vāra· vāla, 261  
 vārdhrānasa vārdhri°, vārhi°, 122, 597  
 vāla: būla, 214-5; — vāra, 261  
 vicarturam, 156  
 vicṛt: vivṛt, 866  
 vicṛta: vicṛtta, 401  
 vitudasya, 65  
 vid: vṛdh, 108, 640  
 -vin, *lengthening of a before*, 467, —  
 -mant, 239, — -yin, 246-7  
 viprcāḥ· vibhṛjah, vimṛjah, vivṛtah, 57  
 viyantu: vyantu, 796  
 vivṛt vicṛt, 866  
 viś· diś, 869, — vas, 281, 576  
 viśvahā, viśvāha, °hā, 477, 511  
 vija bija, 216  
 vid. vid. id, 169, 360  
 vṛkka· vṛkya, 408  
 vṛñjanti· pṛñcanti, 57, 200  
 vṛdh· vṛt, 97; — vid, 108, 640  
 vṛṣcyantām, vṛṣcantām, 334  
 vṛṣabha ṛṣ°, 359  
 vṛh: bṛh, 212, 215  
 ved- vedh- medh-, 109, 230  
 vedna medn, 231  
 vyantu viyantu, 796  
 śak· śik, 571  
 śamtūci °tāti, 156  
 śabali· śav°, 219  
 śam (*root*) śum, 572  
 śam (*particle*) sam, 276, 278, 280  
 śamopyāt, 277  
 śava śapha, 199  
 śavali śab°, 219  
 śavas etc · śravas etc , 349  
 śaspiñjara śasp°, 278, 294  
 śāki śākī, 278  
 śābalya: śābulya: śāmulya, 241, 607  
 śiśūmāra· śiśu°, śiśū°, 305, 551  
 śik śak, 571  
 śitumga· śvi°, 369  
 śim śam, 572  
 śūrā śilā, 263  
 śiśumāra, śiśū°: śiśu°, 305, 551  
 śukra śukla, 262  
 śudh śubh, 173  
 śuśulūkā, 279, 624  
 śūra· sūra, 278, 284  
 śoka śoca, 126  
 ścut ścyut· cyu(t), 336  
 śn(y)aptre, 337  
 śranś· srans, 277  
 śrama śṛma, 277  
 śravas etc · śavas etc , 349  
 śriṣ śliṣ, 261, 265  
 śru· sru, 274-5, 278, 283  
 śrona ślona, 261  
 śliṣ śriṣ, 261, 265  
 ślona śrona, 261  
 śvitumga śi°, 369  
 śvitra citra, 195, 369  
 ṣadvinśa, 217, 302  
 sa sam, 306; — su, 612, — sva,  
 samskṛti samkṛti, 374  
 samkṛṣya· °kasya, °kugya, 4, 631  
 sacate sṛate, 3, 57, 634  
 samjigāire, 387  
 sat(a) sada(s), 60  
 sad śad, 278  
 sada(s) sat(a), 60  
 sadhriṣu, 353  
 sanīsan sanīṣan, 334  
 sam sa, 306, — śam, 276, 278, 283  
 samiddham samṛddham, 39, 635  
 samude (sammude?), 401  
 sarira salila, 264  
 saru śaru, 278  
 salila: sarira, 264  
 sasṛgmahe sasṛj°, 131  
 saspiñjara śasp°, 278, 294  
 sūki śākī, 278  
 sūviṣak °ṣat, 142  
 sumāh (śi°), 278  
 su sa, 612, — sva, 741

suka (śuka), 278  
 suci- śuci, 278  
 suta stuta, 419  
 subhūtam- °dam, 59  
 sumatitsaru, 180  
 suvāna svāna, 768, 794  
 suṣūlikā, 279, 624  
 sūra śūra, 278, 284  
 sṛ sru, 682  
 sṛkāyin °vin, sṛgāyin, 43, 247  
 sṛjate. sacate, 3, 57, 634  
 sṛdh sridh, 672  
 sṛma śrama, 277  
 senāni °ni, 523, 527  
 soma- stoma, 419  
 somapitsaru somasatsaru, 180  
 skabh stabh, 137

stuta- suta, 419  
 stoma. soma, 419  
 sthūra. sthūla, 261  
 srans śraṇś, 277  
 sravati srotyā, 749  
 sṛ śri, 278  
 sridh. sṛdh, 672  
 sru sṛ, 682; —: śru, 274-5, 278, 283  
 srotyā- sravati, 749  
 sva sa, 364, —: su, 741  
 svasūr svasār, 644  
 svāna- suvāna, 768, 794  
 hariśaya- hari°, harā°, 521, 597  
 hita bhṛta, 118, 639  
 hu, hū bhū, 119  
 hr. bhṛ, 117  
 hṛda hrada, 658

## SUBJECT INDEX

References are to sections

- Ablaut see Guna, Vriddhi, Sampra-sāraṇa, and under the various vowels and diphthongs in the Index of Sounds etc
- Āitareya Brāhmaṇa: prefers *r* to *l*, 259
- Āpastamba Mantra Brāhmaṇa. drops final *s* before sibilant plus sonant, 978
- Aspirates and non-aspirates, 80-114, and *h*, 23, 115-124
- Assimilation and dissimilation of consonants, 38, 139, 406-416, of vowels, 416a, 601-5, 607, 609, 622-4, 678-680
- Ātharva Veda and its school: prefers *subh* to *śudh*, 173, *variyaḥ* for *varivah*, 249; sandhi of final *o*, *au*, 885a; sandhi of *a*, *ā*, with *r*, 915, final *s* after non-*a* vowels before *l*, 957, final *s* before sibilant plus sonant, 978, Book 20 has *l* for *ḍ*, 270
- Consonants double and single (in conjunction with other consonants) 389-392, (between vowels) 393-405, simplification of groups, 417-421 (see also 814-5, 321-2, 332-7, 357, 367, 370), optional dropping of mute between nasal and other consonant, 417-8; see also Assimilation
- Denominative stems in *aya*, *āya*, 478; in *īya*, *īya*, 534; in *(ṛ)ya*, 786
- Dentals and gutturals, 136-147, labials, 171-181, linguals, 25, 163-170; palatals, 24, 154-161
- Diphthongs 41-2, 685-750
- Dissimilation, see Assimilation
- Dittology, 810-3
- Epenthesis of vowels, 43, 751-793
- False divisions 814-840
- Gerunds in *ya*, *yā*, 456-7
- Graphic variants, 858-878
- Guna (normal Ablaut grade), 570-3, 582-3, 601-5, 615, 647-651, 686-8, 696, 713-5, 720
- Gutturals and dentals, 136-147; labials, 148-153, linguals, 135; palatals, 125-134
- Haplology, 807-9, 812-3
- Hiatus, 991-6; hiatus-bridger (Hiatus-tilger), nasals *as*, 308-9, *y* *as*, 36, 338-344, *r* *as*, 353, *v* *as*, 358-362
- Hieratic language prefers *adha* to *atha*, 72ff, *grabh* to *grah*, 115; *r* to *l*, 258, 261-2, 284
- Instrumentals in *na*, *nā*, 458
- Kāṭhaka Samhitā writes *kṣā* for *khyā*, 190; *tryavi* for *tryavi*, 768, 776, sandhi of final *o*, *au*, 885b; sandhi of *a*, *ā*, with *r*, 914; final *s* after non-*a* vowels before *l*, 957, final *s* before sibilants, 970, 974; *āgrāyaṇa* for *āgra*°, 492
- Labials, 29, 197-242; lengthening of short vowels before, 433, 460, 464-8, 515-6, 520, 547, 549-51; shortening of long vowels before, 475;—and dentals, 171-181, gutturals, 148-153, palatals, 162
- Linguals and dentals, 25, 163-170, gutturals, 135
- Maṭṭrāyaṇi Samhitā and its school writes *kṣā* for *khyā*, 190; [l for *r*?, 259,] *ṣaṇḍa* *ṣaṇḍa*, 289, *a* before *vant* and *vin*, 467, prefers *u* to *a* before *v* (?), 601-4; sandhi of final *o*, *au*, 885b, sandhi of *a*, *ā*, with *r*, 916, change of *n* to *ṇ*, 947, 952; final *s* for *ś* after non-*a* vowels before *l*, 957, final *s* before *k*, *p*, 963; final *s* before sibilants, 974, *āgrāyaṇa* for *āgra*°, 492
- Mantra-pāṭha, see Āpastamba

Metathesis, 799-806

Meter, relation to rhythmic lengthening and shortening, 425, 428-431, 438-443, 457-460, 515-6, concerned in hiatus, 991ff, in patch-words, 843ff

Nasals, present or absent, 35, 300-312; as hiatus-bridgers, 308-9; assimilation of consonants to adjoining—, 411-5, nasal after short vowel, varies with long vowel, 300-2

Nirukta has *l* for *ḍ*, 270-1

Palatals, 26-8, 182-196; followed by evanescent *y*, 334, 336-7,—and dentals, 24, 154-161, gutturals, 125-134, labials, 162

-Patch words, 822-833, 841-850

Popular language prefers *aiha* to *adha*, 72ff; *grah* to *grabh*, 115, *l* to *r*, 258, 261-2

Prakritisms, 20-43 (summary, which see for further references)

Reduplicating syllable rhythmic lengthening of vowels in, 468, 519, 548, *a* and *i* in, 551

Rhythmic lengthening and shortening, see Vowels

Rigveda and its school: *r* for *l* in, 261-2; *l*, *ḷ*, for *ḍ*, *ḍh*, 270, *śuvāna* for *śāna*, 768, 794; *h* for *dh*, *bh*, 23, sandhi of final *o*, *au*, 885d; sandhi of *a*, *ā*, with *r*, 913, change of *n̄* to *n*, 951, final *s* *ś* after non-*a* vowels before *t*, 957, final *r* before *k*, *p*, 968

Rime words, 851-7

Sāma Veda and its school has *aiha* etc for *adha* etc, 72, *g* for *j* before *m*, 131, prefers *u* to *a* before *v*, 601-4, sandhi of final *o*, *au*, 885d, tends to drop initial *a* after *e*, *o*, 902, change of *n̄* to *n*, 947, 952, final *r* before *l*, *p*, 968

Samprasāraṇa, 656-665, 733-743

Sandhi, 879-996 See 831-2 for general principles, 883-4 (or Table of Contents) for analysis of contents of the chapter, 879 for references to sandhi

in other parts of the book —Secondary crasis or double sandhi, 939-990 See Hiatus

Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra has *l* for *ḍ*, 270; *h* for final *s* before sibilant plus surd, 975

Sibilants, 30-4, 274-299, lengthening of *i* and *u* before, 515-6, 547

Surds and sonants, 21-2, 44-79

Taittiriya Samhitā and its school prefers *u* to *i*, 8, 622, prefers *v* to *y*, 8, 247-8; guttural for final labial, 148, 151, *ā* for *a* before *vant* and *vin*, 467; *pṛṣṭā* for *pruṣṭā*, 680, favors *iy*, *ui*, *fer y*, *r*, after consonant, 767ff (exceptions, 767); sandhi of final *o*, *au*, 885c, sandhi of *a*, *ā*, with *r*, 914; change of *n̄* to *n*, 947-8, 952; retains final *s* after non-*a* vowels before *t*, 957; final *s* before *k*, *p*, 963

Vājasaneyi Samhitā and its school has *badh* for *vadh* (?), 209, but often *r* for original *b*, 215-8, sandhi of final *o*, *au*, 885d; sandhi of *a*, *ā*, with *r*, 913, final *s* *ś* after non-*a* vowels before *t*, 957

Vājasaneyi Samhitā, Kāṇva has *l* and *g* for *c* and *j* before *m*, 125, 127, 131; *badh* for *vadh* (?), 209, *l* for *ḍ*, 270, sandhi of final *o*, *au*, 885b; final *s* *ś* after non-*a* vowels before *t*, 957

Voiceless and Voiced, see Surd and Sonant

Vowels, short and long, with and without following nasal, 35, 300-2; before double and single consonants, 393ff; rhythmic lengthening, (of *a*) 422-468, (of *i*) 514-521, (of *u*) 546-552, rhythmic shortening, (of *ā*) 424, 473-7, (of *ī*) 522-4, (of *ū*) 553 See Assimilation, Epenthesis

Vridhī (Dehnstufe) in primary noun formations, 485-9 in secondary noun formations, 314-326, 490-1, 699, 702, 707, 724-5, 728, in verb stems, 480-1, 700, 702, 712, 729

## INDEX OF MANTRAS

### References are to sections

- anśum gabhasti (babhasti) haritebbhir  
 āsabbhū, 151  
 anśur-anśus te (-anśus te) deva somā  
 pyāyatām, 958  
 anśūn babhasti haritebbhir āsabbhū, 151  
 anśo rājā vibhajātīmāv (°mām) agni,  
 237  
 anhasaspataye (anhaspatyāya) tvā,  
 325, 810  
 anhārīr asī bambhārīh, 123  
 anhomuce pra bharemā (bhare) manī-  
 śām, 808  
 akah su (sa) lokam sukṛtam pṛthivyāh  
 (°vyām), 612  
 aktam rihānā viyantu (vyantu) vayah,  
 96, 152, 796, 857  
 akrān samudrah prathame vidharman,  
 508  
 akṣakṛtyās tripadīcāśīh, 185, 192, 353  
 aksatam ariṣṭam ilādam, 411, 576  
 akṣatam asy ariṣṭam ilānam gopā-  
 yanam, 411, 576  
 aksānām vagnum (vagnum, gatnum,  
 ganam) avajighram āpah (upajigh-  
 namānah, upalipsamānāh), 181, 832,  
 865  
 akṣitam asi mā pitṛnām (pitāma-  
 hānām, prapitāmahanām) kṣeṣṭhā  
 , 576, 586  
 akṣitam asi mā me kṣeṣṭhāh, 576, 586  
 akṣitam asy akṣitam me bhūyāh,  
 576, 586  
 akṣitūr asī mā me kṣeṣṭhā , 576, 586  
 akṣitīś ca me kūyavāś ca me, 552, 587  
 akṣyos (akṣos) tanvo rapah, 335  
 akhidrāh prajā abhivipaśya, 129  
 agan prānah svargam lokam , 508  
 aganma yatra pratiranta āyuh (pra-  
 tarām na āyuh), 411, 575, 824  
 aganma viśvavedasam, 508  
 aganma vṛtrahantamam, 508  
 agrbhīt, agrbhīṣata, 657  
 agotām anapatyatām (anapadyatām),  
 59  
 agor arīr ā ciketa, 244, 837  
 agdhād eko 'hutād ekah samasanād  
 ekah, 181, 511, 875  
 agna āyuhkārāyusmāns tvam tejasvān  
 deveṣv edhi, 598  
 agnaya upāhvayadhvam, 509  
 agnaye gāyatrāya trivṛte rātham-  
 tarāyāṣṭākāpālah (etc ), 495  
 agnaye tvā mahyam āyur (mayo)  
 dātra . . . mayo mahyam pratigra-  
 hītre (pratigrhate), 511, 657, 719  
 agnaye dhūṁkṣā (dhūṁkṣā), 255, 311,  
 335, 568  
 agnaye samidham āhārṣam (āhārṣam),  
 508  
 agnāv (agnā) agniś carati praviṣṭah,  
 888  
 agnāviṣṇū mā vām ava kramiṣam, 723  
 agnih pareṣu (pratneṣu) dhāmasu, 579  
 agnih pratnena manmanā (janmanā),  
 856  
 agnih pravivdān (°vān) iha tat kṛnotu  
 (karotu, dadhātu), 925  
 agnih priyeṣu dhāmasu, 579  
 agniṁ yunajmi (yunagmi) śavasā  
 ghr̥tena, 131  
 agniṁ śreṣṭhaśociṣam, 747, 843  
 agniṁ sa rchatu yo maitasyai (°syā)  
 diśo 'bhīdāsati, 910  
 agniṁ sa diśām devam devatānām  
 rchatu yo , 910  
 agniṁ sruco adhvaṛeṣu prayatsu, 140  
 agniṁ sve yonāv (yonā) abhār ukhā,  
 888

agnim hotāram antarā vivṛttāh, 866  
 agnim ca viśvaśambhuvam ('sam-  
 bhuvam), 278  
 agnihvebhyaḥ tvartāyubhya ('bhyo)  
 . , 918  
 agninendrena somena upa te huve  
 savāham ('sā aham), 362  
 agnim naras triśadhas the sam idbure  
 (indhate), 301  
 agnum atirugbhyām (atī°), 516  
 agnum adya hotāram avṛṇitāyam yaja-  
 mānah pacan paktih (pañktih)  
 pacan , 310  
 agnum indram vṛtrahanā huve 'ham  
 ('hanam huvema), 850  
 agnim indhita martyah, 169, 302  
 agnim indhe vivasavabhūh, 301  
 agnum idhita martyah, 169, 302  
 agnim idhe vivasavabhūh, 301  
 agnum u śreṣṭhaśociṣam, 747, 843  
 agnur ajaro 'bhavat sabobhūh, 907  
 agnur adhi viyatto asyām, 910  
 agnur adhyakṣah ('āh), 494  
 agnur annādo 'nnapatir dadhātu  
 (dadātu) svāhā, 104  
 agnur amṛto abhavad vayobhūh (saho-  
 bhūh), 907  
 agnur āyusmān sa vanaspatibhir āyuṣ-  
 mān ('māns) tena (tasyā) , 932  
 agnur uktheṇa vāhasā (uktheṣv aṇ-  
 hasu), 310  
 agnur gārhapatyānām (gṛhapatinām),  
 652, 737  
 agnur dād (dā) dravinam vīrapeśāh, 392  
 agnur dikṣatah pṛthivī . dikṣayatu  
 (dikseta) , 745  
 agnur devebhyah suvidatriyebhyah  
 ('trebhyah), 315, 747  
 agnur devesu pra voca, 379  
 agnur dvārā vy rnavatī (urnvatī), 654  
 agnur no vanate (vanute, vansate)  
 raṇim, 377, 606  
 agnur me hotā sa mopahvayatām, 509  
 agnur vidvān sa yajāt sed u hotā (sa id  
 dhotā), 848, 996  
 agnur viyatto 'syām, 910  
 agnur havih (havyam) śamitā sūdayāti  
 (svadayatu), 737, 739

agnir havyāni siśvadat, 739  
 agnur havyānumanyatām (havyā no  
 ma°), 719  
 agnur havyā suśūdati, 739  
 agnur hotā pṛthivy antarikṣam, 821  
 agnur hotā vetv (vettv) agni (agner)  
 hotram vetu (vettu) . , 392, 691  
 agnur hotrenedam (hotrena) havir . ,  
 354, 833  
 agniś ca dahatam prati, 512  
 agniṣ tñ (tān, ṭan) agre pramumoktu  
 devah, 924, 958  
 agniṣ tñ (tān, ṭāl) lokāt (asmāt)  
 pra , 943  
 agnis te agram . , 910, 958  
 agniṣ te tanvam mā vinait, 958  
 agniṣ te tejo mā hārṣit ('ih, vinait), 958  
 agniṣ te tvacam mā hinsit, 958  
 agniṣ te 'dhipatih, 958  
 agniṣ te hastam agrabhit (agrahīt), 116  
 agniṣ tñvābhi pātu . . , 958  
 agniṣ tñvā śrinātu, 958  
 agniṣ tñvā hvayati, 958  
 agnis tñ agre . , 924, 958  
 agnis te 'gram nayatu, 910, 958  
 agnis te tanuvam mātī dhāk (tanvam  
 mā hinsit), 958  
 agnis te tejo mā vi nait (mā prati  
 dhākṣit), 958  
 agnis te 'dhipatih, 958  
 agnis tvābhi pātu , 958  
 agnis tvā śrinātu, 958  
 agnis tvā hvayati devayajyāyāi, 958  
 agnih sudakṣah sutanur ha bhūtā, 554,  
 578, 612  
 agnih srucō adhvaṛṣu prayaksu, 140  
 agnihotram pṛthivīm antarikṣam, 821  
 agnihotrenedam havir ajuṣatāvīṛ-  
 dhata ('dhanta) , 354, 833  
 agnihvarebhyas tvā ṛtā°, 918  
 agni indrā vṛtrahanā huve vām, 850  
 agnid rajanarāuhinau (rājā°) . , 490  
 agnindrayor aham devayajyāyā vir-  
 yavān indriyavān bhūyāsam, 467  
 agniṣomā imam su me, 888  
 agniṣomābhyām juṣṭam ni yunajmi  
 (yunagmi), 131  
 agniṣomā imam śu me, 888

- agne akṣīni nir daha svāhā, 338  
 agneh puriṣam asi, 325, 381  
 agneh puriṣavāhanah (puriṣya°, °vāh-  
 anah), 319, 953  
 agneh priyam pātho 'pihi (apihi), 910  
 agne kahya (gahya), 49  
 agne gṛhapata upa mā hvayasva, 509  
 agne gṛtenāhuta (°tah), 380  
 agne tān vettha yadi te jātavedah, 60  
 agne tejasvin tejasvi, 598  
 agne trātar rtas (rtah) kavīh, 964  
 agne tvam yonim āsīda sādhyā, 505,  
 874  
 agne tvam sūktavāg asy upaśruti  
 (°ti, °śrito) divas (divah) prthivyoḥ,  
 525, 626, 964  
 agne tvam puriṣyah, 325, 381  
 agne tvāmkāmaya (tvām kāmaya)  
 girā, 820  
 agne dakṣaḥ punihī nah (mā, puni-  
 mahe), 802  
 agne 'dabdhāyo 'śitatano ('śirtatano,  
 'śitama) pāhi, 353, 808  
 agne deva paṇibhur viyamānah (°nah,  
 guhyamānah, idhyamānah), 953  
 agne devān (devān) ihā vaha, 924  
 agne devānām ava heda iyakṣva  
 (ikṣva), 325, 696, 734  
 agne deveṣu pra vocah, 379  
 agne puriṣyādhipā bhava (bhavā)  
 tvam nah, 434, 446  
 agne prthivipate varuna dharmā-  
 nām pate, 494  
 agne prthivyā adhipate varuna  
 dharmānām adhipate, 494  
 agne prehi prathamō devayatām  
 (devā°, devafānām), 478  
 agne bṛhann uṣasām, 864  
 agne brahma grbhniṣva (grbhniṣva,  
 grhiṣva), 116  
 agne 'bhyaṁvartinn abhi mā nī vartasva  
 (māvartasva, na ū vartasva, no  
 nivartasva, na ū vavṛtsva), 516, 648  
 agneyakṣīni nir daha svāhā, 338  
 agne yajasva rodasi urūci, 57, 363  
 agne yajñasya cetatah, 864  
 agne yat te tapas yo 'smūn (asmān)  
 dveṣti, 910  
 agne yat te tejas tena tam atejasam  
 kuru (tam pratī tityagdhī, titigdhī)  
 yo 'smān (asmān), 733, 910  
 agne yat te 'rcas (arcas) yo 'smān  
 (asmān), 910 (bis)  
 agne yat te haras yo 'smān (asmān)  
 , 910  
 agne yan me tanvā (tanuvā) ūnam  
 (yan ma ūnam tanvas) tan ma ā  
 prṇa, 503  
 agne yān devān ayāḍ tām sasanu-  
 ṣim (samanaṣir), 870  
 agne yāhi dūtyam mā riṣanyah (dūty-  
 am vāriṣanyah), 225, 829  
 agne yāhi suśastibhih, 509  
 agner akṛnvan usūjo amṛtyave, 152,  
 643, 650  
 agner akṣnah kanīnakam (°kām,  
 °nikām), 595  
 agner agneyāny (agniyāny) asi, 357,  
 692, 818  
 agner apunann usūjo amṛtyavah, 152,  
 643, 650  
 agner avena marutām na bhojyā, 837  
 agner jhivān abhi (jhivābhi, jh-  
 vayābhi) grñitam (grñata), 309  
 agner jhivāsi suhūr (suhūr, supūr)  
 , 114, 119  
 agner yāny asi, 357, 692, 818  
 agne varcasvin (°van) varcasvāns  
 (°vi) varcasvān (°vy) aham ,  
 596  
 agne vājajid vājam tvā, 360  
 agne vikṣu pratidayat, 64, 864  
 agne vitatam antar ā (antaram), 826  
 agne vittād dhaviṣo yad yajāma  
 (°mah), 379  
 agne vrājam upasēdha śakram, 138  
 569, 616  
 agne vyacasva rodasi urūci, 57, 363  
 agne vṛtatapate vṛtatam acāriṣam (acār-  
 ṣam), 764  
 agneṣ tvā tejasā sādāyāmi, 958  
 agneṣ tvā tejasā sūryasya, 957  
 agneṣ tvā mātṛayā jāgatya, 491,  
 958  
 agneṣ tvāsyena prāśnāmi, 955  
 agne samsṛjmahe girah, 306

agne sakhye mā riṣāmā vayam tava, 224  
 agne sadakṣah satanur ('nūr) hi  
 bhūtvā, 554, 578, 612  
 agne samidham āhārsam, 864  
 agne samrād iṣe rāye (rayyai) ram-  
 asva, 37, 396, 705  
 agne sasṛjmahe girah, 306  
 agnes tejasā sūryasya . . , 957  
 agnes tvā tejasā sādāyāmi, 958  
 agnes tvā mātṛayā jagatya ('tyā)  
 , 491, 958  
 agnes tvāsyena prāśnāmi, 958  
 agne svam (svām) yonim ā sīda  
 sādhyā (sādhuyā), 505, 874  
 agnau lājān āvapanti, 151  
 agnau samrādhānim yaje, 617, 806  
 ngrabhīt, agrabhīṣata, 657  
 agre bhānān uṣasām ūrdhvo asthāt,  
 864  
 agre yajñasya śocatah (cetatah), 156,  
 195, 864  
 agre vājasya bhajate mahādhanam  
 (bhajase mahad dhanam), 395a  
 agre vikṣu pradidayat, 64, 864  
 agre samidham, 864  
 aghadviṣṭā devayātā, 147, 381, 619  
 aghēya bhūma harivah parādai ('dah),  
 384  
 aghorah prajā abhivipaśya, 129  
 aghoraghoratarebhyaś ca, 816  
 aghorena cakṣuṣā mitriyena (maitreya,  
 cakṣuṣāham śivena), 314, 699  
 aghorebhyo 'tha (atha) ghorebhyah,  
 908  
 aghnyāv aśunam āratām, 569  
 aghnyau śūnam āratām, 569  
 aṅkāṅkam (aṅkāṅv-aṅkam, aṅkāṅkam)  
 chandah, 362, 511  
 aṅgād-aṅgātsambhavasī ('śravasī), 853  
 aṅgāni ca me 'sthāni ('sthīni) ca me,  
 598  
 aṅgāni ta ukthyah pātu, 322  
 aṅgīrāso me asya ('sya) yajñasya . . ,  
 913  
 aṅgirobhūr ā gahi yajñiyebhūh, 849  
 aṅgirobhūr yajñiyaur ā gahītha, 849  
 aṅgoṣinam avāvaśanta vānih, 490, 599,  
 720

aṅgoṣinam pavamānam sakhyāyah, 490,  
 720  
 anghārīr asī bambhārīh, 123  
 aṅghrīnā viṣṇo (viṣṇū) mā tvāva  
 (vām ava) kramiṣam, 723  
 aṅdhī kham vartayā, panum (pavim),  
 857  
 acikītvān ('vāns) cikītuṣas cid atra, 930  
 acikradat svapā iha bhuvat (bhavat),  
 602, 838  
 acittapājā agnīt, 399, 738  
 acittamanā upavaktā, 399, 738  
 aciṣyāma vṛjane viśva ūti, 242, 878  
 acety agnīs cikītuḥ ('tīh), 623  
 acyutapājā agnīt, 399, 738  
 acyutamanā upavaktā, 399, 738  
 acha yāhy ā vahā daivyaṃ janam, 460  
 achalābhīh ('rābhīh) kapīṇjalān, 26,  
 184, 265, 631  
 achā devān ūciṣe dhīṣnyā ('niyā)  
 ye, 784  
 achā no yāhy ā vaha, 460  
 achā ma indram matayah svarvidah,  
 234, 805  
 achāyam yanti śavasā ghṛtācih, 824  
 achāyam eti śavasā ghṛtena (ghṛtā cit),  
 824  
 achā va indram matayah svaryuvah,  
 234, 805  
 achā vīram naryam pañktirādhasam  
 (pañti'), 418  
 achidrā uśījah padānu takṣuh, 627, 992  
 achidrām pārayiṣṇum ('yiṣṇvim), 743  
 achidrośījah kavayah padāni ('nu)  
 takṣu(v)at ('ṣuh), 627, 992  
 achinnam tantum anu sam tarema  
 (carema), 155  
 achinnapatrāh ('rah) prajā anuvik-  
 ṣasva, 129  
 achinno divyas (daivyas) tantur mā  
 mānuṣas (manuṣas) chedi, 316, 490,  
 699  
 ajagan rātri sumanā iha syāh, 508  
 ajanti vahnīm sadanāny acha, 634  
 ajany agnir hotā (ajann agnih) . . .  
 928  
 ajasya nābhāv (nābhā) adhy ekam  
 arpitam, 888



ajasram tvām (tvā) sabhūpālāh, 304  
ajāsrah paśupā vājapastyah (vājavas-  
tyah), 198

ajitāh syāma śaradah śatam, 537  
ajīpata (°jipata) vānaspatayah, 584  
ajīpatendram vājam, 52  
ajitāh (°tā) syāma śaradah śatam, 537  
ajaiśmadyāsanāma ca (°sanūmādyā),  
158

ajo dhūmro na godhūmah kuvalair  
(kvalair) bheṣajam, 782

ajōṣā vṛṣabham patim, 376  
ajjanti suprayasam pañca janūh, 192,  
339, 617

ajīśakthāya (°śakthāya) svāhā, 580,  
986

añnāśasya parah putrah, 511

ata ū śu madhu madhunūbhī yodhi,  
68, 379, 533

atandrūso yuvatayo vibhṛtram (vi-  
bhartram, bi°), 207, 650

ataś cakṣāthe aditum ditum ca, 853  
ataś cid indra na (na) upa, 950

atas tvam deva vānaspate śatavalśo  
(tvam barhiḥ śatavalśam) viroha, 817

atikurīṣam (°rīṣam) atidanturam, 545  
atikulvam (°kūlvam) cātilomaśam ca,  
568

ati niho ati śṛdhah (śrīdhah), 672

atirātram varṣan pūrtir āvṛt (vavar-  
ṣvān pūrta rūvaṭ, vavṛṣvān pūta

rāvat) svāhā, 351, 586, 632, 649

ati vā yo maruto manyate nah, 477, 545  
atividhā vithurenā cid astrā (astāh),  
357, 381

ati setum durāvyam (durāyyam), 253  
atīva yo maruto manyate nah, 477, 545

ato annenaiva jīvanti, 94  
ato jyāyānś ca pūruṣah (pur°), 566

ato devi prathamānā prthag yat, 68,  
525

ato dharmānu dhārayan, 578

ato no 'nyat pitaro mā yoṣṭa (yūdh-  
vam), 302

ato no rudrā uta vā nv asya, 719, 778  
aty anyān (anyān) agām nānyān

(nānyān) upāgām, 924  
atra jahīmo 'śivā ye asan, 452, 686

atra pitaro mūdayadhvam (°dhvam  
yathābhāgam, pitaro yathā°  
mandadhvam), 301

atrū jahūma (jahīta, jahīmo) ye asann  
aśevāh (aśivāh, asan durevāh, 'śivā  
ye asan), 452, 686

atrā te bhadrā raśanū apaśyam (bhadrā  
vṛṣanū agrbhānūm), 292, 665

atrū yamah sūdanū (°nāt) te mnotu,  
405, 452, 512

atrāha tad urugāyasya viśnoh  
(vṛṣnah), 640

atrinā tvā krime hanmī, 668

atrivad vah krimayo hanmī, 668  
atsarābhīh kapirājālān, 26, 184, 265,  
631

atha jivir (jivir) vidatham ā vadāsi,  
73, 454, 529, 544, 801

atha devānām vaśanīr bhavāti, 454

atha bhava yajamānāya śam yoh, 454

atha māsi punar āyāta no grhān, 75, 454

atharya pitum me pāhi, 248

atharya pitum me gopāya (pāhi), 248

atharvyuṣṭā devajūtāh, 147, 381, 619

atha viśve arapā edhate grhah, 75, 454

athā jivah pitum addhi pramuktah, 75,  
569, 870

athā jivri vidatham ā vadāsi, 73, 454,  
529, 544, 801

athā te sakhye andhaso vi vo made, 73

athā te sumnam imahe, 73

athā te syāma varuna priyāśah, 73

athāditya vrata vayam tava, 74

athā devānām vaśanīr bhavāti, 454

athā devānām apy etu pūthah, 74

athā devah sadhamādam madema, 341

athā na indra id viśah, 341

athā nah śam yor arapo dadhāta  
(°tana), 74

athā no vardhayā garah (rayim), 74

athā no viśvacarṣane, 73

athā pitṛn suvidatrān upehi (apīhi,  
apita), 74

athā pośasya pośena, 75

athā bhava yajamānāya śam yoh, 454

athā mano vasudeyāya kṛṣva, 74

athāmṛtena jaritāram āndhi (āṇḍhi),  
418

- athā vāyam āditya vrata tava, 74  
 athā śatakratvo yūyam, 73  
 athā sapatnān indrāgnī me, 75  
 athā sapatnān ("nān) indro me, 75, 924  
 athā sapatnī yā mama, 74, 382  
 athā somasya prayatī yuvabhyām, 74, 504  
 athāsmabhyam śam yor arapo dadhāta, 74  
 athāsmabhyam sahavīrām ("ram) rayim dāh, 505  
 athāśya madhyam ejatu, 75, 160  
 athā syāta surabhayo gr̥heṣu, 75, 454, 618, 840  
 athāśyai ("syā) madhyam edhatām ("tu, ejatu, ejati), 75, 160  
 athāham anukāminī ("gāmini), 45  
 athemam asyā vara ā prthivyāh, 236, 477, 840  
 athemam enam . . , 810  
 athem ava sya vara ā prthivyāh, 236, 477, 840  
 athem enam pari dattāt pitṛbhyah, 810  
 athem enam pra hinutāt pitṛbhyah (pitṛn upa), 810  
 athaitam pitum addhi prasūtah, 75, 569, 870  
 athainam jarimā nayet, 341, 952  
 atho adhivikartanam ("cartanam), 126  
 atho annenaiva jīvanti, 94  
 atho amīvacātanaḥ, 386  
 atho jīva śaradah śatam, 75  
 atho ta indrah kevalih, 341  
 atho pitā mahatām gargarānām, 94  
 atho mātātho pitā, 96, 386  
 atho yamasya padbīśāt ("viśāt), 217, 302, 872  
 atho ye kṣullakā iva, 96, 262, 386  
 atho rājann uttamam mānavānām, 94  
 athorāma ulumbarah, 78, 265  
 atho vāyam bhagavantah syāma, 74  
 atho varunyād uta, 325  
 atho sthūrā atho kṣudrāh, 96, 262, 386  
 adabdhām cakṣur ariṣṭam manah . . , 179, 802  
 adabdhām mana īṣiram cakṣuh , 179, 802  
 adabdhō gopāh (gopah) pari , 493  
 adāyo vīrah (adaya ugrah) śatamanyur indrah, 471, 489  
 adah su madhumadhunābhi yodhih, 68, 379, 533  
 adāyo vīrah śatamanyur indrah, 471, 489  
 adārasd bhavata ("tu) deva soma, 611  
 adāsyann āgna uta samgrnāmi, 45  
 aditiḥ te (aditis te) bilam gr̥bhñātu (gr̥bhñātu) , 116, 958  
 aditiḥ tvā (aditis tvā) devi viśva-devyāvati ("yavati) sadhasthe aṅgirasvat ("ṅgi") , 467, 910, 958  
 aditsan vā samjagara janebhyah, 45, 107, 180, 446, 480  
 adidyutāt sv apāko vibhāvā, 838  
 adikṣiṣṭāyaṁ brāhmano 'sāv amuṣya , 888  
 adīvyann ṛnam yad aham cakāra, 702  
 adṛnathāh śarkarābhiḥ trivṛṣṭapī (tribhr̥ṣṭabhih), 222, 384, 640  
 adṛśann (adṛśann) udahāryah, 356  
 adevā devavattaram, 401, 840  
 ado devī (devī) prathamānā prthag yat, 68, 525  
 ado ma āgachatu, 990  
 adomadam annam addhi prasūtah, 110, 569, 870  
 ado māgachatu, 990  
 ado yad devī prathamānā purastāt, 68, 525  
 adbhur viśvasya bhartṛbhih, 677  
 adbhuh sarvasya bhartṛbhih, 677  
 adbhyaḥ sambhūtah ("bhṛtah) prthivya ("vyā) , 644  
 adya no deva savitah, 436, 440  
 adyā kṛnuhi vītaye ("hy ūtaye), 743, 805  
 adyā tvā vanvan (vardhan) sureknāh, 862  
 adyā devāṁ (devān) juṣṭatamo hi gamyāh, 936  
 adyā no deva savitah, 436, 440  
 adyā mamāra sa hyah sam āna (sahyah samānah), 383, 829  
 adroghavācam matibhih śaviṣṭham (yavi"), 857  
 adroghāvitā vācam acha, 52

adveṣe ('syē) dyāvāpṛthivi huvema  
(huve), 319

adha tvīṣīmān abhy ojasū krivim  
(krvim) yudhābhavat, 673, 925

adharāñcam parā suva (suvā), 431

adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā, 235

adharo vad asau vadā svāhā, 235

adha vāyum nyutah saścata svāh, 454

adha sma (smā) te vrajanam kṛṣnam  
astī (astu, °nam astu kṛṣnam), 436,  
441

-adha syāma surabhayo (syām asur  
ubhayor) grheṣu, 75, 454, 618, 840

adhah sapatnī yā mama, 74, 382

adhā jivri vidatham ā vadāthah, 73,  
454, 529, 544, 801

adhā jlvema śaradām śātāni, 75

adhā te viṣṇo viduṣā cid ardhayah  
(rdhyah), 649

adhā te sakhye andhaso vi vo made, 73

adhā te sumnam imahe, 73

adhā te syūma varuna priyāsah, 73

adhā devānūm apy etu pāthah, 74

adhā nah śam yor arapo dadhāta, 74

adhā no vardhayā rayim, 74

adhā no viśvacarṣane, 73

adhā pitṛn suvidatrāū apīhi, 74

adhā poṣasya poṣena, 75

adhā mano vasudeyāya kṛnuṣva, 74

adhāma sakthyor ava gudam dhehi, 641

adhā māsi punar ā yūta no grhān, 75,  
454

adhā vāyam āditya vrata tava, 74

adhā vāyam bhagavantah syāma, 74

adhā vāyum nyutah saścata svāh, 454

adhā viśvāh itrapa edhate grhe, 75, 454

adhā viṣitah pitum addhi pramuktah,  
75, 110, 569, 870

adhā śatakratvo yūyam, 73

adhū sapatnān indrāgnī me, 75

adhū sapatnān indro me, 75, 924

adhū sapatnān māmākūn, 74, 382

adhū somasya prayatī yuvābhyām  
(yuva°), 74, 504

adhūsyā madhyam edhaśm, 75, 160

adhi kranda vīrayasva, 260

adhi kṣamī prataram didhyānah, 107,  
506

adhi kṣamī viṣurūpam (kṣamā viśva°)  
yad astī (asya, āsta), 291, 599

adhi dātṛe (dhātṛe) vocah, 104

adhi na indraṣīm (indraṣīm), 709

adhi bruvantu te 'vantv (avantv)  
asmān, 907

adhivāsam (adhī°) yā hīranyāny asmai,  
516

adhi skanda vīrayasva, 172, 260, 272,  
853

adhivāsam ., see adhī°

adhṛṣtam dhṛṣṇvojasam (dhṛṣṇum  
ojasā), 237, 818

adhorāma ulumbalah, 78, 265

adho vadādharo vadn, 235

adhyakṣāyānuḥkṣattāram, 321, 491

adhvanām adhvpate śreṣṭhah svasty-  
asyādhvanah (śreṣṭhasyādhvanah,  
śraṣṭhyasya svastasyādhvanah)

pūram āṣṭya, 321, 707

adhvād eko 'ddhād eko hutād eko  
'hutād ekah . sannasanād ekah, 181,  
511, 875

adhvā rajāsindriyam, 421

anākṣikāya ('śakāya) svāhā, 591

anadvānś ('vān) ca me , 930

anadvānś tapyante vahan (talpate vah-  
ān), 503, 867

anandho 'ślono 'piścadbīrah, 857

anamitram no adharāt (me adharāk, no  
'adharāk), 142, 907

anamīmāsā idayā (anamivāsa idayā)  
madantah, 224, 544

anarśarātum vasudām upa stulī, 292,  
579, 878

anasthikāya ('thakāya) svāhā, 591

anūgaso adham it samkṣayema, 110,  
376, 582

anūgaso yathā sadam it samkṣayema,  
110, 376, 582

anūgā devāh śakuno grheṣu (grham  
nah), 849

anādhṛṣṭam sahasyam (sahasriyam)  
sahasvat, 353

anādhṛṣṭā apasyo vasānāh, 176, 599,  
803

anādhṛṣṭāh sīdata dadhatīh (dad-  
tīh), 104

- anābho mṛda dhūrte ('ta), 353, 749, 862  
 anāmayaidhi ('yedhi) mā riśāma indo, 78, 338, 344, 709, 989  
 anāmi kṣatram ajaram suvīryam (suvīram), 323  
 anārbhava mṛda, 353, 749, 862  
 anāhanasyam vasanam carīṣnu (jariṣnuh, jariṣnu), 57, 381  
 anitr asi, 371  
 anubhṛṣṭā apasyuvo vasānah, 176, 599, 808  
 anikair dveṣo ardaya ('rdaya), 907  
 anukāṣena bāhyam, 371, 550  
 anukṣātre ('khyātre) namah, 190  
 anugrāsā ('grābhāṣ) ca vṛtrahan, 874  
 anuttam ā te maghavan nakir nu (nu, nakṛnu), 653, 949  
 anu tvā harino vṛṣā (mṛgah), 235  
 anu daha sahamūrān kravyādah (kayādah), 355, 371  
 anu no mārṣṭu tanvo yad viriṣṭam (vīr°), 261, 813  
 anu nau sūra mansate ('tai), 710  
 anupūrvam yatamānā yati śṭha (sthā, yatiṣṭha), 86, 826, 987  
 anupauhavad (anu po 'havad) anupahvayet (anuhvayah), 200, 732, 833  
 anumate 'nu (anu) manyasva na idam ('nv idam manyasva, 'nu manyasva), 847, 907  
 anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (yaje hi, yajeha), 578, 849  
 anu mārṣṭu tanvo (tanuvo) yad viliṣṭam, 261, 813  
 anuyā rātryā rātrim jinva, 255  
 anuroham jinva, 550  
 anurohāya tvā, 550  
 aruroho 'si, 550  
 anuvāya (anuvāsi) rātryai ('tryai) rātrim ('trim, tvā rā°) jinva, 255, 770  
 anuvṛtam jinva, 550  
 anuvṛte tvā, anuvṛd asi, 550  
 anuṣṭup ('ṭuk) pañktyā saha, 148  
 anuṣṭup ('ṭuk) pañktyai ('taye), 148  
 anuṣṭub ('ṭum) mitrasya, 241, 412  
 anu sapta rājāno ya utābbhiṣṭāh, 63  
 anu stomam mudimahi (mademahi), 617, 697  
 anukāṣena bāhyam, 371, 550  
 anūdā yadi jījanad (yad ajījanad) adhā ca nu (adhā cid ā), 578, 840  
 anūrohenānūrohāyānūroham (anu°) jinva, 550  
 anūroho 'si, 550  
 anūvṛtānūvṛte 'nūvṛj jinva, 550  
 anūvṛte tvā, anūvṛd asi, 550  
 aneśann asya yā iṣavah (asyeṣavah), 813  
 antarā dyāvāpṛthivi apah suvah, ('thivyor apasyuh), 833  
 antarikṣa uta vā pṛthivyām (uta pāṛthivā yāh), 321  
 antarikṣam samam tasya vāyur upa-draṣṭā, 833  
 antarikṣam puritātā (purī°, puli°, puli°), 263, 532  
 antarikṣam pṛthivīm adṛnhit, 509  
 antarikṣasamantasya te vāyur upaśrotā, 833  
 antarikṣe adhy ('dhy) āsate, 909  
 antarikṣe pathubhir iyamānah (hiy°, hriyamānah), 353, 386  
 antarenānūkāṣam, 371, 550  
 antah śubhrāvatā (śundhyāvatā) pathā, 173, 244, 305  
 antas tiṣṭhatu ('to) me mano 'mṛtasya ketuh, 715  
 antimitraś (antyami°) ca dūre-amitraś ('mitraś) ca ganah, 737, 910  
 andha sthāndho vo bhakṣīya, 176, 977  
 andhāhīn ('he, 'heh) sthūlagudayā (sthūra°, 'gudā), 261  
 andho achetah ('chetah), 910  
 annapate 'nnasya (annasya) no dehi, 907  
 annam payo reto asmāsu ('smāsu) dhatta (dhehi), 907  
 annam me (no) budhya (budhnya) pāhi, 311  
 annam me (no) budhyājugupas (budhnyā°), 311  
 annam me dehi (dhehi), 103  
 anyam te asman ('sman, asmat te) nī vapantu senāh (senyam), 319, 907

- anyavratasya (anyadvra<sup>o</sup>) saścuma  
 (saścire, saścimah), 379, 420, 818  
 anyāns te asman nivapantu tāh, 909  
 anyām icha pitiśadam vyaktām (vit-  
 tām), 139, 738  
 anye 'sman nivapantu tāh, 909  
 anyo-'nyo (-anyo) bhavati varno  
 asya, 96.  
 anv agnir uśasām agram akhyat  
 (akśat), 190  
 anv adya no anumatiḥ ('nu<sup>o</sup>'), 909  
 anvādidhyāthām iha nah sakhāyā,  
 236, 832  
 anvāsi, 770  
 anvitur asi . . ., 371  
 apah pinva, 964  
 apah prāgāt . . ., see apa .  
 apa kṣudham nudatām arātum, 201  
 apa tasya balaṁ tira, 201  
 apa durhārdīśo ('dviśo) jahi, 410, 869  
 apanuttau ('tā) śandāmarkau (śa<sup>o</sup>)  
 saha . . ., 289  
 apa (apah) prāgāt tama ā jyotir eti,  
 384  
 apa bādhatām duritāni viśvā, 201  
 apamityam apratīttam yad asmi, 404,  
 465  
 aparihvṛtāh ('hṛtāh) sanuyāma vājam,  
 371  
 apaśinvate tvā, 616  
 apaścāddaghvānnasya (apaścāddagh-  
 vānnam) bhūyāsam, 403  
 apaścāddaghvane (apaścāddaghvane)  
 nare (narah), 403  
 apa śveta padā jahi (apah śvetapad  
 āgahi), 134, 201, 384, 817  
 apasedhan ('dham) duritā soma  
 mṛdaya (no mṛda), 849  
 apa snehitir (snihitum) nṛmanā a-  
 dhātta (adhad rāh, nṛmanām adadh-  
 rām), 77, 110, 356, 616, 696, 802, 824  
 apas pinva, 964  
 apah siśāsan svar (suvar) apratītāh  
 ('tittāh), 404  
 apām rasam udvayasam (udayansam,  
 udayaṁsan), 310, 371  
 apāgne agnim ('gnim) āmūdām jahi,  
 910  
 apām gambhan sīda, 120  
 apām gambhīram gacha, 120  
 apānudo janam amitrayantam (ami-  
 trā<sup>o</sup>), 478  
 apām tvā gahman sādāyāmi , 120  
 apām tvā sadhiṣi (sadhriṣu) sādāyāmi,  
 353, 627  
 apām napātām aśvinā huve dhiyā  
 ('nā bayantam), 847  
 apām napād āśuheman ya ūrmih  
 kakudmān (Ūrmih pratūrṭih kakud-  
 mān or kakubhvān) . . ., 178, 239  
 apām naptre jaśah (jaśah), 85  
 apām na yanty ūrmayah, 829  
 apāpāco ('vāco) abhībhūte nudasva,  
 202  
 apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra, 78,  
 98, 205, 344  
 apāmityam (apām ittham) iva sam-  
 bhara, 832, 877  
 apām ojmānam pari gobhir āvṛtam  
 (ābhṛtam), 221  
 apām ośadhīnām garbham dhāh (gar-  
 bham me dāh), 104  
 apām payaso yat payah, 735  
 apām payasvad it (yat) payah, 735  
 apālām indra (indras) triṣ (trih)  
 pūtvī (pūtvā, pūrtvī, pūrtī), 351, 367,  
 598a, 967  
 apāvāco . . ., see apāpāco  
 apāvṛnod duro aśmavrajānām (as-  
 madrathānām), 287, 363  
 apā vṛdhī parivṛtam ('tim, parivṛttum)  
 na rādhaḥ, 401, 586  
 apāśnuṣnim (apāśnyuṣnim) apā rakṣah  
 (ragham), 337  
 api pūṣā nī śīdatu ('ti), 720  
 apīparo mā rātrīyā (rātryā) ahno mā  
 pāhi, 791  
 apīparo māhno rātrīyā (rātryā) mā  
 pāhi, 791  
 apūtapa ādhūyamānah, 355, 628  
 apūpakṛd aśake (apūpaghṛtāhute), 83  
 apo adyūnv acūriṣam, 244, 498, 754  
 apo anv acūriṣam (acūriṣam), 244, 498,  
 754  
 apo dattodadhīm bhūnta, 418  
 apo divy ā acūyīṣam, 244, 498, 754

- apo devā madhumatir agrbhan, 116  
 apo devir upastṛja ('jā) madhumatir, 446  
 apo devir madhumatir agrbhan (agrbh-nām), 116  
 apo nayanā ūrmayah, 529  
 apo mahi vyayati cakṣase tamah, 529, 608  
 apo mahi vṛpate cakṣuṣa tamah, 529, 608  
 apo vṛpānah pavate kaviyan ('yān, kavyan), 786  
 apo su (ṣu) myakṣa varuna bhiyasaṁ mat, 987  
 aptubhi rihāpā vyantu vayah, 96, 152, 796, 857  
 aprajastām ('jasyaṁ) pautramṛtyum ('martyam), aprajastvam mārtevat-sam, 368, 494, 650, 652  
 apriyā prati muñcistām, 849  
 apriye prati muñca tat, 849  
 apriye prati muñcetaṁ, 849  
 apriye saṁ nayāmasi, 511, 878  
 apsarastām anudattānṛnāni, 237, 823  
 apsarastv anu dattām ṛnam nah (ṛnāni), 237, 823  
 apsarastu yo gandhah, 395  
 apsarastu ca yā medhā, 395  
 apsarastu ca yo gandhah, 395  
 apsu dhūtasya deva... nṛbhi śtut-astotrasya (nṛbhīḥ sutasya stuta") ...yo 'śvasanir..., 419, 726, 910  
 apsu dhūto (dhautam) nṛbhīḥ sutah (sutam), 726  
 apsu dhutasya te... nṛbhīḥ śtut-asya...yo śvasanis..., 419, 726, 910, 988  
 apsu dhautasya te... nṛbhīḥ sutasya...yo śvasanis..., 419, 726, 988  
 apsu dhutasya te... nṛbhīḥ sutasya...yo śvasanis...yo śvasanis..., 419, 726, 910, 988  
 apsu dhutasya soma... nṛbhīḥ suta" ...yo bhakṣo śvasanir... 419, 726, 910, 988  
 abaddham mano... 179, 802  
 abaddhiṣṭa rakṣo..., 209  
 abhayaṁ vo 'bhayaṁ no astu (me 'stu), abhayaṁ me astu ('stu), 910  
 abhi kranda vilayasva, 172, 260, 272, 853  
 abhikhyā bhāsā bṛhatā śuśukranāḥ, 240, 283, 624  
 abhi tyam devaṁ savitāram onyoh (ūnyoh) kavikratum, 720  
 abhi dyumnāṁ devabhaktam yaviṣṭha (devahitam yaviṣṭhya), 121, 315, 579, 857  
 abhi no vājasātamaṁ, 516  
 abhinne khilye (khille) ni dadhāti devayum, 38, 408  
 abhi pra ponumo (no") vṛṣan, 952  
 abhi pra nonuvur (nonavur) girah, 603, 952  
 abhi priyā divas padā (divaḥ kavīḥ), 964  
 abhihhuve ('bhve, 'bhave) svāhā, 604, 789  
 abhi yo na irasyati (no durasyati), 878  
 abhi yo viśvā bhuvanāni caṣṭe, 220  
 abhiratāḥ smaḥ (sma ha), 379  
 abhiramyatām ('thām), 92  
 abhi rāṣṭrāya vartaya (vardhaya), 97  
 abhivartāḥ savitāḥ, 516  
 abhi vānir ṛṣiṇām sapta (saptā) nūṣata, 436, 447  
 abhi viśvāni bhuvanāni caṣṭe, 220  
 abhiviro abhisatvā ('ṣatvā) sahojāḥ (sahojit), 986  
 abhisaster avasparat ('svarat), 198  
 abhiṣikṣa rājābhuvam ('bhūvam), 288, 559, 736  
 abhiśirir yā ca no grhe, 292  
 abhiśāhe svāhā, 516  
 abhi śtana duritā bādhamānah, 582  
 abhiṣṭir ('ṣṭir) yā ca me dhruvā (ca no grhe), 292, 529  
 abhi syāma vṛjane sarvavirāḥ, 242, 878  
 abhi sumnāṁ devabhaktam yaviṣṭha, 121, 315, 579, 857  
 abhi somaṁ mṛśāmasi, 363, 830  
 abhi somo avivṛtat ('vṛdhat), 97  
 abhi spṛdha usro vedīm tatarda, 618  
 abhi ṛtasya dohanā anūṣata, 309, 992

- abhi na ā vavṛtsva, 516, 648  
 abhi no vājasātamam, 516  
 abhimam (\*mām, \*mūn) mahinā (\*mā)  
 divam (divah), 181, 505  
 abhīm ṛtasya dohanā anūṣata, 309, 992  
 abhīm ṛtasya sudughā ghṛtāscutah,  
 309, 992  
 abhivartah savinsah, 516  
 abhiṣāc cābhiṣavi ca, 516  
 abhiṣāt cābhiṣāhi cābhimātīhas ,  
 516  
 abhiṣās (\*ṣāt) cābhiṣāhyaś ca, 516  
 abhiṣāhe svāhā, 516  
 abhūn mama (nu nah) sumatau viś-  
 vavedāh, 849  
 abhūr gr̥ṣṭīnām (vaśnūnām, v āpīnām,  
 āpīnām, \*nām) abhiṣastipāvā (\*pā  
 u), 46, 360, 740, 824, 953  
 abhy arcata (arṣata) suṣṭutim gavyam  
 ājūm, 194  
 abhyaṣakṣarābhhūt (\*bhūm, \*bhūvam),  
 288, 559, 736  
 abhy aṣṭhām (asthām, asthād) viśvāh  
 pṛtanā arētīh, 983  
 abhy aham taṁ bhūyāsam yo asmān  
 (\*smān) dveṣti , 910  
 abhy ṛtasya sudughā , 309, 992  
 abhyati (abhyeti) na ojasā spar-  
 dhamānā, 711  
 amanmahid anāsavah (\*hīt tad  
 āsavah), 828  
 amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na (ma) indra,  
 78, 205, 344  
 amāyān mūyavattarah, 475  
 amāvāsyē samvasanto (samviśanto)  
 mahitvā, 281  
 amāsi sarvān (sarvān) asi praviṣṭah,  
 146  
 amlmadaṇṭa pitaro yathābhāgam  
 āvṛṣāyīṣata (\*yīṣata, avivṛṣata), 533  
 amukthā yakṣmād duritād avadyūt, 60,  
 355, 715  
 amutrabbhūyād adha (adhi) yad yam-  
 asya, 578  
 amum ma iṣūna (amum maniṣūna), 829  
 amūham asmi sā tvam, 723  
 amṛnmayam (amṛn\*) devapūtram, 954  
 amṛtenāvṛtām puram (purīm), 600  
 ameṣṭam asi svāhā, 339  
 amoci yakṣmād duritād avariyai, 60,  
 355, 715  
 amo 'si sarvān asi praviṣṭah, 146  
 amo 'ham asmi sā (sa) tvam, 723  
 amba nīpara (nīvara, nīvara, nī-  
 mara), 200, 205, 234, 986  
 ambā ca bulā ca nitatni (ambā dulā  
 nitatni) , 179, 529  
 ambāyai svāhā dulāyai svāhā, 179  
 ambhah (ambha) sthāmbho vo bhak-  
 śya, 176, 977  
 ayam yah puro vibhinatty (\*naty)  
 ojasā, 392  
 ayam yo asya yasya ta idam śirah, 738,  
 907  
 ayam yo 'si yasya ta idam śirah, 738,  
 907  
 ayam śatrūn jayatu jarhīśānah (jar-  
 hiśānah), 635  
 ayam sa vām aśvinā bhāga ā gatam, 612  
 ayam sa śiṅkte (śiṅte) yena gaur  
 abhivṛtā, 418  
 ayam sahasram ānavo dīśah vi-  
 dharmā (\*mā), 460, 833  
 ayam sahasram ā no dīśe vidhar-  
 mani, 833  
 ayam su vām aśvinā bhāga ā gatam, 612  
 ayanam mā vivadhīr (viba\*) vikram-  
 asva, 209  
 ayann arthūni līnavann apāṅsi, 482  
 ayam no agnir varivas (\*vah) kṛnotu,  
 964  
 ayavānām ādhipatyam, 485  
 ayasā manasā dhṛtah, 401, 402, 502  
 ayasā havyam ūhiṣe, 502, 739  
 ayasthūnam (ayah\*, ayas\*, ayasthū-  
 nāv) uditā (\*tau) sūryasya, 92, 188,  
 237, 824  
 ayasmayam vicṛtā (viśṛtā) bandham  
 etam, 195  
 ayasmayān vi cṛtā bandhapūśān, 195  
 ayād indrāgnyoś (agnir indrāgnīyoś)  
 , 792  
 ayā no yajīnam vahūsi, 739  
 ayāvānām ādhipatyam, 485  
 ayāś cūgne 'ay anabhiṣastis (\*tīś) ca,  
 529

- ayā (ayāh, ayās) san (ayāsū) manasū  
hitah (kṛtah, kṛttah), 401, 402, 502  
ayā (ayāh, ayās) san (ayāsyaṃ)  
havyam ūhiṣe, 502  
ayāsā manasā (vayasā) kṛtah, 401,  
402, 502  
ayā somah (soma) sukṛtyayā, 380  
ayuktāso abrahmatā vidasāma (yad  
asan), 255  
ayupitā yonih, 113  
ayebhyah kṛtavam, 253  
ayoddheva (ayodhyeva) durmada ā hi  
juhve, 347  
aramgamāya jagmaye (jagmave), 248  
aranyāya śmarah, 316, 490  
arāddhā edidhūpatim (arādhyai  
didhūpatim), 381, 474, 554  
arāyo asmān abhiduchunāyate, 248  
arālāg udabhartsata, 90  
arāvā yo no abhi duchunāyate, 248  
arīṣṭyā avyathyai . abhibhūtyai  
svūhā, 644  
arejetām (arejayatām) rodasī pājasā  
gurā, 745  
aredatā manasā devān gacha (gamyāt,  
manasū tac chakeyam), 269  
arepasah manyumattamās (°man-  
tas) cite goh (citā goh, cidūkoh), 47,  
61, 828  
arghah, arghyam, arghyam bhoh, 123,  
321  
arciṣātrino nudatam praticah, 156  
arciṣā śatrūn dahatam pratitya, 156  
artham rihānā vyantu vayah, 96, 152,  
796, 857  
arthas ca ma emas (ca mā ema, ca me  
yūmas) ca me, 803  
ardhamāsyam prasūtāt pitṛjāvatah,  
559  
aryamā te hastam agrabhīt, 116  
aryamāyāti vṛṣabhas tuviṣmān, 509  
aryamā hastam agrabhīt (agrahīt), 116  
aryo naśanta (nah santu) sanīśanta  
(°tu) no dhīyah, 287, 828  
arvān ehi somakāmam tvāhuh, 512  
arhanī jī āpah, 123, 321  
arhann idam dayase viśvam abhavam  
(abbhuvam), 392, 790  
alarsirātum vasudām upa stuhī, 292,  
579, 878  
alivandāya svāhā, 579, 627, 862  
alubhitā yonih, 113  
avartyai badhāyopamanthitāram, 209,  
919  
avakrakṣanam vṛṣabham yathājuram  
(yathā juvam), 267, 835  
avakro 'vithuro ('vidhuro, 'vithuro  
'ham) bhūyāsam, 77  
avajihva nījivika, avajihvaka nījih-  
vaka, 595  
ava jyām iva dhanvanah, 24, 159, 594  
avaśasya viśarjane, 25, 164  
avatatya dhanuṣ tvam (dhanus tvam),  
958  
ava tara nadiṣv ā, 401, 833  
ava tasya balam tira, 201  
avatasya viśarjane, 25, 164  
avattaram nadiṣv ā, 401, 833  
avattaro nadinām, 401, 833  
ava dikṣām asṛkṣata (adāstha) svūhā,  
201  
ava devānām yaja hedo agne (yaje  
hīdyāni, yaje hedyāni), 325, 696  
ava devān yaje hedyān, 325, 696  
ava dyām iva dhanvinah, 24, 159, 594  
ava dronām ghṛtavānti sīda ('vanti  
roha), 501a  
avadhīṣma rakṣah, 209  
avanty asya pavitāram (pavi°) āśavah,  
531  
ava bādhatām , 201  
avabhṛtha nicumpuna (nicāṅkuna, ni-  
cuṅkuna), 150, 605  
avabhṛthas ca svagākāraś (sugā°) ca, 741  
avamais ta ūrvas te , 750  
ava rudram adimahi, 535  
avartyai vadhāyopamanthitāram, 209,  
919  
avavyayann asītam deva vasma (vas-  
vah), 240  
ava śveta padā jahī, 134, 201, 384, 817  
ava sedim tṛṣṇām kṣudham jahī, 201  
ava somam nayāmasi, 383, 830  
avasphūrjan didyud (vidyud) varṣan  
bhūtar āvṛt (varṣans tvesa rūvat,  
varṣans tveva rūvat) svūhā, 869



- ava sma durhanāyatah (durhṇ<sup>o</sup>), 4, 39, 631  
 avasyur asi duvasv<sup>n</sup>, 554  
 avasyuvātā bṛhatī (<sup>o</sup>tīr) na (nu, tu) śakvari (<sup>o</sup>rih), 381, 614  
 avasyūr asi duvasvān, 554  
 avād dhavyāni surabhīni kṛtvā (kṛtvi), 598a  
 avātīratam bṛsayasya (prathayasya) śeṣah, 69, 658  
 avā no devyā dhīyā (kṛpā), 421, 824  
 avānyāns tantūn kirato dhatto anyān, 138  
 avāmba rudram adimahi (adī<sup>o</sup>), 535  
 avāra ikṣavah pāryebhyah (pāryebhyah) . ., 325, 786  
 avārāya kevaratam, 41, 325, 708  
 avāryāni pakṣmāni pāryā ikṣavah, 325  
 avāryāya mārḡāram, 325  
 avāsṛjo apo (<sup>o</sup>po) achā samudram, 907  
 avikṣobhāya (<sup>o</sup>kṣodhāya) paridhīn dadhāmi, 176  
 avidahanta (<sup>o</sup>tah) śrapayata, 930  
 avinaśtūn avihrutān (<sup>o</sup>hṛtān), 683  
 avimuktacakra (<sup>o</sup>rā) āśīran, 139, 235, 643, 861  
 aviraghnir ud ajantv (acantv) āpah, 53  
 aviraghno (<sup>o</sup>ni) vīratarah (<sup>o</sup>tamah, vīravatah) suvīrān (suśevān), 123  
 avivarata vo hi kam (hikam), 817  
 avebhyah kītavam, 253  
 avocāma kavaye medhyāya, 109, 230  
 avo devasya śānasi, 421  
 avyo (avyā) vāre (vūraiḥ) pari priyah (priyam), 381, 706  
 avradanta vīlītā, 271  
 aśīślikṣum śīślikṣate (aśīlīpu śīlīṣate), 195  
 aśīmahi tvā, 617  
 aśīrṇānū ahaya (<sup>o</sup>no 'haya) iva (<sup>o</sup>na 'ivahayah), 512  
 aśīśubhanta yajūyā rtena, 174, 286, 292  
 aśmāns (aśman) te kṣut, 932  
 aśrathnan dṛghāvradata viditā, 271  
 aśīram (aśīlam) cit kṛmuthā (<sup>o</sup>thāt) supratikam, 261  
 aśīrā (aśīlā) tanūr bhavati, 261  
 aśrubhīh pṛṣvām (pṛṣvām), 40, 680  
 aśronā, see aslonā . .  
 aśīlīpu . ., see aśīślikṣum . .  
 aśīlam, and aśīlā, see aśīr<sup>o</sup> .  
 aśīṣā nakṣatram, 265, 473  
 aślonā (aśro<sup>o</sup>) aṅgair ahrutāh (aślon-āṅgair ahrūtā, ahrutāh) svarge, 261, 683, 819, 980, 990  
 asloṇo 'pśācadhitah, 857  
 aśvam jayānam sarīrasya (salīrasya) madhye, 264  
 aśvavat soma vīravat, 467  
 aśvasya vāje (krande, krandye) puruṣasya māyau, 315  
 aśvān anaśsato (anaśyato, anaḥsato, anaśvato) dānam, 255, 408  
 aśvā bhavata (<sup>o</sup>tha) vājīnah, 90  
 aśvāvat soma vīravat, 467  
 aśvinā gharṇam pātam hārdvānam (hārddivānam, pātam aharvyānam, pībatam hārdvānam), 267, 764  
 aśvinā bhiṣajāvatah (<sup>o</sup>tam, <sup>o</sup>ta), 379  
 aśvinendram na jāgrvi (<sup>o</sup>vi), 525  
 aśvinau dvyakṣarena (<sup>o</sup>kṣarayā) prānāpānāv (<sup>o</sup>nā) ud ajayatām, 886  
 aśvibhyām tirohnyānām (tirohnyānām) somānām anubrūhi, 787, 910  
 aśvibhyām tirohnyān somān prasthitān preṣya, 787, 910  
 aśvibhyām pradhāpaya (pradhāpaya), 104  
 aśādham (aśāham) yutsu . ., 474  
 aśādham ugram sahamānam ābhīh, 474  
 aśādhyā sahamānyā vedhase (mīdhuse), 170, 235, 696  
 aśābhyah (<sup>o</sup>yah śātebhyah) svāhā, 495  
 aśāsthūno daśapakṣah, 495  
 aśāpakṣam daśapakṣum, 495  
 aśābhyah (<sup>o</sup>yah śātebhyah) svāhā, 495  
 aśtrām tādām pratīnāh (tālam pratīnāham), 271  
 asamheyam parābhavan, 23, 121, 124  
 asadan mūtaram purah, 853, 861  
 asanan mūtaram punah, 853, 861  
 asapatnāh kīlābhuvam, 602  
 asapatnā kīlābhuvam (<sup>o</sup>bhavam), 602

- asapatnā sapatnaghnī (°nighnī), 588  
 asambādham badhyato (ma°) māna-  
 vānām (°veṣu), 241  
 asambādḥā yā madhyato mānave-  
 bhyah, 241  
 asambhavyam parābhavan, 23, 121, 124  
 asammīṣṭo jāyase mātroh (mātṛvoh)  
 śucih, 368  
 asāv (asā) anu mā ., 888  
 asā (asāv-asāv) upahvajasva, 886  
 asikny (°kny) asy oṣadhe, 777  
 asiknyā (°knyā) marudvṛdhe vīta-  
 tayā, 791  
 asum gharman divam (svar) ātiṣṭhānu,  
 360  
 asuntāya (°thāya) vodhave, 93  
 asūrtā (°te) sūrtā (°te) rajaso (°s)  
 vimāne (mṣatte, °tā, na sattā), 293,  
 578, 828  
 asūśudanta yayjīyā rtena, 174, 286, 292  
 asrūmukho rudhurenābhyaktah (°āv-  
 aktah), 220  
 astabhnād dyām vṛṣabho (dyām ṛṣa°)  
 antarīkṣam, 359  
 astī hi śmā (astu sma) te śuśminn  
 avayāh, 436, 442, 987  
 astrīto nāmāham ni dadhe (pari  
 dade), 104  
 asthabhyah (asthi°) svāhā, 591  
 asthūri nau (nau, no, no) gārhapatyam  
 (°tyām) ., 732, 950  
 aspārṣam (°sam) enam śataśārādāya,  
 292  
 asmadrātā (asmaddātrā, °rātā ma-  
 dhumatī, °tīr) devatrā gachata  
 (gacha), 357, 800  
 asmadryak (°driyak) sam mimihi śra-  
 vānsi, 784  
 asmadryag (°driyag) vāvṛdhe vīryāya,  
 784  
 asmadbhyam dattām (dhattām) varunaś  
 ca manyuh, 105  
 asmadbhyam indra varivah (variyah)  
 sugam kṛdhi, 249, 541a  
 asmadbhyam mahi varivah sugam kah,  
 249, 541a  
 asmān u devā avatā haveṣu, 742, 924  
 asmāns cakre mānyasya medhā, 930  
 asmākam yonā (yonāv) udare suśevāh,  
 886  
 asmākam aṅsum (aṅsam) maghavan  
 puruṣpṛham, 618  
 asmākam abhūr haryaśva medi, 231,  
 263  
 asmān cakre mānyasya medhā, 930  
 asmān (asmān) citrābhir avatād abh-  
 iṣṭibhih, 930  
 asmān u devā avatā bhareṣv ā, 121, 267,  
 742, 924  
 asmān devāso 'vatā haveṣu, 121, 267,  
 512, 742  
 asmān site payasābhyāvavṛtsva, 849  
 asmāsu nṛmanam dhāh, 509  
 asmin kṣaye pratarām dīdyānah, 107,  
 506  
 asmin goṣṭhe karīṣinīh (°nah, puri-  
 ṣinīh), 152, 617  
 asmuī (asmin) chūra savane māda-  
 yasva, 937  
 asmin nara indriyam dhattam ojah, 105  
 asmin brahmany (°mann) asmin  
 karmany (karmann) ., 928  
 asmin rāṣṭram adhi śraya, 704  
 asmin vayam samkasuke (°kusuke),  
 605  
 asme indrābhraspatī, 704  
 asme karmane jātah, 704  
 asme kṣatrāni dhārayer anu dyūn, 704  
 asme devāso vapuṣe cikitsata, 704  
 asme dehi ., see asme dhehi  
 asme dyāvāpṛthivī bhūri vāmam, 704  
 asme dhatta vasavo vasūni, 704  
 asme dhārayatam (°tām) rayim, 704  
 asme dhehi (dehi) jātavedo mahi  
 śravah, 105  
 asme prayandhi maghavann ṛjīṣin, 704  
 asme rāṣṭrāni dhārāya (rāṣṭram adhiś-  
 raya), 704  
 asme rāṣṭrāya mahi śarma yachatam,  
 704  
 asmai indrābhraspatī, 704  
 asmai karmane jātah, 704  
 asmai kṣatrāni dhārayantam agne, 704  
 asmai dyāvāpṛthivī bhūri vāmam, 704  
 asmai dhatta vasavo vasūni, 704  
 asmai dhārayatam rayim, 704

asmai prayandhi maghavann rjīṣm, 704  
asmai rāṣṭrāya mahi śarma yachatam, 704

asya kurmo (kulmo, kṛno, kṛmo)  
harivo medinam tvā, 231, 263

asya te sakhye vayam, 340

asya pitā (pītva) svarvidah, 367

asya sutasya svar na (na), 949

asya snuṣā śvaśurasya praśiṣṭim, 857

asya hotuh pradiśy (praśiṣy) ṛtasya  
vāci, 292

asyā avata vīryam, 449

asyām devī abhi samviśantah, 340

asyai nūryā upastare (\*stire), 573

asredhanta itana vājam acha, 52

aham śatrūn jayāmi jarhṣṣānah, 635

aham hy ugras (ūgras) taviṣas tuviṣ-  
mān, 567

aham hy ugro (ūgro) maruto vidūnah,  
567

aham dandenāgatam, 580

aham id dhi pītuṣ (pītuḥ) pari, 967

aham pratnera manmanā (janmanā),  
856

ahar-ahar aprayāvam bharantah, 117

ahar-ahar balim it te harantah, 117

ahar divābhīr ūtibhīh, 165, 272, 272a,  
324, 360

ahalag (ahalam) itī vañcati, 511

ahaścārebhyaḥ, 488, 690

ahā anadatā hate, 888

ahā arātīm avidah (avartim avidat)  
syonom, 806

ahā neta sann (ned asann, netar asann,  
ahād eta sann) avicetanāni (apuro-  
gavāni), 62

ahā yad dyāvo (devā) asuntīm ayan  
(āyan), 482, 803

ahāv anadatā hate, 888

ahāh śarīram (ahāc char\*) payasā  
sameti (sametya), 737

ahim dandenāgatam, 580

ahim budhnyam (\*niyam) anu rīya-  
mānāh (samcarantīh, anvīyamānāh)  
353, 784

ahir asī budhnyah (\*niyah), 787

ahir jaghāna kim (kam) cana, 578

ahir dadarśa kam cana, 578

ahir na jūrṇām (ahir ha jīrṇām) atī  
sarpatī tvacam, 628

ahirbudhnya mantram me 'jugupah  
(\*jū\*) , 548

ahirbudhnya mantram me pāhi, 787

ahir budhnyo (\*niyo) devatā, 787

ahīś ca sarvān (sarvān) jambhayan  
(\*ya), 936

ahedatā manasā devān gacha, 269

ahedatā (\*latā) manasedam juṣasva,  
269

ahē budhniya mantram me gopāya, 787

ahorātrayor vṛṣtyā , 803, 840

ahorātrābhyām puruṣah samena  
(kṣanena)-420

ahorātre ūrvaṣṭive (\*ṣṭhive) , 86,  
803, 840

ahnānsī rātryai , 255

ahnā yad enah kṛtam astī pūpam (kim-  
cit, enaś calṛmeha kimcit), 849

ākarsye karśyo yathā, 290

ākūtīm (\*tam) agnīm prayujam svāhā,  
587

ākūtīm (\*tim) devīm manasah (\*sā,  
subhagām) puro dadhe (prapadye)  
529

ākūtyai prayuje 'gnaye (agnaye)  
svāhā, 910

ākramanam kuṣṭhābhyām, 49

ākrayāyā ayogūm (ākrayāyāyogūm,  
ākram\*), 990

ākran samudrah , 508

ākhuḥ kaśo mānthālas (\*lavas, mān-  
dhālas) te pītṛnām, 77, 489, 597

ākhum tvā ye dadhire devayantah,  
193, 296, 835

ākhuḥ sṛjayā śayandakas te maitrāh  
(śayāndakās te maitrāh), 315, 489

āgan apāna , 508

āganma mītrāvarunā varenyā (varena,  
varenyam), 326

āganma viśvavedasam, 508

āganma vṛtrahantamam, 508

ā garbho yonim etu te, 711

ā galgā dhavanīnām (galgā dhamanī-  
nām), 144, 225

āgnīś ca dahatam prati, 512

āgne jāhi suśastibhīh, 509

- āgrāyanaś (āgrā°) , and °yanas, °yanāt, °yano , 492  
 ā gharṇo agnir ṛṭayann asādi (°dit), 533, 840  
 ā gharṇo agnir amṛto na sūdi, 533, 840  
 āṅgūṣṭhānām avāśanta vūnih, 490, 599, 720  
 āṅgūṣyam pavamānam sakhyāyah, 490 720  
 āchettā te (vo) mā riṣam (riṣat, mār-  
 ṣam), 753  
 ājagan rātri sumanā iha syām, 508  
 ājum tvāgne . , 360  
 ājum na gurvavāho jigyur aśvāh, 810  
 ājum na jagmur gurvāho aśvāh, 810  
 ā juhota (°ta) duvasyata, 442  
 ājyasya kilyā upa tān kṣarantu, 565  
 ājanena sarpiṣā sam viśantu (sprān-  
 tām, mṛsantām), 200, 205, 235, 375, 640  
 ātapati varṣan virād āvṛt svāhā, 168  
 ā tasthāv (tasthā) amṛtam divi, 888  
 ātir vāhaso darvidā te vāyave, 325, 529  
 ā tiṣṭha mitravardhana (°nah), 380  
 āti vāhaso darvidā te vāyavyāh, 325, 529  
 ā te garbho yonim etu (aitu), 711  
 ā te yonim garbha etu, 711  
 ā te suparnā aminanta (°tan) evaiḥ, 308  
 ātmann (°many) evānupaśyati, 928  
 ātmam indrāya pyāyasva, 224, 831  
 ātmānam ta āgrāyanah (āgra°) pātu, 492  
 ātmāsy ātmann ātmānam (ātmanat-  
 mānam) me mā hinsih, 401, 836  
 ā tvam (svam) indrāya pyāyasva, 224, 831  
 ā tvā parśritah (°śṛtah, °śrutah) kumbhah (°āh), 275, 626, 832, 831  
 ā tvā prāpann aghāyavah (adyā°), 832, 868  
 ā tvā vahantu harayah sucetasah (sace°), 612  
 ā tvā subhava (suhava) sūryāya, 119  
 ā dadhnaḥ kalāsair (°śir, °śam) aguh (ayan, gaman, upa, ayann iva, air-  
 ayam), 701  
 ā darśati (darṣate) śavasū bhūryojāh (sapta dānūn), 292  
 ādāyo virah śatamanyur indrah, 471, 489  
 ādityam garbham payasā sam aṅgdhi (aṅdhi, aṅjan), 418  
 āditya nāvam āruksah (āroksam), 715  
 ādityasya vṛtām upakṣiyantah (kṣy-  
 antah), 795  
 ādit-ān chmaśrubhiḥ (°yān śma°, °yān  
 śma°), 937  
 ādityānām patvānv (patmānv) ihi (ehi), 240, 694  
 ādityānām prasitir (°sṛtir) hetir ugrā, 637  
 ādityā rudrā vasavas tveḍate (tvel°,  
 tenute), 271  
 ādityāśah sumahasah (sa°) kṛnotana, 612  
 ādityās te citim (citam) āpūrayantu, 587  
 ādityās tvā prabhantu (pravṛ°) jāga-  
 tena chandasā, 212  
 ādityebhyah preṣya (ādityebhyah) pri-  
 yebhyah . . mahasvasarasya (mah-  
 ah sva°) . . , 980  
 ādityebhyas tvā pravṛhāmi . . , 212  
 ād id antā adadhanta pūrve, 341, 835  
 ād id dyāvāpṛthivi aprathetām, 341  
 ād id dhotāram ny asādayanta (asā°), 983  
 ā devo yāti bhuvanāni paśyan (bhuv-  
 anā vipāśyan), 840  
 ādhyakṣyāyānuḥśattāram, 325, 491  
 ā na indo mahīm iṣam, 353  
 ā na indo śatagvinam (śā°), 512  
 ā na indra mahīm iṣam, 353  
 ānandā modāḥ pramudāḥ, 713  
 ānando modah pramodah, 713  
 ā nah śṛnvann ūtibhiḥ sida śādanam, 376  
 ā na (nah) stuta upa vājebhir ūti, 977  
 ā nu tac (tyac) chardho divyam  
 vṛnimāhe, 345  
 ā no agne sucetunā (suketunā), 126  
 ā no goṣu viśatv auśadhiṣu (oṣ°, ā  
 tanḥṣu), 730

- ā no yāhi tapasī janeṣu (janeṣva, janeṣv ā). 693, 742, 826  
 ā no viśva iśkrā (viśve askrā) gamantu  
 ('ta) devāḥ, 473  
 antarikṣam prthivīm adṛhāt, 509  
 Jntrimukhah . . , 386, 511  
 Jnyā vākṣid (Jnyā vākṣad) vasu vāry-  
 āṇi, 481  
 Jpataye tvā grhṇāmi, 867  
 Jpataye tvā . . . tanūnaptre śākvarāya  
 śakvana ('tre śakmane śākvarāya  
 śakmann) oṣiṣhāya, 240  
 Jpaprivān (Jpaprivān) rodasi antarik-  
 ṣam, 671  
 Jpāh śundhantu mainasah, 173  
 Jpas tad ghnantu sarvadā (te sadā),  
 842  
 Jpas tvā sam arinan (arinnan, Jpāh  
 sam arinan), 366  
 ā pitvām vaiśvānaram avase kṛh  
 (kuh), 611  
 Jpura stā . . , 90, 319, 568  
 ā puṣtam etv ā vasu, 309, 992  
 Jpūryā sthā . . , 90, 319, 568  
 ā pūṣā etv ā vasu, 309, 568, 992  
 Jprno 'si samprnah (Jprnoṣi sam-  
 prna) . . , 293, 380, 827  
 Jpo agre viśvam āvan, 253  
 Jpo adyānr acāriṣam, 244, 498, 754  
 Jpo asmān (mā) mātaraḥ śundhayantu  
 (śūdayantu śundhantu), 109, 286, 302  
 Jpo grheṣu Jjgrata, Jpo Jjgrta, 662  
 Jpo devīḥ pratigrbhāta ('grbhāta)  
 bhasmaitat, 116  
 Jpo devīr agrepuvo agrepuvo , 910  
 Jpo devīḥ svadantu (sadantu) . . , 371  
 Jpo deveṣu Jjgratha, 662  
 Jpo malam iva prānāḥśīt (prānājan),  
 700  
 Jpo mā . . . , see Jpo asmān . .  
 Jpo me hotrāṁśānāh ('nyah), 328  
 Jpo ha yad brhatīr (yan mahatīr)  
 viśvam (garbham) āyan, 253  
 Jpo havīṣu Jjgrta, 662  
 Jptam manah, 874  
 Jptye sam nay Jmasi, 511, 878  
 Jpyā adhvam aghniyā (aghnyā) . . ,  
 787  
 Jprā (Jprād) dyāvṛprthivī antarikṣam,  
 392  
 Jbbiṣ tvāham sūtarai ('ve), 705  
 Jbhur anyo pr ('va) padyatām, 201  
 Jbhur (ābhūr) asya niṣāṅgadhiḥ  
 ('thiḥ), 77, 93, 98, 554  
 ā mā gantīm ('tam) pitarā mātara ca  
 (yuvam), 482  
 ā mā goṣu viśtv ā tanūṣu, 730  
 ā mā varco 'gninā dattam etu, 907  
 ā māśiṣo (ām āśiṣo) dohaśāmāh, 836,  
 837  
 ā mā stutasya stutam gamyāt (gamet),  
 357, 713, 803  
 ā mā stotrasya stotraṁ gamyāt, 357,  
 713, 803  
 Jyataye tvā grhṇāmi, 867  
 Jyat tpsu maruto vīrasānāh ('nah),  
 507  
 ā yam (āyan) narah sudānavo dadā-  
 ṣuṣe, 413, 831  
 Jyann arthāni kṛnavann apānsi, 482  
 ā yāta pitarah somyāśah (somyāḥ), 747  
 ā yā dyām (divam) bhāsy ā prthivīm  
 orv (urv) antarikṣam, 718  
 ā yāhi tapasī janeṣu (janeṣva, janeṣv  
 ā), 693, 742, 826  
 ā yāhi śūra haribhyām (hariha, hari  
 iha), 545  
 ā yāhy arvāṇ upa vandhureṣṭhāh  
 (ban'), 213  
 Jyuhpati rathamtarām (Jyuh pratira-  
 thamtaram) . . , 354, 840  
 Jyukṛd Jyuhpatnī svadhā vah, 962  
 Jyukṣisarvā oṣadhiḥ, 140, 255, 805  
 Jyur dadhad yajñapastāv ('tā) avyru-  
 tsm, 888  
 Jyur dadhānāh prataram navīyah, 575  
 Jyurdā agne jarasam vṛnānah, 196, 267,  
 642, 854  
 Jyurdā agne 'si, 100  
 Jyurdā agne haviṣo juṣānah (haviṣ  
 vṛdhānah), 196, 267, 643, 854  
 Jyurdā asi 100  
 Jyurdā deva jarasam vṛnānah (grn'),  
 196, 267, 643, 854  
 Jyur dehi, 103  
 Jyurdhā agne 'si, 100

āyurdhā asī, 100  
 āyur dhehi, 103  
 āyur no dehi jīvase, 105, 106  
 āyur no vīśvato dadhat, 105  
 āyur bṛhat tad asīya tan māvatu  
 (mām avatu), 812  
 āyur mayi dhehi, 100, 102  
 āyur me dehi (dhehi, dāh, dhattam),  
 100, 102, 103  
 āyur vasāna upa vetu (yātu) śeṣaḥ  
 (śeṣam), 803  
 āyus ca prāyus ca cakṣas ca vicakṣas  
 (cakṣus ca vicakṣus) ca prān cāpān  
 (cāvān) ca, 202, 603  
 āyuskrte svāhā, 716  
 āyuskrd āyuspatni svadhāvantau, 962  
 āyus te vīśvato dadhat, 105  
 āyusmān ("mān, °mān, āyusyam) jara-  
 daṣṭur yathāśat ("sam, °sāni), 936  
 āyusmān agne haviṣā vṛdhānah, 196,  
 267, 643, 854  
 āyu (āyuh) stha, 977  
 āyoh patmane svāhā, 240, 967  
 ā yonim garbha etu te, 711  
 āyobhavyāya catuspadī, 319, 421  
 ā yo vīśvām śavasā (śravasā) tatāna,  
 349  
 āyoṣkrte svāhā, 716  
 āyoṣ patvane svāhā, 240, 967  
 āraṇāya śmarah, 316, 490  
 ā raśmīn (raśmim) deva yamase (yuv-  
 ase) svaśvān ("vah), 235, 617  
 ārādhya didhiṣūpatim, 381, 474, 554  
 āruroha tve sacā (tvayy api), 747  
 āre asman (asmin) ni dhehi tam, 578  
 āre śatrūn (āreśatruṇ) kṛnuhi sarva-  
 virah ("ram), 820  
 ā rohantu janayo yonim agre, 863  
 ārtavā adhipataya āsan, 652  
 ārtavā asṛjyanta, 652  
 ārtavo 'dhipatir āsit, 652  
 ārtvai janavādinam, 652  
 ārdrah prathasnur (pr̥thusnur) bhuv-  
 anasya gopāh, 609, 658  
 āryamā yāti vṛṣabhas turāṣāt, 509  
 ārvāḥ ehi somakāmam tvāhuh, 512  
 ālikhann aumiṣah hantrīmukhah  
 , 386, 511

ālebhānād iṣṭibhir yātudhānāt, 262  
 ā va indram krivim (krivīm) yathā, 673  
 āvat tam indrah śacyā dhamantam,  
 407, 826, 873  
 ā vatso jagatā (jāyatām, jagadāh)  
 saba, 60  
 āvartam indrah śacyā dhamantam,  
 407, 826, 873  
 ā vah somam nayāmasi, 383, 830  
 āvitte dyāvāprthivi ṛtāvṛdhau, 97, 466,  
 665, 871  
 āvittau mitrāvarunau dhṛtavrate, 466,  
 665, 871  
 āvitsi sarvā ośadhīh, 140, 255, 805  
 āvinne dyāvāprthivi dhṛtavrate, 97,  
 466, 665, 871  
 āvinno mitrāvarunāv ṛtāvṛdhau, 466,  
 665, 871  
 āviṣ (āvih) kṛnuṣva daivyāny agne, 967  
 ā vīram prtanāṣaham ("saham), 984  
 ā vṛṣeyantām (vṛṣcantām) aditaye  
 durevāh, 334  
 āvo yudhyantam vṛṣabham daśadyum,  
 873  
 āvyuṣam jāgrtād (jāgryām, °yāmy)  
 aham, 674  
 āśātikāh kṛmayā (kri°) iva, 668  
 āśiṣe rādhase mahe, 627  
 āśir na (nā, ma) ūrjam uta saupra-  
 jāstvam (supra°), 724, 949  
 ā śirṣnah śamopyāt (sam°), 277  
 āśuh kāṣṭhām (gā°) ivāśaran (°ram),  
 48  
 āśum jayantam anu yāsu vardhase,  
 287, 339, 618, 840  
 āśum tvājau dadhire devayantah, 193,  
 296, 835  
 ā śuṣe rādhase mahe, 627  
 āśūn iva suyamān ahva ūtaye, 843  
 āśūn huve suyamān ūtaye, 843  
 āśreṣā nakṣatram, 265, 473  
 āśādham yutsu , āśādham ugram  
 , 474  
 āṣṭa (āṣṭhāh) pratiṣṭhām avidad dhi  
 (avido hi, avide["dan]nu) gūdhām, 86  
 āsanā udabhir yathā, 90  
 āsann ā (āsan nah) pātram janayanta  
 (°tu) devāh, 383, 837

- āsanniṣūn hṛtsvaso mayobhūn, 180, 298,  
 386, 634, 693, 820  
 āsann eṣām apsuavāho mayobhūn, 180,  
 298, 386, 634, 693, 820  
 ā samudrā acucyavuh, 144, 600, 829  
 āsam manah, 874  
 ā sīm ugrā acucyavuh, 144, 600, 829  
 ā sutrāvne sumatū āvṛnānah, 60, 287,  
 294, 355, 854  
 ā soma suvāno (svāno) adribhūh, 794  
 āstām jālma (jalma) udaram āran-  
 śayitvā (śraṇśayitvā), 277, 439  
 āsmā āśṛvann ūśūh, 873  
 āsmāsu nṛmnam dhāt, 509  
 āsminn ugrā acucyavuh, 144, 600, 829  
 ā svam indrāya, see ā tvam  
 āhalag (°lam) itī vañicatī (sarpatī), 511  
 āhnāśasya parasyādah, 511  
 imkārāya (°kṛtāya) svāhā, 386, 544  
 ichanto 'paridākṛtān, 159, 186  
 ida (idā) ehi, 272  
 idaprajaso (idā°) mānavih, 475  
 idā manuṣyad (°yad) iha cetayanti, 248  
 idāyās (°yāh) padam, 964  
 idāvati dhenumatī hi bhūtam, 272  
 idāvān (°vān) eṣo asura prajāvān, 925  
 idāsmān anu vastām ghr̥tena, 271, 665,  
 924  
 idito devair harivān (°vañ) abhiṣṭih,  
 539  
 idaivāsmān (idaiva vām) anu vastām  
 vratena (ghr̥tena), 271, 665, 924  
 itī cid dhi tvā dhanā jayantam, 68, 735  
 itidam viśvam bhuvanam sam eti (vi  
 yāti), 803  
 ito dharmāni dhārayan, 578  
 idam rādhah pratī gr̥bhnihy (gr̥hnihy)  
 aṅgirah, 116  
 idam rādhō agnīnā dattam āgāt, 907  
 idam vatsyāmo bhoh (vatsyāvah), 237  
 idam varco agnīnā dattam āgāt (āgan),  
 907  
 idam ta ekam para ū ta (uta) ekam,  
 547, 831  
 idam tam adhiṣṭhāmī (abhi°), 172  
 idam te tad vi syāmy āyuso na ma-  
 dhyāt, 614  
 idam devānām idam u nah (idam nas)  
 saha, 971  
 idam aham rakṣo 'bhī (rakṣobhīh)  
 sam dahāmī (sam ūhāmī), 383, 826  
 idam aham sarpānām grathnāmī  
 (kṛnatmī, kṛtsnāmī), 47, 665  
 idam aham amuṣyāmusyāyanasya pāp-  
 mānam ava (apa) gūhāmī, 201  
 idam brahma pipṛhi (pipiḥi) sau-  
 bhagāya, 640  
 idam me prīvatī vacah, 449  
 idāhna id āharam aśīya, 709  
 idhmasyeva prakṣāyatah (prakhyāya-  
 tah), 27, 191  
 inatamam āptyam (āptam) āptyānām,  
 315  
 ino viśvasya bhuvanasya gopāh, 693  
 indur indum avāgāt (°gan, upāgāt,  
 apā°), 201  
 indra ivāriṣṭo akṣatah (akṣitah), 576  
 indra ukthebbhir mandīṣṭhah (bhand°),  
 242  
 indra r̥bhukṣā marutah parī khyan  
 (kṣan), 190  
 indra r̥bhubhir brahmanā samvidānah,  
 108, 640, 919  
 indra enam (enam) prathamō adhy  
 aṣṭhāt, 950  
 indra enam (enam) parāśarīt, 702, 950  
 indrah karmasu no 'vatu, 380  
 indrah kṛtvā maruto yad vaśāma, 380,  
 664  
 indrah patis tuviṣṭamo (tavastamo)  
 janesv ā, 596, 604, 742, 964  
 indrah pāśena siktivā vah (vah siktivā),  
 367, 383, 819  
 indram yajñe prayaty ahvetām (āh°),  
 509  
 indram vājam vi mucyadhvam, 53  
 indram sa r̥chatu yo maitasyai (°syā)  
 diśo 'bhīdāsati, 910  
 indram sa diśām devam devatānām  
 r̥chatu yo maitasyai diśo 'bhīdāsati,  
 910  
 indra karmasu no 'vata, 380  
 indra kratvā maruto yad vaśāma, 380,  
 664

indra darta purām asi, 107  
 indra dhurā purām asi, 107  
 indrapāśena sūtvā, 367, 383, 819  
 indram agniṁ ca vodhāve, 694  
 indram ādityavāntam bṛhaspati-  
 mantam (\*vāntam) , 239  
 indratubhir brahmanā vāvṛdhānah,  
 108, 640, 919  
 indravānta (\*tah) stuta (studhvam),  
 977  
 indravānto maruto viṣṇur agniḥ, 467  
 indra vājeṣu no 'va (ava, vaha), 907  
 indravān bṛhad bhās svāhā, 467  
 indravān svavān bṛhad bhāh, 467  
 indravāhāv (\*hā) bṛhavo vājaratnāh,  
 888  
 indraś ca mṛdayāti (mṛl\*) nah, 271  
 indra (indrah) śrutasya mahato mah-  
 āni, 380  
 indra sayugbhīr , 364  
 indra suteṣu someṣu, 380  
 indra somam imam pibā (somam pibā  
 imam), 432, 444  
 indra somasya pītaye, 380  
 indra stomena pañcadaśena , 380  
 indras patis tavastamo janeṣu, 596, 964  
 indrasya tvā bhāgam somenā tanaçmī  
 (tanakmī), 127  
 indrasya nu vīryāṁ pra vocam (nu  
 prā vocam vir\*), 437, 449  
 indrasya priyam pātha upehi (pātho  
 apīhi, 'pīhi), 910  
 indrasya vaimṛdhasyāham , 699  
 indrasya śuṣmam īrayann apasyubhih,  
 699  
 indrasyāham vimṛdhasya , 699  
 indrasyāham devayajayendriyāvi  
 (\*vān, \*yavān) bhūyāsam, 467, 598  
 indra svadhām anu hi no babhūtha,  
 380  
 indra svayugbhīr . . , 364  
 indrah suteṣu someṣu, 380  
 indrah sūrah prathamō viśvakarmā, 820  
 indrah somasya pītaye, 380  
 indrah stomena pañcadaśena , 380  
 indrah svadhām anu hi no babhūtha,  
 380

indrāgnīyor (\*gnyor) aham devayajy-  
 ayendriyāvy annādo (\*driyavān vir-  
 yavān) bhūyāsam, 467, 792  
 indrāgnīyor (\*gnyor aham) ujjitīm  
 anūjjeṣam, 792  
 indrāgnīyor (\*gnyor) bhāgadheyi  
 (\*yih, \*yis) stha, 792  
 indrānyai kirśā (kirśā), 290  
 indrādhīpatih (\*patyah) pūṣtād ato  
 nah, 700 ,  
 indrāpāsya phaligam, 46, 545, 811, 867  
 indrāya ṛṣabheṇa, 919  
 indrāya tvā bhāgam somenātanacmī,  
 127  
 indrāya tvā suṣuttamam, 397  
 indrāya tvā śrmo 'dadāt (śramo dadat),  
 277, 664  
 indrāyayāsya śephām alikam . . , 46,  
 545, 811, 867  
 indrāyarṣabheṇāśvibhyām sarasvat-  
 ya, 919  
 indrāya vācam vimucyadhvam, 52  
 indrāya suṣūtāmam (suṣuttamam), 397  
 indrāvataṁ karmanā (kāvyair) daṇ-  
 sanābhīr, 77  
 indrāvathuh (\*dhuh) kāvyair dansan-  
 ābhīh, 77  
 indrāvanto maruto viṣṇur agniḥ, 467  
 indrāvarunā algābhīyām, 888  
 indrāvān svāhā, 467  
 indrāsūrā janayan viśvakarmā, 820  
 indrena devīr (devair) vīrudhah sam-  
 vidānāh, 701  
 indrena ma indriyam dattam ojah,  
 105  
 indrena yujā (sayujā) pramṛṇita (pra-  
 [mṛ]ṇitha) śatrūn, 90  
 indremam prataram (\*rām) kṛdhi  
 (naya), 506  
 indre svānāsa (svānāsa) indavah, 794  
 indro jyeṣṭhānām (jyaishṭhyānām,  
 \*thyāya), 321, 707  
 indro nāma śruto gṛne (gane), 633  
 indropānasyakehamanaso , 699  
 indro balam rakṣitāram dughānām, 210  
 indro marudbhīr ṛtuthā (\*dhā) kṛnotu,  
 75



indro me śarma yachatu, 234  
 indro yajvane prpate ca śikṣatī (grpate  
 ca śikṣate), 153  
 indro yad abhinad valam (halam), 210  
 indro valam rakṣitārāṇ dughānām, 210  
 indro vah śarma yachatu, 234  
 indro vidyāt saha ṛṣibhiḥ (sahar-  
 ṣibhiḥ), 919  
 indro vo 'dya parūśarait, 702  
 indhūna enam jarate (jarite, janate)  
 svādhiḥ, 861  
 invakū ('gū) nakṣatram, 48  
 ina udvāsikārīna ime durbhūtam  
 akran, 59, 126, 520a, 875  
 imam yajñam evadhayā ye yajante  
 (dadante), 159, 741  
 imam yajñam juṣamāṇā ('nāv) upetam,  
 886  
 imam yajñam avantu (avatu) no (yā,  
 ghr̥tācā) ('et), 281  
 imam logaṇ (lokan) nidadhan mo  
 aham riṣam, 46  
 imarā ca yajñam sudhayā dadante, 159,  
 741  
 imam tam abhitiṣṭhāmī, 172  
 imam tam punar ādade 'yam ('ham),  
 256, 845  
 imam agne camasaṇ mū vi jibvarah  
 (jī'), 519  
 imam indra vardhaya kṣatriyaṇ me  
 (kṣatriyānām), 826  
 imam ū (u) su tvam asmākam (tyam  
 asmabhyam), 252, 547  
 imam me agadam kṛta (kṛdhi), 849  
 imam me varuṇa śrudhi ('dhi), 518  
 imā uddhāsarīna ime durbhūdam  
 akran, 59, 126, 520a, 875  
 imām su nāvam āruham, 817  
 imām kharāmy oṣadhim ('dhim), 529  
 imāṇ narāḥ (narāḥ) kṛpata vedim etya  
 (eta, etat), 328, 401, 494  
 imā brahma pipihī saubhagīya, 640  
 imā brahma brahmavāhaḥ ('ha), 381  
 imā yā devīḥ pradīśaṇ catasrah, 707  
 ime jivī vi mṛtaḥ āvavṛtan (āvavart-  
 tin), 648  
 ime 'rāsur ime subhūtam (sūdam)  
 akran, 59

ime vāsantikā ṛtū abhikalpamānāḥ,  
 888  
 ime śaśirū ṛtū abhikalpamānāḥ, 888  
 imau te pakṣāv (pakṣā) ajarau patatṛi-  
 nau ('nah), 676, 732, 888  
 imau bhadrāu dhuryāv ('yā) adhi, 888  
 imau stām anupakṣitau (anapekṣitau),  
 618  
 iyaṇ vah sū satyā saridhābhūd (sam-  
 vāg abhūd) yām indrena samadhad-  
 dhvam ('dadhvam), 104, 391  
 iyaṇ vai pitre rāṣṭry ety agre, 321, 803  
 iyaṇ te yajñiyā tanūḥ (tanuḥ), 554  
 iyam apa (ava) dīkṣām ayaṣṭa, 201  
 iyam eva sū yā prathamā vyauchat  
 (vyuchat), 724  
 iyam oṣadhe ('dhi) trāyamānā, 695  
 iyaṇ pitryā (pitre) rāṣṭry ety (etv)  
 agre, 321, 803  
 iyalāḥ kṛṣṇo daśabhiḥ sahasrah, 538  
 ira chi, 272  
 irām u ha (irām aha) praśaṇsatī, 613,  
 830  
 irūvati dhenumatī hi bhūtam, 272  
 iryatāyā akitavam, 544  
 irla chi, 272  
 iluvardhaya svāhā, 579, 627, 862  
 ilaiva vām anu vastāḥ vratenā, 271  
 iṣam ūjam yajamānīya dhehi (dub-  
 rūm, dattvā), 105  
 iṣaś coraś ca śūradāv ('dā) ṛtū, 888  
 iṣum na viro astī, 840  
 iṣur nāvīrastāram, 840  
 iṣo pipihī (pipihī), 545  
 iṣo rāye (rayayā) ramasva sahasa  
 dyumnāyorje ('yorja-, dyumna ūrje)  
 'patyāya (patyāya, apa'), 37, 396,  
 705, 910  
 iṣkartā vihrutaṇ punah, 650, 683  
 iṣkṛtāhūvam avatam, 164  
 iṣṭam vītam abhigūrtam vaṣaṣkṛtam,  
 153  
 iṣṭaṇ ca vītam (vittam) ca (cābhūt),  
 308  
 iṣṭam pūrtam abhupūrtam vaṣaṣkṛtam,  
 153  
 iṣṭena pakvam upa te huve savāham  
 ('sū aham), 362

upa śravat (śruvat) subhagā yajñe  
asmin, 603  
upaśrito (upaśruti, °śrito) divah prthi-  
vyoh, *see* agne tvam sūktavāg  
upa śreṣṭhā na āśiṣah (āśirah), 857  
upastutyam (°stutam) januma tat  
(mahī jātam) te arvan, 327  
upa stuhi (snuhi) tam nṛmanām  
(nṛmanām) athadrām, 77, 110, 356,  
616, 696, 802, 824, 871  
upasthāvarābhyo dāśam, 597  
upasthāvaribhyo bai(n)dam, 597  
upasthe mātuh surabhū (°bhāv) u loke,  
886  
upasthe soma āhitah (ādhitah), 122  
upa snuhi, *see* upa stuhi  
upahūtā gāvah saharṣabhāh, 919  
upahūtā dhenuh saharṣabhā (sahaṣ°),  
919  
upahūtā saptahotrā (°tāh saptahotrāh),  
331  
upahūto dyauṣ (dyauh) pitā, 967  
upahūto bhūyasi haviṣkarane (hav-  
iḥk°), 962  
upahūto 'yam yajamāna uttarasyām  
devayajyāyām (°yājyāyām), 487  
upākṛtām śāsamānam yad asthāt (sa-  
dhasthāt, sad asthāt), 110, 829  
upānasah saparyan, 383, 614, 832  
upāyava (°vas, °vah) stha, 977  
upāvīr asi, 465  
upo nu sa saparyan, 383, 614, 832  
upo ha yad vidatham vājuno guh  
(gūh), 558  
ubhayebhyah pra cikitsā gaviṣṭau  
(gaiṣṭau), 889  
ubhayor ārtayor (ārtniyor, ubhayo  
rājñor) jyām, 791, 837  
ubhā(ubhāv) upānsu prathamā pibāva,  
886  
ubhā dātārāv (°rā) iṣām rayinām,  
888  
ubhāv indrā (indro) udithah sūryas ca,  
92, 188, 824  
ubhāv upānsu , *see* ubhā  
ubhe id asyobhayasya (asyobhe asya)  
rājatah, 832, 911

ubhe ca no (canam) dyāvāpṛthivi  
anhasah (°sas) pātām (syātām, *etc.*),  
867, 964  
ubhe pṛnakṣi rodasi, 718  
ubhe yatete ubhayasya (ubhe asya)  
puṣyatah, 832, 911  
ubhau lokau sanem (sanomy) aham, 331  
uruka urukasya . . , 49  
uru kṣayāya nas (nah) kṛdhi, 964  
uruga urugasya . . , 49  
urunasāv . . , *see* urū°  
urudrapso viśvarūpa induh, 291, 421,  
742  
uru prathasvornsmradam svāsastham  
devebhyaḥ, 475, 493  
urusya rīya eṣo (rāyo 'reṣo, rāyah  
sam iṣo) yajasva, 361  
uruṣyā no (no) aghāyatah samasmāt,  
950  
urūnasāv (uru°) asutṛpā (°pāv) udum-  
balau (ulu°), 273, 551, 886  
uror ā no deva riṣas pāhi, 871a, 716, 821  
uro vā padbhur (padbhīr) ānate (°ta),  
166  
urva iva paprathe kāmo asme, 564  
urv antarikṣam vihi, 564  
urvī gabhirā (gambhirā) sumatiṣ te  
astu, 305  
urvīm gavyām pariśadam no akran, 46,  
564, 824  
urvī rodasi varivas (°vah) kṛnotam  
(kṛnutam), 964  
urvy antarikṣam vihi, 564  
ulūkhalā grāvāno ghoṣam akrata  
(akurvata), 724  
ulena parisito 'si, 563  
ulokam u dve upa jāmun īyatuh, 392,  
627  
ulo halikṣno vṛṣadanśas te dhātve  
(dhātuh), 532, 563  
uśmahī tvā, 617  
usasa śreyasi-śreyasir (uśasah śreya-  
sīh-śreyasir) dadhat, 980  
uśā apa svasus tamah (svasus tamah),  
956  
uśo dadṛkṣe na punar yatīva, 563  
uśārāyoh pīlvayoh (pīl°), 544

- utārebhāpān ṛṣibhūr yātudhānān, 262  
 utālabdham (utārabdhān) spruhi  
 jātavedah, 262  
 utūla parimīdho 'si, 563  
 utem anamnamuḥ (uteva namnamuḥ),  
 236, 840  
 utem arbhe havāmahe, 569, 693, 831  
 utem (uto) āsu mānam pipartī (bi-  
 bharti), 112  
 utainam gopā adṛṣan (adṛṣan), 356  
 uto aranyāniḥ ('nis) sāyam, 971  
 uto padyābhīr javiṣṭhah (yav\*), 192  
 utkūlanikūlebhyas triṣṭhinam (utkū-  
 lavikūlabhyām tristhinam), 936  
 uttamam nākam (uttame nāke) adhi  
 rohayemam (rohayainam, rohemam),  
 712, 745  
 uttarasyām devayajyāyām upahūtaḥ  
 ('tā), 437  
 ut tiṣṭhata ('tā) pra taratā sakhāyah,  
 433, 442  
 ut tiṣṭha puruṣa harita piṅgala lohi-  
 tākṣi (puruṣāharitapiṅgala lohi-  
 tākṣa) . . , 591  
 ut te stabhnāmi (tabhnomi) pṛthivīm  
 tvat pari, 374  
 ut tvā (u tvā) mandantu somāh, 392  
 ut parjanyaśya dhāmabhiḥ (śuṣmena,  
 dhāmānā, vṛṣṭyā, drṣṭyā), 869  
 ut sakthyā ('yor) ava gudam ('yor  
 grdam) dhehi, 641  
 utsam juṣasva madhumantam ūrva  
 (ūrmim, arvan, juṣasva śatadhāram  
 arvan), 228, 621  
 ut satvanām māmakānām manāṁsi  
 (mahānsi), 857  
 uddāśya pṛthivīm jivādānum (jīra-  
 dānuh, 'num), 266  
 ud it te vasuvittamāh, 345, 627  
 udicyām tvā dīśi vīśve . abhiṣiñ-  
 cantv . . , 512  
 ud Irayathā ('tā, 'ta) marutah samud-  
 ratah, 90, 443  
 ud u tye (ud-ut te) madhumattamāh,  
 345, 408, 627  
 ud usriyāh sṛjate (sacate) sūryah sacā,  
 3, 57, 634  
 ud enam uttarām ('rām) naya, 506  
 udgātar devayajanaḥ me dehi (dhehi),  
 104  
 udgrābhenod agrabhīt (ajigrabhat,  
 ajigrabham, ajigrbham), 519, 657  
 udno cattodadhum bhintā (dehy uda-  
 dhim bhundhi), 418  
 udno divyasya no dehi (dhātah), 106,  
 569  
 ud balasyābhināś tvacam, 210  
 udbhinnaḥ rājānah, 724  
 udyatām iva sūryah, 743  
 udyan nakṣatram arcivat ('mat), 239  
 ud vanśam iva yemire, 110, 296, 354,  
 569, 840  
 ud valasyābhinat ('nas) tvacam, 210  
 un nayāmi svān (svān) aham, 924  
 unnetar un non (no) nayonnetar vasvo  
 abhy un nayā nah, 243  
 unnetar vasiyo na (nā) un nayābhi  
 (vasyo 'bhy un nayā nah), 243, 786  
 unmāsi (unmā asi), 993  
 upa ṛṣabhasya (uparṣa\*) retasi (yad  
 retah), 919  
 upa jmann upa vetase, 159  
 upa tvā kāmā Imabe sasṛgmahe, 131  
 upa tvā kāmān mahah sasṛgmabe, 131  
 upa dyām upa vetasam, 159  
 upa drava payasā godhug oṣam (oṣum;  
 payasā goṣam), 618  
 upa nah (nas) sūnavo girah, 971  
 upa no mitrāvaruṇāv ihāvatam, 180,  
 437, 440, 888  
 upa prakṣe (upaprakṣe) madhumati  
 kṣiyantah, 817  
 upapravada (upapla\*) mandūki, 263  
 upa preta jayatā narah, 441  
 upa mā jaksur (ca\*) upa mā manīṣā, 55  
 upa mā (mām) dhenuh saharṣabhā  
 (saharṣa\*) hvayātām, 919  
 upa mām dyaus (dyauh) pitā hvaya-  
 tām, 967  
 upa yajñam asthita (astṛta, astu no)  
 vaiśvadevi, 96, 627, 640, 643, 849  
 upayāmam adharenauṣṭhena ('noṣ-  
 ṭhena, adharoṣṭhena), 731  
 uparṣabhasya . . , see upa ṛṣa\*  
 upavir asi, 465  
 upaśṛnvate tvā, 616

upa śravat (śruvat) subhagā yajūe  
asmin, 603  
upaśrīto (upaśruti, °śrīto) divah prthi-  
vyoh, see agne tvam sūktavāg  
upa śreṣṭhā na āśīṣah (āśīrah), 857  
upastutyam (°stutam) janima tat  
(mahi jātām) te arvan, 327  
upa stubi (snuhi) tam nṛmanām  
(nṛmanām) athadrām, 77, 110, 356,  
616, 696, 802, 824, 871  
upasthāvarābhyo dāśam, 597  
upasthāvaribhyo bai(n)dam, 597  
upasthe mātuh surabhā (°bhāv) u loke,  
886  
upasthe soma āhitah (ādhitah), 122  
upa snuhi, see upa stubi  
upahūtā gāvah saharābbhūh, 919  
upahūtā dhenuh saharābbhā (saharāṣ°),  
919  
upahūtā saptahotrā (°tāh saptahotrāh),  
331  
upahūto dyauṣ (dyauh) pitā, 967  
upahūto bhūyasī haviṣkarane (hav-  
iḥk°), 962  
upahūto 'yam yajamāna uttarasyām  
devayajyāyām (°yajyāyām), 487  
upākṛtām śaśamānam yad asthāt (sa-  
dhashtāt, sad asthāt), 110, 829  
upānasah saparyan, 383, 614, 832  
upāyava (°vas, °vah) stha, 977  
upāvīr asi, 465  
upo nu sa saparyan, 383, 614, 832  
upo ha yad vidatham vājino guh  
(gūh), 558  
ubhayebhyah pra cikitsā gaviṣṭau  
(gaiṣṭau), 889  
ubhayor ārtayor (ārtayor, ubhayo  
rājñor) jyām, 791, 837  
ubhā(ubhāv) upānśu prathamā pibāva,  
886  
ubhā dātārāv (°rū) iṣām rayinām,  
888  
nbhāv indrā (indro) udītah sūryas ca,  
92, 188, 824  
ubhāv upānśu, see ubhā  
ubhe id asyobhayasya (asyobhe asya)  
rājatah, 832, 911

ubhe ca no (cainam) dyāvāprthivī  
anhasah (°sas) pātām (syātām, etc.),  
867, 964  
ubhe pṛnakṣi rodasi, 718  
ubhe yatete ubhayasya (ubhe asya)  
puṣyatah, 832, 911  
ubhau lokau sanem (sanomy) aham, 331  
uruka urukasya . . , 49  
uru kṣayāya nas (nah) kṛdhi, 964  
uruga urugasya . . , 49  
urunasāv . . , see urū°  
urudrapso viśvarūpa induh, 291, 421,  
742  
uru prathasvornamradam svāsastham  
devebhayah, 475, 493  
uruṣya rāya eṣo (rāyo 'veṣo, rāyah  
sam iṣo) yajasva, 361  
urusyā no (no) aghāyatah samasmāt,  
950  
urūnasāv (uru°) asutṛpā (°pāv) udum-  
balau (ulu°), 273, 551, 886  
uror ā no deva riṣas pāhi, 371a, 716, 821  
uro vā padbhur (padbhir) ānate (°ta),  
166  
urva iva paprathe kāmo asme, 564  
urv antarikṣam vīhi, 564  
urvī gabhirā (gambhirā) sumatiṣ te  
astu, 305  
urvīm gavyām pariśadañ no akran, 46,  
564, 824  
urvī rodasi varivas (°vah) kṛnotam  
(kṛnutam), 964  
urvy antarikṣam vīhi, 564  
ulūkalū grāvāno ghoṣam akrata  
(akurvata), 724  
ulena parīto 'si, 568  
ulokam u dve upa jāmim iyatah, 392,  
627  
ulo halikṣno vṛṣadaśas te dhātṛe  
(dhātuh), 532, 568  
uśmahī tvā, 617  
uśasa śreyasī-śreyasīr (usasaḥ śreya-  
sīh-śreyasīr) dadhat, 980  
uṣā apa svasus tamah (svasus tamah),  
956  
uṣo dadṛkṣe na punar yatīva, 568  
uṣārayoh pīvaḥ oh (pī°), 544

uṣtro ghr̥nīvān vārdhr̥inasas (ghr̥nā-  
vān vārdhr̥inasas) te matyai, 597,  
952

uṣnena vāya udakenēhi (°kenaidhi,  
vāyav udakenēhi, vāyur udakenet),  
122, 712, 887

usrā etam dhūrbūdā avīrahanā anāśrū  
(°śrū) brahmācodanau, 122, 207, 407,  
888

usrā (usrāv) etam dhūrśūhau (dhūr-  
vāhau) [yuyjethām] anaśrū avīra-  
hanau brahmācodanau, 122, 207, 407,  
876, 888

ūtim ar̥bhe havāmahe, 569, 693, 831

ūtīsa (sa) bṛhato divah, 987

ūdhno divyasya no dhātah, 106, 569

ūmaiḥ pitṛbhir , 750

ūrubbhām te aṣṭhivadbhām (°ṣṭhi°),  
909

ūrivor ojah, 792

ūrjam samsūdena (°sūdena), 628

ūrjam ca tatra sumatim ca pinvata  
(°tha), 90

ūrjam bībhrad vasumanih (vah sum-  
anāh, vah suvanih, vasumanāh)  
sumedhāh, 227, 383, 828

ūrjam mayi dhehi, 103

ūrjam me dhehi (dehi), 103

ūrjasvati r̥jasvaś (r̥jasvūyāya, r̥ja-  
sūyāś) citānāh, 326

ūrjasvatir oṣadhīr ā r̥śantām (vīś°),  
267

ūrjasvatih svadhūyanti (svadhūyanti),  
247

ūrjā pṛthivim gachata (yach°), 853

ūrje pīpīhi (pīpīhi), 545

ūrnamradāyam (ūrñā°) tvā stpāmī  
(ūrnamradāh [°dam] prathivān)  
vāśasatham (°sthām) devebhyaḥ, 475,  
493

ūrnamradā yuvatir (°mradiḥ pṛthivī)  
dāśmīvate (vātī), 695

ūrdhva imāh imā manire, 110, 296,  
353, 549, 510

ūrdhvacitih śrayadhvam (°ray°), 195,  
355, 865

ūrdhvacitih prathitābhur aśvī, 569

ūrdhvam manah svargyam (svargam),  
315

ūrdhvasṛitah śrayadhvam, 195, 355, 865

ūrdhvā śasyāmatir bhā adidyutat  
(vīdyutat), 63

ūrdhvo adhvaro asthāt (°dhvav ā-  
sthāt, °dhvare sthīh, adhvarasthīt),  
508, 910

ūrdhvo virājann apa sedha śatrūn,  
138, 569, 616

ūrva iva paprathe lāmo asme, 564

ūrvam gayam parisidanto agman , 40,  
564, 824

ūrvah, 725

ūrvor ojah, 792

ūrvy antarikṣam vīhi, 564

ūlenā parimūlho 'si, 568

ūlo halikāno vṛṣadānāv te dhītuh,  
532, 568

ūśā dadṛśe na punar jatīva, 568

ṛkṣalābhūh kṛpīṇyālān, 26, 184, 265, 631

ṛkṣo jatūh susulikā (susulikā) tā  
itarajanānām, 279, 290, 624, 628

ṛksamūc (°samūc) chukrah, 935

ṛco akṣare (°kṣare) parame yomān, 907

ṛjīte parī vṛṇḍhi nah, 360

ṛnām no narnam ertsamūnah, 180, 694,  
698, 919

ṛtaprajūti bhaga id vah śāmā, 611, 918

ṛtava (°vas) stha pṛthivdih (°thartā°),  
ṛtavah sthā , 919, 977

ṛtavo 'dhipatyā āvan, 632

ṛtavo 'ṣṣyanta, 632

ṛtathā sthāpīṇyadhah, 919

ṛtasya goptrī tapasyah paravī (par-  
avī, tarutī), 198

ṛtasya tantum vitatam vṛptya (vṛer-  
tya, dṛśe kam), 866

ṛtasya tv enam āmutah, 353, 627, 839

ṛtasya dhūmno amṛtasya yonēh, 121

ṛtasya nībhīv adhi (abhi) sam punāmī  
(°ti), 172

ṛtasya brahmā prathamotā r̥jīte, 469

ṛtasya yonīn mahir̥eya dhūm, 421

ṛtasyartena mām uta (ita), 353, 627,  
838

ṛtīm mī musīcātīṇah, 421

rtur janitri tasyā apas (apasas) pari,  
810  
rtuṣṭhā (°ṣṭhāh, °ṣṭhās) aṣṭa rtāvṛdhaḥ  
(sthartusprśah), 919  
rtūn (rtūn) anyo vidadhaḥ jāyate  
punah (jāyase navah), 927  
rtūn (rtūn) utsrjate vaśī, 927  
rtūn prstibhūh (prstī°), 539  
rtena (rte 'va) sthūnām (°nāv °nā)  
adhi roha vanśa (vanśah), 237, 380,  
824, 888  
ṛtyai janavādinam, 652  
rdhag ayā (ayād) rdhag utāsamīṣṭhāḥ  
(°mīṣṭa), 86, 234, 835  
rdhyāsam adya mahasya śīrah, 659  
ṛṣabham naryāpasam, 359  
ṛṣabhāya gavayī (°ya rājāne gavayah),  
359  
ṛṣabhena gāh (tvaṣṭī), 359  
ṛṣabho gaur vayo dadhuh, 359  
ṛṣabho 'śi svargo lokah, 359  
ṛṣar ha (hi) dīrghaśruttamah, 578  
ṛṣīnām ca stutir (°nām susṭutir) upa,  
293, 850  
ṛṣīnām putro adhūrāja esah (avirāja  
eṣah, abhiśastipī u, abhiśastipīvā,  
abhiśastipī ayam), 172, 254, 740, 824  
ṛṣī bodhapratibodhau, 516  
ṛṣvāḥ satih kavaśah (kavayah) śum-  
bhamānāḥ, 877  
ekayā ca daśabhiś ca svabhūte (cā  
suhūte), 119, 434, 446, 741  
eko devo apy atīṣṭhat, 909  
eko bahūnām asi manyav īdītah  
(manya īdītā), 889  
eko vo devo apy ('py) atīṣṭhat, 909  
eko ha devah pradīṣo 'nu sarvāḥ 578  
etam jānātha (jānītāt, jānīta) parame  
vyoman, 90  
etat tīn pratimanvāno asmin, 227, 365  
etat te agne rādha aṭi (eti) somacyu-  
tam, 711  
etat tvam deva soma (tvam soma) . . .  
devān (devān) upājāḥ (upāṛṭah),  
924  
etat tvātra pratimanvāno (°vanvāno)  
asmi (asmin), 227, 365

etad brahmann upavalhāmasi (apa°,  
upabalihāmahe) tvā, 214, 762  
eta pitarah somyāśah, 747  
etīm samkṛṣya (°kṛṣya, °kṛṣya) juh-  
udhi 4, 605, 631, 641  
etī te aghnye nāmāni, 787, 910  
etāni te aghniye (ghnye) nāmāni, 787,  
910  
etena tvam śīrsanyām (°yān) edhi  
(tvam atra śīrsanvān edhi), 243  
edam barhir ni śidata (śīda nah), 549  
ed u madhvo (madhor) madintaram,  
363  
enam parisrutah kumbhāy, 275, 682, 831  
enaś cakṛvān māhi baddha eṣām, 592  
enā viśvasya bhuvanasya gopāḥ, 693  
enūhnedam ahar aśīya svāḥ, 709  
eno mahac cakṛvān baddha eṣa 592  
endram vagnunī vahata 236, 346, 800  
endram agniḥ ca voḍhave, 694  
endram acucyavuh . . , 712  
emā agmann āśīṣo donakāmāḥ, 836  
emām anu sarpata, 379  
emām parisrutah kumbhah, 275, 682,  
831  
em enad adya vasavo rudrā ēdityāḥ  
svadantu (sad°), 371  
erum tundīnā patyeva jāyā, 159, 421  
evam vapūmi hārmyam, 491  
evā vapūmi hārmyam, 491  
esa iṣṭya māmāhe, 640  
eṣa u sya vṛṣā rāthah 325, 491  
esa ṛṣaye māmāhe, 640  
eṣa te yajūo yajūnapate . . . suvirah  
(suvīryah, sarvavīras . . ), 323  
eṣa me 'musmin (°musmin) loke prak-  
āśo 'sat, 943  
eṣa sya rāthyo vṛṣā, 325, 491  
eṣa hi devah pradīṣo 'nu sarvāḥ, 578  
eṣā te agne samit tayā (tayā tvam)  
vardhasva cā ca pyāyasva. 808  
eṣā vas sā satyā samvāg abhūd yām  
udrena samadadhvam, 104, 391  
eṣu dyumnaḥ svar yamat, 711  
eṣo ha devah pradīṣo 'nu sarvāḥ, 578  
eḥa gatir vāmasya, 694  
aīdamṛdā yavyudhah, 165, 241, 271, 828

aindraḥ prāno aṅge-aṅge nīdīdhyat (ni  
dedhyat, nīdhitah), 696

aīndram acucyavuh , 712

aindraḥ śuśmo viśvarūpo na āgan, 699

aīndrāsūrāḥ ("saurāḥ) śyetalalāmāś  
(śīlāmala") tūparāḥ, 725, 818

aīndropāna:yakehamanaso ., 699

aīlabrāḍā (aīlamrāḍā) āyuryudhah (yav-  
yudhah, vo yudhah), 165, 241, 271,  
828

aīśu dhumnam svar yamat, 711

okhām dadbhātu (dadātu) hastayoh,  
101

ojasā pīṭrbhyah pīṭṛn jīva, 936

ojasyā nāmāsi, ojasvinī nāmāsi, 248

ojo dēhi (dhatta), 103

ojo mayī dēhi (me dāh), 103

ottarād adharād ("rāg) ā purastāt, 145

obhe aprā rodasī vi (vi) śa āvah, 515,  
516

obhe prānsī rodasī, 718

ośadhayah pratī grbhñta, 116

ośadhayah pratī grbhñtāgnim (grbhñi")  
etam, 116

ośadhayah prāvata vācam me, 449

ośadhibhyah ("dhibhyah), 529

ośadhibhyah paśave no (paśubhyo me)  
janāya (dhanāya), 160

ośiṣṭhadāve sumatim grnānāḥ, 60,  
294, 355, 854

ośiṣṭhahanam śiṅgīnikośyābhyām  
("kośābhyām), 293, 347, 618, 804, 816

o śu (sū) varita (varta) maruto vipram  
acha, 389, 547

rudbhidyam rājñah, 724

survaiḥ, 725

aulaba it tam upā hvayatha (aulava  
hvayata), 90, 219

aulūkhalā grāvāno ghoṣam akrata, 724

aulūkhalāḥ sampravradanti grāvānāḥ,  
724

kaḷup (kakuc) chanda ihendriyam, 178

kaḷup (kakuc) chandah, 178

kakubham (kakubham) rūpam vṛṣabbh-  
asya (rūpam ṛṣa") rocate brhat  
(brhan), 23, 120, 359

katī kṛtvah prānatī cāpānatī ca (prā-  
niti cāpa cūniti), 582

katī dhāmāni katī ye vivūsāḥ, 739

kad va ṛtam kad anṛtam (amṛtam),  
181

kanātkābhām na ābhara, 79, 151

kanīkhunad iva sāpayan, 126

kapota ("tā) ulūkah śaśas te nīrtyai  
(nairṛtāḥ), 699

kam agāni (agan) janayopanaḥ, 936

kara ād (id) arthayāsa it, 599

karanam asi, karunam asi, 606

karnābhyām chubukād (cubukād)  
adhi, 84

karma kṛnavantu ("to) mānuṣāḥ, 719

kalpantām te diśah sarvāḥ (me diśah  
śagmāḥ), 235, 285

kalpayatam mānuṣiḥ, 316; 490

kavasyo kośadhāvaniḥ (kośa°, 'kośa°),  
289

kavir gīrbhīḥ kāvyenā ("na) kavīḥ san,  
458

kavir yah putrah sa im ā (imā, sā imāḥ)  
ciketa, 383, 545, 831

kavīn chavyā, 128a

kavīn prchāmi vidmane (vidvano) na  
vidvān, 240

kaśotkāya svāhā, 33, 81, 295

kas te gātrāni śamyatī (śim°), 572

kaholam kauṣṭakim ("kam), 590

kā ūrū pādā ucye, 886

kāny antah puruṣe arpitāni ("śa  
ārpitāni), 509

kā prātā va āhutiḥ, 365

kāmam duhātām iha śakvarībhīḥ, 91

kāmāyamāno vanā tvam, 312

kāmāyai svāhā, 319

kāmena kṛtah (kṛta) śrava ichamānāḥ,  
330

kāmāyāi svāhā, 319

kāyamāno vanā tvam, 312

kāv ūrū pādāv ucye, 886

kāṣṭhā ajmeṣv (yajmeṣv) atnata, 339

kim it te viṣno paricakṣyam bhūti  
("cakṣi nāma), 737

kim ūrū pādā ucye, 886

kīyāmbv atra rohatu, 782

kikasābhyo anūkyāt ('nūkyāt), 907

kukūnanūnām tvā patmann ādhūnōmi,  
151, 720, 810

- kumbhīnasah (kaum<sup>o</sup>) puṣkarasādo  
lohitāḥis te tvūṣṭrāḥ, 724  
kuyavam (kū<sup>o</sup>) ca me 'kṣitīś ('kṣitam)  
ca me, 552, 557  
kurkurah sukurkurah, 568  
kurkuro nīlabandhanah, 568  
kurvāno anyān adharān sapatnān, 907,  
924  
kulikā devajāmibhyah, 149  
kulpāny āvapantikā, 151, 568, 800, 867  
kulyābhyah svāhā, 565  
kuvayah (\*yih) kuṭarur , 596, 782  
kuvit su no gaviṣṭaye (gaiṣṭaye), 889  
kuvīn no asya sumatir naviyasī  
(bhavi<sup>o</sup>), 857  
kuśmāndāḥ, \*dāni, \*dyah, 290, 568  
kuṣṭayā te krīnāni, 86  
ku ṣṭhah ko vām aśvinā, 553, 831  
kuṣṭhayā te krīnāni, 86  
kuśmāndāḥ, \*dāni, \*dyah, 290, 568  
kuhūm aham (kuhūm devīm) suvṛtam  
(sukṛtam, subhagām) vidmanāpa-  
sam, 857  
kuhvai (\*ve) trayo 'runaitāḥ, 705  
kūtanānām tvā patmann ā dhūnomi,  
151, 720, 810  
kūyavam, see ku<sup>o</sup>  
kūrkurah (\*ras) sukūrkurah, 568  
kūrkuro nīlabandhanah (vāla<sup>o</sup>), 214,  
215, 568  
kūlyābhyah svāhā, 565  
kūśmān (kūṣ<sup>o</sup>) chakapindaiḥ (śaka<sup>o</sup>,  
chakabhīḥ), 290  
kūśmāndāḥ, \*dāni, \*dyah, and kūṣ<sup>o</sup>, 290,  
568  
kūṣṭho devāv aśvinā, 553, 831  
kūṣ<sup>o</sup>, see kūś-  
krkalāsah , krkilāsah , 596  
krnutam nah sviṣṭam (\*ṭam), 45, 587  
krnutām tāv adhvarā jātavedasau,  
885 b,  
krnotu so adhvarān (\*rā) jātavedāḥ,  
907  
krnvāno anyān (anyān, 'nyān) adharān  
sapatnān, 907, 924  
kr̥tam cid enah pra mumugdhy (mu-  
muktam) asmat (asmāt), 510  
kr̥tūn nah pāhy anhasah (enasah), 421  
kr̥te yonau (kr̥to yonir) vapateha  
bijam (vijam), 216  
kr̥tyaiṣā padvatī bhūtvā (bhūtvī), 598a  
kr̥tvī (kr̥tvā) devair nīkilbīṣam, 598a  
kr̥tvī (kr̥tvā) savarnām adadur (ada-  
dhur) vivasvate, 105, 598a  
kr̥dhi ṣv (sv) asmān aditer anāgān  
(\*gāh), 987  
kr̥ṣnagrīva āgneyo rarāṭe (lalāṭe) pur-  
astāt, 265  
kr̥ṣnagrīvah śitīkakṣo 'ñjīsakthas  
(ñjīsakthas) ta aindrāgnāḥ, 986  
kr̥ṣno 'sy ākḥareṣṭhah (\*ṣṭhāḥ), 493  
kr̥ṣyai tvā susasyāyai (sumanasāyāi),  
867, 870  
kevalāgḥo (\*lādyo) bhavati kevalādi,  
868  
ko ambādadate dadat, 907  
ko asyā dhāma katidhā vyuṣṭih, 739  
kotāṇsu, 151, 720, 810  
ko nu vām mitrāvarunāv (\*nā)rtāyan,  
888  
ko 'mbādadate dadat, 907  
kauberakā viśvavāsah, 235, 267  
kaumbhīnasah, see kumbhī<sup>o</sup>  
kyāmbūr atra rohatu (jāyatām), 782  
kratūdakṣābhyām me varcodā varcase  
pavasva, 556  
kratvā varīṣṭham vara āmurim uta,  
293, 529, 691, 840  
kratve vare sthemany āmurim uta,  
293, 529, 691, 840  
krānā śīsur mahinām, 152  
krānā sindhūnām kalasān avivaśat, 152  
kriyanta ā barhiḥ sida, 152, 825, 971  
krīdantau (krīl<sup>o</sup>) putrar naptṛbhīḥ, 271  
krīdī (krīlī) ca śāki corjeṣī (śāki cor-  
jeṣī, \*jiṣī, ca), 278, 407, 693  
krūram ānāsa (ānāsa) martyah (mar-  
tah), 301, 315  
kva prātnā va āhutīḥ, 365  
kvayih kuṭarur , 596, 782  
kṣatrasvobham (\*vam) asi, 219  
kṣayasyūsi vidhataḥ (vidhartā), 350  
kṣāmad devo 'ti duritāny (devo ati-  
duritāty) agniḥ, 908  
kṣipreṣave devāya svadhāvne (\*dhām-  
ne), 240



ksumāsi (kṣupāsi), 205  
 kṣuro bhrajaś (bhṛjvāñ, bhṛjaś, bhrājaś)  
 chandah, 486, 658  
 khakkholkāya svāhā, 33, 81, 295  
 khajāpo 'jopakśīnīh, 21, 69, 151, 381  
 khanvakhāḥ; khamakhāḥ; madhye tad-  
 uri, 124  
 khanyābhyah (khalpā°) svāhā, 878  
 gandharvāya janavide (janu°) svāhā,  
 588  
 gandharvo dhūma paramam guhā yat  
 (dhūma vibhṛtam guhā sat) 118, 639,  
 855  
 gandharvo nāma nibhītam guhāsu, 118,  
 639, 855  
 gabbhīram (gambh°) imam adhvaram  
 kṛdhi, 305  
 gambhīrebhih pathibhih pūrvebhih  
 (pūrvinebhih), 315  
 gambhīraih pathibhih pūrvyaih (pūry-  
 ānaih), 315, 368  
 gargi vācaknavī, 490  
 garbha iva (ivet) subhṛto garbhītibhih  
 (sudhito garbhīnīsu), 175, 639  
 garbham sravantiṁ agādīm akarma, 46  
 garbhaś ca sthātām garbhaś carathām  
 ("tām?), 93  
 garbhah samjāyase punaḥ, 829, 936  
 garbhe sañ (san, sam-) jāyase punah,  
 829, 936  
 garbho asy ('sy) ośadhīnām, 909  
 garbho jarāyuh pratidhuk pīyūṣah, 381  
 gavayam te śug rchatu (te kṣut), 145  
 gātum vittvā gātum ihi, 360  
 gāyatrī ("tri) chandasām mātā  
 (mātah), 525  
 gāyatriyai ("tryai, °tryā) gāyātram,  
 791  
 gārgi vācaknavī, 490  
 gārhapatyah ("tyāt) prajāyā (prajā-  
 vān) vasuvittamah, 250  
 gāva upāvatāvatam (upa vadāvaṭe),  
 60, 164, 511, 835  
 gāvo gulgulugandhayah (guggulu°),  
 409  
 gāvo bhago gāva indro me achān  
 (achāt, ma ichāt), 580  
 gira stomān pavamāno manīṣāh, 419

gira (girah) stomāsa irate, 977  
 girah somah pavamāno manīṣāh, 419  
 girā-girā ca daksase (cakṣase), 153  
 girā ca śruṣṭih sabharā asan nah, 57,  
 383, 865  
 girir na vīsvatas ("tah) pṛthuh patir  
 divah, 964  
 gīh kośvoṣṭaur yadā girah, 290  
 guhā satīm gahane gahvareṣu, 299  
 gubhītām nibhītam gahvareṣu (gubh-  
 hītīm gah°), 299, 808  
 grnatā nah sviṣṭaye, 45  
 grnānūh śravase (śa°) mahe, 349  
 grdhrah śitīkakṣi vārdhrānasas te  
 divyāh (vārdhrānasas, vārdhrī°, te  
 'dityāh), 23, 122, 597, 952  
 grbhnāmi te saubhagatvāya (supra-  
 jāstvāya) hastam, 116  
 grhāñ jugupatam yuvam, 548, 935, 936  
 grhānūngāny apve (aghe) parehi, 875  
 grhān ajugupatam yuvam, 548  
 grhā nah santu sarvadā (sarvatah), 68  
 grhān aumi (emi) manasā , 711  
 grhān jugupatam yuvam, 548, 935, 936  
 grhā mā bibhīta mā vepadhvam (vep-  
 idhvam), 168, 584  
 grho hiranyayo mitah (mithah; grho  
 mito hiranyayah), 96  
 grhnāmi te saubhagatvāya (supra-  
 jāstvāya) hastam, 116  
 grhyopagṛhyo , 646  
 godānāc chubukād adhi, 84  
 godhāyasam vi dhanasaur adardah  
 (atardat), 63  
 godhūmās ca me masūrās (masurās)  
 ca me, 568  
 gopāya mā (mām) śevadhis te ("dhuṣ  
 ṭe), 958  
 gomad ūṣu nāsatyā (nā°), 952  
 gomān id (yad) indra te sakṣā, 735  
 gośaphe śakulāv ("lā) iva, 888  
 goṣad asi, 83  
 goṣv asveṣu subhṛīṣu ("uṣu), 622  
 gohya upagohyo marūko (mayūkho)  
 manohāh, 81, 244, 646  
 gauram te śug rchatu (te kṣut), 145  
 gaurir (gaurī, gaur in) mīmāya salilāni  
 takṣatī, 357, 545, 824, 862

- gaur dhenubhavyā (dhenur bhavyā), 357, 818
- gnās tvā devīr viśvadevyāvatiḥ ("vy-  
avatiḥ) prithivyāḥ sadhasthe añ-  
girasvat . ('āngirasvac ), 467,  
910
- grāha viśvaṇaṇa nīyantar viprāyāma  
te (nyantar vipra ā sati), 342, 695,  
770, 838, 870
- grāmam sajanāyo gachanti (grāmān  
sajātayo yanti), 871
- grāme vidhuram (vikhuram) ichanti  
svāhā, 147
- grāmyamañkiradāsakau (grāmyam  
mañgiradāsakau), 49, 270, 824
- grāvāvādīd (grāvā vaded) abhi soma-  
syāñsum ("śunā), 481, 697, 836
- grīvāyām (grīvāsu) baddho apikakṣa  
āsanī (apipakṣa āsan), 151
- gharmam śocantāh ("ta, "tam) prava-  
neṣu (pranaveṣu) bibhrataḥ, 384, 802
- gharmam pāta vasavo yajata ("tā,  
"trā) vūṭ (vēṭ, vaṭ), 357, 448, 511
- gharmas triśug vi rājati (rocate), 57
- ghasinaḥ (ghasinā) me mā samprkthāḥ,  
545
- ghṛtam yavā madhu yavāḥ, 803
- ghṛtam ghṛtayone (ghṛtavane) piba,  
255
- ghṛtam duhata (dubrata) āśīram, 356
- ghṛtam duhānā viśvataḥ prapitāḥ (pra-  
pitāḥ, pravīnāḥ), 170, 198, 871
- ghṛtapratikam va (ca) ṛtasya dhūr-  
ṣadam (dhūruṣadam), 759, 866
- ghṛtapruṣas tvā sarito vahanti (harito  
vahantu), 299
- ghṛtapruṣo haritas tvāvahantu, 299
- ghṛtam eva madhu yavāḥ, 803
- ghṛtam mimikṣe ("kṣire) ghṛtam asya  
yonih, 356
- ghṛtavatī savitar ("tūr) ādhipatyē  
("tyāih), 381, 610, 706
- ghṛtaścuto madhuścutah ("ścyuto,  
"ścyutah, "cyuto, "cyutah), 336
- ghṛtasya dhārām amṛtasya panthām,  
421
- ghṛtasya dhārām mahiṣasya yonim,  
421
- ghṛtāhutah somaprṣṭihah (stoma") suv-  
irah, 419
- ghṛtena dyāvūprthivī prornuvāthām  
(prornvā°, prornuvātām), 91, 797
- ghṛtena no (mā) ghṛtapvah ("puvah)  
punantu, 789
- ghṛta śrito ghṛtam v (uv) asya dhāma,  
774
- ghora ghoratarebhyah, 816
- ghorā ṛṣayo namo astv ebhyah (astv  
adya yebhyah), 340
- ghoṣenāmivāñś cātayata ("mivān cāta-  
yadhvam), 930
- cakratundāya dhimahi, 866
- cakṣaṣi sāmavedasya, 608
- cakṣurdā ("dhā) asī, 100
- cakṣurdā varcodā varivodāḥ, 104
- cakṣur dehi (dhehi), 103
- cakṣur ma urvyā (uruyā, urviyā) vi  
bhāhi, 743, 791
- cakṣur mayi dhehi, 100, 103
- cakṣur me dūh (dehi, dhehi), 100, 103
- cakṣur yad eṣām manasaś ca satyam,  
340
- cakṣur yeṣām (hy eṣām) tapa uccabhi-  
mam, 340, 396
- cakṣuṣa eṣām manasaś ca samdhau, 340
- cakṣuṣi sāmavedasya, 608
- cakṣuh (cakṣu) sthaś . , 977
- catuspadām uta yo (ca) dvipadām, 499
- catuspāda uta ye dvipādah, 499
- catvāri māyobhavāya, 319, 421
- caniṣṭhad agne aṅgīrah, 54
- canikḥudad yathāśapam, 126
- candrena jyotir amṛtam dadhānāḥ  
("nā), 381
- cappam (cappam) na pūyur bhiṣag  
asya vālah (vārah, bālah), 214, 261,  
408
- camī mā hīnsīr amuyā śayānā, 57, 181,  
512, 824
- carnevāvādhus ("bādhus) tamo apsv  
antah, 207
- cikitvān ("vān) anu manyatām, 925
- cita (citah, citas) stha . . , 977
- cittim (citim) juhomi . . , 399
- cittim acittum (citim acitiḥ) cinavad  
("vo) vi vidvān, 399

cittaḥ (citti) sruk, 980  
 citra ādityānām, 195, 369  
 citrah śiśuh (śiśuḥ) pari tamānsy  
 aktūn (aktah), 967  
 citrā etagvā (eda°) anumādyāsah, 21,  
 59  
 citrebhūr abhrūr upa tiṣṭhato (°tho)  
 ravam, 91  
 citro rakṣitā, 195, 369  
 cec-cec chunaka sṛja , 84  
 corasyānām (caur°) navaśrāddham,  
 728  
 chad apehi , 84  
 chandonāmānām (chandomānānām,  
 chandomānām) sūmrājyam gacheti  
 (gachatād iti, gached iti) , 802,  
 808  
 chavīm chavyā, 128a  
 chlilipu chlilīṣate, 195  
 jakṣivānsah papivānsas (°pānsas) ca  
 viśve, 200  
 jagatā sindhum divy astabhāyat  
 (aska°), 137  
 jagatyū ṛksamam (ṛkṣa°), 985  
 jagatyānam (°tyenam) vikṣv ā veś-  
 ayāmāh (°yāmi, °yāni), 709  
 jagad asī, 491  
 jagāma sūro adhvano vimadhyam (vi  
 madhyam), 816  
 jagṛhmā (jagṛbhāmā, jagṛbhāmā) te dak-  
 ṣiṇam indra hastam, 116  
 jagdhā vicaṣṭir (vitṛṣṭir) , 156, 634  
 jagdho maśako jagdhā vicaṣṭir  
 (vitṛṣṭir) , 634  
 jagdho vyadhvaro jagdhā vicaṣṭir  
 ( . jagdhā vitṛṣṭi svāhā) . , 634  
 jajñā neta sann apurogavāsah, 62, 192  
 jananta uśaso bhagam 366  
 janayas tvāchinnapatrā devīr viśva-  
 devyāvatiḥ (°vyāvatiḥ) , 467  
 janiyanti nāv agravah, 534  
 janiṣṭa hi janyo agre ahnūm, 441  
 janiṣṭhad agne aṅgirah, 54  
 janiṣv ā (°ṣva) hi janyo agre ahnūm, 441  
 janiyanto nv agravah, 534  
 jambhābhyaṁ (jambhyas, jambhye-  
 bhis) taskarāḥ (°raḥ, °rān) uta, 315,  
 924

jayam (jayan) kṣetrāni sahasāyam  
 indra, 941  
 jarām gachāsi (gacha, su gacha) pari  
 dhatsva viśah, 850  
 jari cetid abhiśiṣah, 193, 353, 676, 802  
 jāgatam asī (jāgatāsi), jāgato 'si, 491  
 jāgaritāya (jāgrtāya) svāhā, 649  
 jāgrtsyas tripañcāśih, 28 47, 185, 192  
 jātavedo nayā hy (nāyasy) enam  
 sukrām yatra lokah, 298, 825  
 jātavedo maruto adbhīs (°dbhis) tama-  
 yitvā, 908  
 jātavedo vahemam (vahasvainam)  
 sukrām yatra lokah (lokāḥ), 298, 825  
 jātānām janayās ca yān (janayānsi  
 [°yāsi] ca), 303a  
 jātena jātam ati sa pra sarsṛto (ati  
 sṛt pra sṛṣate), 633  
 jānita smainam (jānitād enam) parame  
 vyoman, 90  
 jānim icha pitṛṣdam nyaktam (°tām),  
 139, 738  
 jānum itvā mā vivitsi lokān, 198, 579,  
 637, 840, 871  
 jānum itvā māva patsi lokāt, 198, 579,  
 637, 840, 871  
 jānim mā hīṣir amuyā (anu yā)  
 śayānā, 57, 181, 512, 824  
 jinvā gā jinvārvataḥ, 852  
 jinvanta uśaso bhagam, 366  
 jihvā pavitrām aśvināsan (°nū sam)  
 sarasvatī, 835, 938  
 jīmūtān hṛdayaupāśābhyaṁ (°sena,  
 °sena), 276  
 jīvam rudanti vi mayante (nayanty)  
 adhware (°ram), 181  
 jīvan eva pratidatte (prati tat te)  
 dadāmi (°ni, dadhāmi), 61, 106  
 jīvasūr devakāmā (vīrasūh) syonā, 633  
 jīvām rudanti vi mayante adhware, 181  
 jīvātave na mṛtyave (mārtave), 327,  
 650  
 jīvātave pratarām (°ram) sādhyā  
 dhīyah, 506  
 jīvām ṛtebhyaḥ (mṛt°) pariniya-  
 mānūm, 311, 402  
 jivebhyaḥ tvā samude (sammude)  
 vāyur indrah, 401

juṣantām soṃyam (sau°) madhu, 728  
 juṣetām (\*thām) yajñam iṣṭaye, 91  
 juṣṭam devebhyo havyam ghr̥tāvāt  
 (ghṛtavat svāha), 467  
 jubota (\*tā) pra ca tiṣṭhata, 433, 441  
 jaitrāyā (jaitryāyā) vīśatād u mām  
 (\*tūn mām, °tām mām), 315  
 jyeṣṭhasya dharmam dyukṣor anike,  
 840  
 jyeṣṭhasya vā dharmaṃ kṣor anike, 840  
 jyok kṣatre 'dhi jāgarat, 909  
 jyok śrotre 'dhi (adhi) jāgarat, 909  
 jyog ajitā (jitā, jivā) ahatah (\*tā)  
 syāma, 980  
 jyog jivema sarvavirā vayan̄ tama, 224  
 jyog rāṣṭre adhi jāgarat, 909  
 jyotih paśyantā (\*ta) uttaram, 967  
 jyotih paśyanti vāsaram, 967  
 jyotiṣam na prakāśate, 278  
 jyotiṣ paśyanta uttaram, 967  
 jyotiṣ paśyanti vāsaram, 967  
 tekaś ca sasaramaṭaṅkaś ca, 135, 165  
 nāsatyā , see nāsatyā  
 tṛ ā vahanti kavayah purastāt, 342  
 tam vai manyet pitaram mātaram ca,  
 849  
 tam vo gr̥hnāmy uttamam, 116  
 tam sakhāyah purorucam (purū°), 721  
 tam sadhr̥icr̥ ūtayo vṛṣṇyāni (vṛṣṇu-  
 yāni), 784  
 tam sma jānita (\*tha) parame vyoman,  
 90  
 tam hed agnir vidhāvati, 123, 637  
 tam gopāya (\*vasva), 365  
 tam ghed agnir vṛdhāvati, 123, 637  
 tatah pūvakā śiṣo no juṣantām, 811  
 tatam me apas (ma āpas) tad u tāyate  
 punah, 488  
 tataś cakṣāthām (cakrāthe) aditum  
 ditum ca, 853  
 tato jyāyāś ca pūruṣah, 566  
 tato dharmāni dhārayan, 578  
 tato na vicikitsati (vijugupsate), 45,  
 56, 68, 180  
 tato no dehī jivase, 105  
 tato no mitrāvarunāv aviṣṭam, 533, 888  
 tato no rudrā uta vā nuv ('nv) asya,  
 719, 778

tato no vardhayā rayim, 74  
 tato yajñas tāyate vīśvadānim, 157  
 tato yajño jāyate vīśvadāni, 157  
 tato vākā śiṣo no juṣantām, 811  
 tato viṣvā vyakrāmat, 94  
 tato ha jajñe ('ham yajñe) bhuvanasya  
 gopāh (goptā), 192, 307  
 tat tvendragraha , see tam tve°  
 tatra indro bṛhaspatih, 452, 992  
 tatra cakrāthe aditim ditim ca, 853  
 tatra no brahmanas patih, 452, 992  
 tatra pūṣābhavat ('bhuvat) sacā, 602  
 tatra yamah sādānā te kṛnotu, 405,  
 452, 512  
 tatra yonim kṛnavase, 452  
 tatra rayiṣṭhām anu sambharatam  
 (\*retām, sambhavaratām), 267, 712  
 tatra śiṣiye 'ja ekapādah, 907  
 tatra havyāni gāmaya (gam°), 479  
 tatrā no brahmanas patih, 452, 992  
 tatrā sadah kṛnavase, 452  
 tat satyam yad vīram bibhṛthah  
 (\*tah), 91  
 tathā viṣvā vyakrāmat (tathā vyak-  
 rāmad viṣvā), 94  
 tad agnir devo devebhyo vanate (vanu-  
 tām), 606  
 tad asya priyam abhi pātho aśyām  
 (asthām), 287, 877  
 tad aham nihnave (nihnavē) tubhyam,  
 603  
 tad āyuh, 360  
 tad āharanti kavayah purastāt, 342  
 tad indrāgni jinvatam (pinvatām)  
 sūnṛtāvat, 852  
 tad vāyuh, 360  
 tad viprāso vipanyavah (\*yuvah), 604  
 tad vipro abravīd udak (u tat), 65, 142,  
 830  
 tad vo astu sucetanam (\*tunam, sajo-  
 ṣanam), 607, 612  
 tanuvam . , see tanvam  
 tanūnapāc ca sarasvatī, 195, 810  
 tanūnaptre śakmane śakvarāya śak-  
 manā oṣiṭhāya, 240  
 tanūnaptre śakvarāya śakmann (śak-  
 vana) oṣiṭhāya, 240  
 tanūpāc ca sarasvatī, 195, 810

- tanūpā bhīṣajā sute, 867  
 tanūpā ye nas (tanūpāśvānas) tanvas  
 tanūjāḥ (tapojāḥ), 254, 723, 833  
 tanūpās ca sarasvatī, 195, 810  
 tanūyā bhīṣajā sute, 867  
 tanūr me tanvā saha, 793  
 tanūr varṣiṣṭhā gahaneṣṭhā, 368, 861  
 tanūs tanvā (tanuvā) me saha, 793  
 tam te gr̥bhnamy uttamam, 116  
 tam te duścaksā māva khyat, 190  
 tam te vi syāmy āyuso na madhyāt  
 (nu madhye), 614  
 tam tvam viśvebhyo devebhyah kratūn  
 ('bhya ṛtūn) kalpaya, 420, 665  
 tam tvā gr̥nāmi tavasam atavyān  
 (ataviyān), 786  
 tam tvā ghrtasnav ('sna) imahe, 889  
 tam tvā pra viśāmi saha yan me  
 'sti tena, 910  
 tam tvā bhrātarah suvr̥dhā ('dho,  
 suh̥do) vardhamānam, 109, 269  
 tam tvā vayam sudhyo (sudhiyo)  
 navyam agne, 789  
 am tvā viśve 'vantu (avantu) devāḥ,  
 907  
 tam (tat) tvendragraha saha yan  
 me 'sti (asti) tena, 910  
 tan nah parṣad (pariṣad) atī dviṣah,  
 43, 758  
 tan nas trāyatām tanvah sarvato (tan  
 no viśvato) mahat, 410  
 tan no dantī ('tiḥ) pracodayāt, 529a  
 tan no durgīh (durgā) pracodayāt, 599  
 tan no brahmā ('ma) pracodayāt, 460  
 tan nau samvananam kṛtam, 593  
 tan ma (mā) āpyāyatām punaḥ, 992  
 tan mā jinvā, 354, 829, 871  
 tan mā devā avantu śobhāyī, 414, 700  
 tan mā puṁsi kartāry erayadhvam, 414  
 tan mārjītvā, 354, 829, 871  
 tan māvatū (mām avatū), 812  
 tan māvit (mām āvit), 812  
 tan me tanvam trāyatām sarvato  
 br̥hat, 410  
 tan me rādhyatām, 659  
 tan me samr̥dhyatām (samr̥ddham),  
 659  
 tanvam (tanuyam) me pāhi, 793  
 tanvo adya ('dya) dadhātu me, 909  
 tapatī varṣan virād rāvaṭ (rāvat)  
 svāhā, 168  
 tapate svāhā, 329  
 tapatyai svāhā, 248, 329  
 tapas ca tapasyaś ca śaiśūrāv ('rā)  
 ṛtū, 888  
 tapasarsayah ('sarṣayah) suvar (svar)  
 anvavindan, 781, 918  
 tapasas tan mahinājāyataikam, 204  
 tapur yayastu carur agnīvān ('mān)  
 iva, 239  
 tapūṣy agne juhvā patamgān, 723  
 tapojām vācam asme niyacha devā-  
 yuvam, 51  
 tapobhir agne juhvā patamgān, 723  
 tapyate svāhā, 329  
 tapyatvai ('tyai) svāhā, 248, 329  
 tam agne pr̥tanāṣaham ('saham), 984  
 tam ajarebhir vṛṣabhus tava (tapa)  
 svaish, 200  
 tam ahhi śoca yo 'smān (asmān)  
 dvesṣi . . . , 910  
 tam arcīṣā sphūrjayañ ('yañ) jāta-  
 vedah, 936  
 tam ardhamaśam prasutān pitryā-  
 vatah, 559  
 tamasaś tan mahinājāyataikam, 204  
 tam aham punar ādade, 256, 845  
 tam ahve vjāsātaye, 613, 798, 828  
 tam ā pr̥na (pr̥nā) vasupate vasūnām,  
 442  
 tam āhutam naśimahi ('tam aśimahi),  
 311  
 tam id arbhe haviṣy ā samānam it,  
 365, 826  
 tam in mahe vṛnate nānyam tvat, 365  
 tam u tvam māyayāvadhih, 252  
 tam u nir vāpayā punaḥ, 365  
 tam u me agadam kṛdhu, 849  
 tam u śucim śucayo didivāṁsam, 547  
 tam u huve vjāsātaye, 613, 798, 828  
 tam ū śucim śucayo didivāṁsam, 547  
 tam pīpr̥hi daśamāsyo 'ntar udare, 112  
 tam priyāsam (bhri') bahu rocamaṇah,  
 112  
 tam manyeta pītaram mātaram ca, 849  
 tam mātā daśa māso bibhartu, 112

tam mā devā avantu śobhāyai, 414, 700  
 tam mā puṁsi kartary erayadhvam, 414  
 tam mā mṛdhah, 98, 225  
 tayā gr̥nantah sadhamādeṣu, 325  
 tayānantam kāmam (lokam) aham jayāni, 365  
 tayā nas tanvā (tanuvā) śamtamayā, 793  
 tayā prattam svadhayā madantu, 365  
 tayā madantah sadhamādeṣu (°mādeṣu, °mādhyeṣu), 110, 325  
 tayāvahante kavayah purastāt, 342  
 tayāham śāntiyā, 365  
 tayā hatena pāpena, 365  
 tayor anu bhakṣam bhakṣayāmi, 315  
 tayor (tayor nāv) asthūri (°ri nau) gārhapatyam, 950  
 tayor aham anu bhakṣam (°ṣyam) bhakṣayāmi, 315  
 tayor aham bhakṣam anubhakṣayāmi, 315  
 tayor devā adhisamvasantah, 172, 281  
 tayor nāv, see tayor asthūri  
 tarakṣuh (°kṣah) kṣṇah śvā caturakṣo (°kṣyā), 335, 609  
 tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu, 374, 381, 830, 839, 861  
 tava-tava rāyah, 42, 748  
 tava tyan māyayāvadhih, 252  
 tava praśastayo mahāh (°taye mabe), 695  
 tava vāyav (vāya) ṛtaspace, 889  
 tava śravānsy upamāny ukthyā (°ya), 460  
 tava syām śarman trivarūtha udbhit, 932  
 tava syāma śarmaṇs trivarūtha udbhit, 932  
 tavāham nāma bībharāny agne (agne), 864  
 tavāham agne bībharāni nāma, 864  
 tasthur gr̥nantah sadhamādyāṣah, 325  
 tasthau nākasya sūnavi (śarmani), 287  
 tasmā u adya samanā (savane) sutam bhara, 233  
 tasmā u rādhah kṛnuta praśastam (kṛnuhi supraśastam), 845

tasmād āpo anu ṣṭhana (sthana), 937  
 tasmād vār nāma (nāma) vo hitam (vah priyam), 952  
 tasmiṁs tad, see tasmin tad . . .  
 tasmiṁ chīrīye aṣṭ ekapāt, 907  
 tasmin (tasmins) tad eno vasavo ni dhetana (dhattana), 932  
 tasminn ā tasthur bhuvanāni viśvā, 386  
 tasminn ārpitā bhuvanāni viśvā, 386  
 tasmin ma indro rucim ā dadhātu, 596  
 tasmin vayam upahūtās tava smah (sma), 379  
 tasmin sidāmṛte pratitiṣṭha (sīdāmīte pratitiṣṭhan), 638  
 tasmin somo rucam ā dadhātu, 596  
 tasmin ha tasthur bhuvanāni viśvā, 386  
 tasmai devā adhi bravan (bruvan), 602  
 tasmai no devāḥ paridatteha (°dhatta, °dhatteha) sarve (viśve), 106, 844  
 tasmai brahma ca brāhmāś (brāhmā) ca, 491  
 tasmai mā devāḥ pari dhatteha sarve, 106, 844  
 tasmai somo adhi bravat (bruvat), 602  
 tasya ṛksāmāny ., 919  
 tasya tārksyaś cāriṣṭanemiś ca senā-nigrāmanyau (senāni°), 523  
 tasya te bhaktivānsah syāma (°vāno bhūyāsma), 377  
 tasya te vājipitasyopahūtasyopahūto (vājipitasyopahūta [°hata] upahūtasya) bhakṣayāmi, 594  
 tasya te vājipitasyopahūto bhakṣayāmi, 594  
 tasya te vājibhīr vājipitasya, 594  
 tasya doham aśimahi (aśīya, aśīya te), 849  
 tasya nāmā . yo 'smān (asmān) dveṣṭi, 910  
 tasya no dhehi jivase, 105  
 tasya no rāsva tasya no dhehi (dēh), 106  
 tasya prajā apsaraso bhīruvah (bhīravonāma), 604  
 tasya yad āhuh pippalaṁ svādv agre, 746

- tasya rathagrtsaś (°kṛtsnaś, °kṛtsaś)  
 ca rathaujās ca senānigrāmanyau  
 (senāni°), 46, 311, 523  
 tasya rathaprotas (rathe°) cāsamara-  
 thaś ca senānigrāmanyau (senāni°),  
 523  
 tasya rathasvanas . . senānigrāma-  
 nyau (senāni°), 523  
 tasyarksāmāny . . , 919  
 tasya senajic . senānigrāmanyau  
 (senāni°), 523  
 tasyām devah savitā dharmam saviṣat,  
 142, 307  
 tasyām devā adhi sṁvasantah, 172,  
 281, 340  
 tasyām devah samvasanto mahitrū,  
 281  
 tasyām no devah savitā dharmam  
 (°ma) saviṣat (°ṣak), 142, 307  
 tasyāpo apsarasa (°psarasa, °sā) ūrjo  
 nāma (°psaraso mudāh), 910  
 tasyās te bhakṣāvāpāh syāma (bhak-  
 tivāno bhūyāsma, bhāgam aśimahi),  
 377  
 tasyās te sahasrapoṣam puṣyantyās  
 caramena paśunā kriṇāmi, 162  
 tasyed āhuh pippalam svādṇ agre, 746  
 tā ubhau caturah . . prasūrayāvahai  
 (°yāva), 379  
 tā ekamūrdhnir abhi lokam ekam, 172  
 tā eva vīvahāvahai, 269, 578, 694, 888  
 tā ehi sam rabhāvahai, 269, 694, 888  
 tāh prācyā (°yah, prācīr) ujjigāhīre  
 (°hīre, samjigāire), 387, 540, 581, 787  
 tām vidyām brahmayonim svarūpām  
 (brahmayonisva°), 818  
 tām śāsvantā upayanti vājāh, 365  
 tām ha jaritar na (nah) pratyagrbbhan,  
 384  
 tā te dhāmāny ūsmasi gamadhyai, 705  
 tāditnā (°knā) śatrum (°ūn) na kilā  
 vritse (vivatse), 141, 580  
 tāni brahmā tū (brahmota) śundhati  
 (śumbhati, śaṁsati), 173, 616  
 tām dhīrāsah kavayo 'nudyāyājanta,  
 637, 909  
 tām dhīrāso anudyāya (°diśya) yajante  
 (°dīśyāyajanta kavayah), 637, 909  
 tām nah pūṣaṇ chivatamām erayasva,  
 937  
 tāny antah puruṣe arpitāni (°ṣa ār°),  
 509  
 tābhur yāsī dūtyām (°yam) sūryasya,  
 494  
 tābhūh śāntibhūh sarvaśāntibhūh śam-  
 ayāmy aham, 365  
 tābhūḥ (vam (tābhīs tvam) ubhāyibhūh  
 samvidānah, 958  
 tābhyām (°yām vayam) pātema sukt-  
 tāim u lokam (pathyāsma suktāsyā  
 lokam), 96  
 tā mīndasānā manuṣo duroṇā ā, 609  
 tām u dhīrāso anudyāya yajante, 637,  
 909  
 tām vīrayaś candramasī svadhābhūh,  
 930  
 tām pūṣaṇ (pūṣaṇ) chivatamām era-  
 yasva, 937  
 tām pūṣānu yachatu (pūṣābhirakṣatu),  
 184, 244  
 tā yā devā . . śāsra (śāssra) . . , 391  
 tā vām vāstūny ūsmasi gamadhyai,  
 705  
 tā vājū girbhīr vipanyavah (°yuvah),  
 604  
 tāv imā upa sarpatah, 379  
 tāv iha sam bhavāva, 269, 578, 694, 888  
 tāv ehi vīvahāvahai (eha samvrahāva-  
 hai), 269, 578, 694, 888  
 tāv ehi samrabhāvahai, 269, 694, 888  
 tāv ehi sambhavāva, 269, 694, 888  
 tāśām vīśīśnūnām (°śnyānām), 315, 878  
 tāśām svasr (svar, svasūr) ajanayat  
 (ajanan) pañica-pañica, 644  
 tāśām īśāno bhagavah (maghavan), 83,  
 242  
 tāsām ekī harikṛkā (°klīkā), 273  
 tā tvā vīśantu manasā śīvena (mahasī  
 svena), 287, 587  
 tāsv adhvaryav jdhāvendraśya .  
 brhaspatimate . . , 239, 890  
 tāsv adhvaryo indrāya brhaspati-  
 rate . . , 239, 890  
 tigmasa jyudham vīdītam (°dham  
 vīdītam, anikam vīdītam) sahasvat,  
 169, 360, 545

- tigmāyudhāya bharatā śnotu nah  
(śnotana), 383, 827
- tiraścīrūji (tiraścīnarūji) rakṣitā, 542
- tiroahnīyān somān prasthitān preṣya,  
787, 910
- tīro rajānsy asprītaḥ (\*tam, asprītaḥ),  
180
- tilvilāstām irāvatīm, tilvilā sthājirā-  
vatī, tilvalā sthūrāvatī, tilvilā syād  
irāvatī, 596, 828
- tiṣṭhā ratham (rathe) adhi tam (yam,  
yad) vajrahasta (\*taḥ), 380
- tisrah kṣapas (\*pās) trir abātivrajad-  
bhūh, 494
- tisraś ca rājabandhavīh (\*vaih), 490,  
701
- tisro jīhvāsya samīdhah pariṣmanah,  
192, 579
- tisro dadhur (dadur) devatāḥ sam-  
rarānūh, 105
- tisro bhūmīr dhārāyan (\*yaṁs) trīnr  
uta dyūn, 927, 932
- tisro yāhvāsya samīdhah pariṣmanah,  
192, 579
- tisro ha prajā atyāyam āyan (iyuh), 598
- tuce tanāya (tunāya) tat su nah, 605
- tuye janā (jane) vanam svah, 207, 387
- tujo yujo vanam (balam) sahaḥ, 207,  
387
- tutho vo . varṣiṣṭhe adhi (\*dhi)  
nāke, 910
- tutho 'si janadhāyāḥ (\*yah), 54, 93, 375
- tubhyam sūtāsah somāḥ, 846
- tubhyam somāḥ sūtā me, 846
- tubhyam agne (agre) pary avahan, 864
- turaś cid viśvam arnavat tapasvān,  
64, 578, 826
- turiyāditya (turyā\*) savanam (ha\*) ta  
ndriyam, 299, 786
- turo na yāmann etaśāsya nū rane, 561
- turidyumnam vibhvasaham (vibhā\*),  
371
- tuviṣvanasam (\*śmanasam) suyajam  
ghṛtaśriyam, 236
- tūrnum devāsa iha suśriyam dadhuh,  
177
- tūrvan na yāmann etaśāsya nū rane,  
561
- tṛnam vasānā (\*nāḥ) sumanā asas (asi)  
tvam, 381
- trīta enam (enan) manuṣyeṣu mamṛje,  
414, 468, 670
- trītiyasya savanasya p̄bhumato (\*sy-  
ai jhu\*) bṛhaspatimato (\*vato)  
, 239, 919
- trītiye dhāmāny abhy (dhāmānny adhy)  
arayanta, 172, 928
- trīte devā amṛjataitad enah, 670
- trīṣucyavaso juhvo nāgneḥ, 40, 667
- trīṣu yad annā vevīṣad vitiṣṭhase, 667
- trīṣtam piṣitam asyate (aś\*), 278
- te arṣantu te varṣantu te kṛnvantu, 360
- te asmat pāśān pra muñcantv enasah,  
907
- te asmā agnaye (\*yo) dravināḥ dattvā,  
909
- te asmin (asmiñ) javam īdadhuh, 936
- tekaś ca sasaramatandaś ca, 135, 165
- tegān daṁṣṭrābhīyām, 374
- tejo mayi dhehi; tejo me dāh (dehi,  
dhāh), 103
- tejo yaśasvi sthāviraḥ samiddham  
(samrddham), 39, 635
- te te dhāmāny uśmasi gamadhye, 705
- te dakṣiṇām dūhate (te dūhate dak-  
ṣiṇām) saptamātaram, 356
- te na ātmasu jāgratī (jāgrta), 662
- tena ṛṣiṇā , 919
- te nah pāntv asmin brahmany .  
asmin-karmāny asyām . , 928
- tena kṛidantiś carata (\*tha) priyena  
(vaśān anu), 90
- tena tvam agna iha vardhayamam, 835
- tena dasyūn vy asahanta devāḥ, 983,
- tena devā vy asahanta śatrūn, 983
- tena no mitrāvarunāv (\*nā) aviṣṭam,  
533, 888
- tena mām abhiṣūcatam, 293, 835
- tena mā saha śundhata (śumbhantu,  
\*atu), 173
- tena yo 'smat samṛchātai (samṛt-  
sātām), 183, 811
- tena rādhyāsam (tenardhyāsam), 806
- tenarṣiṇā . , 919
- tena vayan sahasravalsena, 458
- tena vayan bhagavantāḥ syāma, 458



tena vardhasva cā ca pyāyasva (var-  
dhasva cāpyāyasva), 808  
tena samvaninsu svahe, 593  
tena samhanu kṛnmasi, 47, 386, 840  
tena sann anugṛhṇāsi, 47, 386, 840  
tena sahasrakāndena, 458  
tena somābhi rakṣa nah, 516, 950  
tenāgne tvam uta vardhayemam (var-  
dhayā mām), 835  
tenānyo 'smat samṛchātai, 811  
tenārātsyam ('tsam), 333  
tenā vayam bhagavantah syāma, 458  
tenā sahasrakāndena, 458  
tenemam agna (agra) iha varcasā  
samaṅgdhi, 864  
tenemām upa sūcatam, 293, 835  
te no 'gnayah paprayah pārayantu  
(pāla'), 260  
te pāyavah sadhryaṇco (sadhryaṇco)  
niṣadya, 784  
te brahmalokeṣu ('loke tu) parānta-  
kāle, 824  
tebhiṣ tvam putram janaya, 958  
tebhiḥ somābhi (bhi) rakṣa nah  
(nah), 516, 950  
tebhyo gṛhṭasya kulyaitu (dhāra-  
yitum), 747  
tebhyo namo astu ('stu), 910  
te mat prātah prajāniṣyethe ('te), 91  
te mā prajāte prajāniṣyathah ('tah  
, 91  
te varṣanti te varṣayanti, 360  
teṣām yo ayyānim ('jyānim) ajītam  
āvahāt (ajijim), 538, 907  
teṣām viśipriyānām, 878  
teṣām sam hanmo akṣāni (sam dadhmo  
akṣāni), 598  
teṣām ayyānim ('nam) yatamo vahāti  
(na āvahāt), 588  
teṣām apsu sadas kṛtam, 988  
teṣv aham sumanāḥ sam viśūmi ('ti,  
'ni, vasūma), 281  
te 'smat pāsān pra muñcantv anhasah,  
907  
te 'smā agnaye dravināni dattvā, 909  
te ha jajāte bhuvanasya gopāh, 192, 307  
tais tvam putram ('ān) vindasva, 958  
to-to (to te) rāyah, 42, 748

toyena jivān vi sasarja (vya ca sarja,  
vyasasarja) bhūmyām, 736  
tau te krodham nayāmasi, 98  
tau te bhakṣam (bhakṣyam) cakratur  
agra etam, 315  
tau saha caturah prasārayāvahai  
(yāvah), 379  
tyam hy agne agnīnā, 252  
trayiṣ ṣad urvīr uru nas kṛnota, 817,  
950, 964  
trātāram indram akṛnor avadhyam  
(ayudhyam), 255  
trīṣad asyā jaghanam yojanāni, 340  
trīṣad dhāma (trīṣaddhāmā) vi  
rājati, 460  
trīṣad yasyā jaghanam yojanāni, 340  
trikakuc ('kup) chandah, 178  
trikadrukebhīḥ patati (pavate), 853  
trinave marutah ('ta) stutāh (stutam),  
977  
trita etan manuṣyeṣu māmṛje, 414,  
458, 670  
trite devā amṛjatatad enah, 670  
tridhā baddho vṛṣabho roravīti, 687  
tripadā yā ca ṣaṭpadā (yās ca ṣaṭ-  
padāh), 381  
tribandhurena trivṛtā rathena, 213  
tribandhuro manasā yātu yuktah, 213  
triyavi-, see tryavi-  
trir asmai sapta dhenavo duduhre  
(hrire), 810  
trivandhurena trivṛtā rathena, 213  
trivandhuro manasā yātu yuktah, 213  
trivṛd bhuvanam yad rathavṛt ('vṛk,  
trivṛd yad bhuvanasya rathavṛt),  
142  
triśug gharṇo vibhātu me (gharṇas  
sadam in me vibhātu), 145, 355  
triśrud gharṇo vibhātu me, 145, 355  
triṣaptāso marutah svādusammudāh,  
986  
triśucyavaso juhvo nāgneḥ, 40, 667  
triśu yad annā vevīṣad vitiṣṭhase, 667  
triṣṭub (triṣṭug) graiṣmī, 148  
triṣaptāso marutah svādusammudāh,  
986  
trīni padāni (padā) nihitā guhāsya  
(guhāsu), 803, 826

- trīni padāni rūpo anv arohat, 569  
trīni śatā trī sahasrāṇy (śa°) agnum, 988  
tredhā baddho vṛṣabho roravīti, 687  
tryavir (triyavir) , and tryaviś (tri-yaviś) ., 776  
tva eṣah samdadhur bhūrivarpasah, 292, 360, 694  
tvam rājāsi pradivah (pratīpat) sūtānām, 64, 200  
tvam rāya ubhayāso janānām, 507  
tvam rauhinam (roh°) vyāsyah, 728  
tvam valasya gomatah, 210  
tvam vettha yati te jātavedah, 60  
tvam hi rādhaspata (°syata) eka lāṣe, 867  
tvam hy agne agninā, 252  
tvam gopāya, 365  
tvam no devatātaye (deva dātave), 61, 248, 832  
tvam u nirvāpayā punah, 365  
tvam etāñ (etān) janarājño dvir daśa, 936  
tvam balasya gomatah, 210  
tvayāgne kāmam aham jayāmi, 365  
tvayā jvasena sam aśimahi tvā, 421, 835  
tvayā prattam svadhayā madanti (°tu), 365  
tvayā bhūṣanti vedhasah, 831, 911  
tvayāyam vṛtram vadhyāt (badhet, badhyāt), 209, 803  
tvayāvasena sam aśimahi tvā, 421, 835  
tvayāham śūntyā , 365  
tvayā hatena pāpena, 365  
tvaṣṭar devebhis sahasāma indra, 380, 870  
tvaṣṭā turīpo (°yo) adbhutah, 867  
tvaṣṭā devaḥ sahamāna indrah, 380, 870  
tvaṣṭā no atra varivah (varīyah) kṛnotu, 249, 541a  
tvaṣṭā no atra vi dadhātu rāyah, 849  
tvaṣṭā rūpāni dadhati (dadati) sarasvati, 105  
tvaṣṭā sudatro vi dadhātu rāyah, 849  
tvaṣṭīmati te sapeya, 357, 641  
tvaṣṭur varutīm varunasya nābhum, 528, 562  
tvaṣṭīmantas (tvaṣṭri°, tvaṣṭu°) tvā sapema, 39, 357, 641, 667  
tvaṣṭīmatī te sapeya, 357, 641  
tvām rāya ubhayāso janānām, 507  
tvām śaśvanta upa yanti vājāh, 365  
tvām agne samidhānam yaviṣṭha (°ṭhya), 315  
tvām adya ṛṣa (adyarṣa) āṛṣeya ṛṣīnām (āṛṣeyarṣi°) 919  
tvām abhi pra nonumah (no°), 952  
tvām arbhiasya haviṣah samānam it, 365, 826  
tvām maho vṛnate (°te naro) nānyam tvaṭ, 365  
tviṣum indre na (indrena) bheṣajam, 826  
tviṣur apsu goṣu yā puruṣeṣu, 849  
tviṣur aśveṣu puruṣeṣu goṣu, 849  
tve ā bhūṣanti vedhasah, 831, 911  
tve ṛṣah (viśve) sam dadhur bhūrivarpasah (bhūrīretasah), 292, 360, 694  
tve kratum api vṛñjanti viśve (pṛñcanti t°ūri), 57, 200  
tveṣam cakṣur dadhre codayanvati (°mati), 239  
tveṣa te dhūma ṛnvati (ūrnotu), 655  
dakṣakratubhyām ., 556  
dakṣam ta ugram ābhāṛiṣam (te bhadram ābhāṛṣam), 758  
dakṣam dadhāsi (dadāsi) jīvase, 105  
datto asmabhyam (dattvāyāsma°, dattāyāsma°, dattāsma°) dravineha bhadram, 90, 342, 367  
dadhatha no dravinam yac ca bhadram, 90, 342, 367  
dadhāt yo dhāyi sute vayāṇsi, 272a, 592, 612  
dadhāt ratnam (°nā) dakṣam pitṛbhya (dakṣapit°) āyuni (āyūṇsi), 555, 819  
dadhāt ratnā dāśuṣe vāryāni (ratnāni dāśuṣe, ratnā vi dā°), 849  
dadhāt vidhaksyan paryāṅkhayātai, 145, 332, 634, 710  
dadhanvān (°vā, °vān) yo naryo apsv antar ā, 942  
dadhī mantham parīśrutam (manthām parīśrutam), 275

dadhur yo dhāyi sa te vayāṁsi, 272a,  
 592, 612  
 dadhuṣa ehi, 635  
 dadhrg vidhākṣyan paryāṅkhayāte  
 (vidhākṣan pariṅkhayātai), 145, 332,  
 634, 710  
 dadhṛṣy ehi, 635  
 dame-dame suṣṭutir (\*tyā, \*tir, \*ti)  
 vām iyānā (vāvṛdhānā, \*nau), 236,  
 544, 640, 828  
 daridra (\*dran) nilalohita, 401  
 darbhanā stṛṇita haritāni suparnaiḥ  
 (suvarṇaiḥ), 200  
 dāsasyantāmṛtāya (\*tvāmṛtāya) kam,  
 367  
 dahram (daharam) vipāpmavaraveś-  
 mabhūtam (vipāpmam varam veś-  
 mabhūtam, vipūpam), 763, 819  
 dātum cec chikṣān sa (chaknuvāṁsah,  
 \*vān sa) svarga eva (eṣām), 381, 571,  
 826  
 dātrasyāgne svarpatih (svah\*), 968  
 dāma grīvāsv avimokyaṃ yat (grīvāsv  
 avicartyam), 649  
 dāmno-dāmno rājan, 107  
 dāsyann adāsyann uta sam grṇāmi  
 (uta vā karṣyan), 45  
 digbhyas cakravākah (cakr\*), 658  
 digbhyo vadabe (\*ve), 219  
 diteh putrāṇām aditer akārṣam (\*ri-  
 ṣam), 758  
 diva oṣadhayas (\*yah) pari, 964  
 divah parjanyaḍ antarikṣāt prthivyāḥ,  
 964  
 divah prthivyāḥ pary antarikṣāt, 964  
 divah prthivyāḥ pary oja udbhrtam,  
 964  
 divah prṣṭham svar (suvar) gatvā,  
 964  
 divah prṣṭh-, see divas etc  
 divam skabhāna, 137  
 divam agrenāspṛkṣah (\*ṣat, agrenā-  
 prāt), 375  
 divas cid antād upamām (upa mām,  
 antān upamān) ud ānat, 824  
 divas chadmāsi, 324  
 diva (divas, divah) skambhanir (\*nir,  
 \*ny) . 529, 977

divas parjanyaḍ antarikṣāt prthivyāḥ,  
 964  
 divas prthivyāḥ pary antarikṣāt, 964  
 divas prthivyāḥ nary oja udbhrtam,  
 964  
 divas prṣṭham svar gatvā, 964  
 divas (divah) prṣṭham adhī tiṣṭhanti  
 (rohanti) cetasa (tejasā), 57, 802,  
 964  
 divas (divah) prṣṭham (\*the) bhand-  
 amānah (mand\*) sumanmābhūh, 242,  
 964  
 divas (divah) prṣṭhāny āruhan (\*hat),  
 964  
 divah samsprṣas (sampsṛcas) pāhi, 195,  
 375  
 divācarebhyo (\*cāribhyo) bhūtebhyah,  
 488, 690  
 divi jyotir ajaram (uttamam) āra-  
 bhetām (\*thām), 91  
 divi mūrdhānam dadhuṣe svarṣām  
 (suvarṣām), 780  
 divi ṣaṇ (ṣaṇ, saṇ) chakra ātatah, 937,  
 987  
 divi sad (ṣad) bhūmy ā dade, 987  
 dive jyotir uttamam ārabhethām, 91  
 divo antebhyas (\*nte\*) pari, 907  
 divo jyote (jyotir) vīvasva āditya te no  
 devā . , 337, 686, 720 818  
 divo dhārām bhundhi, 324  
 divo vābhūṣṭhām anu yo vīcaṣṭe, 156,  
 170, 220  
 divo vā viṣṇav (viṣṇa, divo viṣṇa) uta  
 vā prthivyāḥ, 887  
 divo vīśvasmāt śim aghāyata uruṣyah,  
 379  
 divo vṛṣṭim varṣayātā puriṣanah, 90  
 divyah koṣah samukṣatah, 196, 686, 699,  
 707  
 divyam suparnam vāyasam (payasam,  
 vayasam, \*sā) brhantam, 200, 490  
 divyam chadmāsi , 324  
 divyā āpo nannamyadhvam , 413,  
 686  
 divye dhāmān (\*many) upahūtah  
 (\*tā), 928  
 divyo gandharvah ketapūh (\*pāh)  
 , 619

- diśām devy (tevy) avatu no ghṛtācī, 21, 66  
 diśām patir abhavad vājunivān, 869  
 diśo abhy abhūd ayam, 910  
 diśo 'bhy ayam rājābhūt, 910  
 diśo yajñasya dakṣiṇā, 161, 579  
 diśo viśvā anu prabhuh, 381, 869  
 diṣṭāya rajjusaṛjam ("sargam), 132  
 dikṣayedam (dikṣāy") havir āgachataṁ nah, 507  
 dikṣāyai tapase 'gnaye (agnaye) svāhā, 910  
 dikṣito 'yam asā āmuṣyāyanaḥ, 888  
 dirgham āyuh pratirad bheṣajāni, 575  
 dirghām anu prasitīm (prasṛtīm, samṛtīm) āyuṣe dhām (tvā; saṁsprṣe-thām), 78, 292, 637  
 durāś ca viśvā avṇod apa svāh, 64, 578, 826  
 duritāni yāni kāni ca cakṛma, 808  
 duritā yāni cakṛma, 808  
 durmitrās ("triyaś, 'tryāś) tasmai santu (bhūyaśur) yo 'smān (asmān) dveṣṭi . . , 315, 787, 910  
 luvasyave (duvasvate) tvā vātāya svāhā, 243  
 duścakṣās te māvaksāt ("kṣat, "khyat), 190  
 duścyavanah pṛtanāśad ("śāl) ayudhyah (ayo"), 713  
 duśvapnahan (duśṣva°, duḥsva°) duruṣyaha (duruṣṣaha, duruṣvaha), 255, 408, 930, 986  
 duśvapnyam duritam niḥ (ni) svāsmat, 930  
 dūredṣām gṛhapatim atharyum (athavyum), 267  
 dūrepaśyā ca rāṣṛabhr̥c ca tāni, 820  
 dūrehetir indriyāvān ("yavān) patatṛi ("triḥ), dūrehetih patatṛi vājunivān, 467, 529a  
 dūrvā rohātu puṣpini (rohantu puṣpiniḥ), 381  
 dūṣikābhur hrādunim (hra°), 488, 528, 543  
 dṛṇhantām darvir viśah kalpantām , manuṣyāḥ, 316, 490  
 dṛṇhasva vīdayasva (vīra°) su, 272  
 dṛdhā cid yamaṣiṇasvah, 857  
 dṛvāsi (dṛbḥsi), 219, 679  
 dṛṣā ca bhāṣā bṛhatā suśikmanā, 240, 283, 624  
 dṛṣāno rukma urvyā (urviyū, uruyū) vy adyaut (vi bhāti), 743, 791  
 dṛṣe ca bhāṣā bṛhatā suśukrabhiḥ ("vanih), 240, 283, 624  
 devakośah samubjitah, 196, 686, 699, 707  
 deva gharma rucitas tvam deveṣv ā, 713  
 devayūte vivasvann āditya . . , 337, 686, 720, 818  
 devatrā havyam ūhiṣe (oh°, ohire), 722  
 deva tvaṣṭar vasu rama (ranva, rana, rane), 225, 366  
 deva puraścara saghyāsaṁ (devapuraś carasa rdyāsaṁ) tvā, 147, 634, 817, 838, 861  
 devabarhuh (deva barhiḥ) śtavalāśam vi roha, 817  
 devaṁ manah kuto (kṛto) adhi prajātam, 642  
 devayuvam (devā°) viśvayātrām ("vāre), 478  
 devayor dharṁ ("mā, dhāman) as-thiran, 350  
 deva viṣṇa (viṣṇav) urv . . , 857  
 devaśrīh śrīmanah ("maṇāḥ) śtatapayāḥ ("pāt), 953  
 deva saṁsphāna sahasrapoṣasyeṣiṣe (sahasrā°), 466  
 deva savitah susāvitram (suṣā°) adyās-min . . , 986  
 devas te savitā hastam gṛhnātu, 116  
 devas tvā savitā punātu vasoh . . supvā (supuvā), 789  
 devas tvā savitotpunātu . . . supvot-punāmi, 789  
 devasya ("syāham) savituh . . . ruheyam (roheyam), 715  
 devā akṛtvann usijo amartyave, 152, 643, 650  
 devā etasyām avadanta pūrve, 810  
 devāḥ pāntu yajamānam nyarthāt (nirṛthāt), 650

- devāṅśo yasmai tvede tat satyam  
upariprutā (apariprutā) bhaṅgena  
(bhaṅgyena), 261, 315, 616
- devā gātuvido (°vido gātum vittvā,  
gātum itvā) gātum yajñāya vindata  
(gātum ita), 360
- devāṅ jigāti sumnayuh, 936
- devā devebhyo adhvaryanto (adhvari-  
yanto) asthuh, 786
- devānām viṣṭhām anu yo vitasthe,  
156, 170, 220
- devānām tvā patnīr devīr viśvadevy-  
āvatīh (°devya°) pṛthivyāh sa-  
dhasthe aṅgirasvad (°āṅi°), 467,  
910
- devānām devatamā śaviṣṭhā (śaciṣṭhā),  
866
- devānām niṣṭhām anu yo vitasthe, 156,  
170, 220
- devānām agneyāny asī, 357, 692, 818
- devānām patnibhyah pulikāh, 149
- devānām patnīr (patnyo, patnayō)  
dīśah (viśah), 869
- devānām bhūgadā asat, 105
- devā no yajñam ṛtuthā (ṛjudhā)  
nayantu, 75, 157
- devāṅ jigāti sumnayuh, 936
- devāṅ devayate (devā°) yaja (yaja-  
mānāya svāhā), 478
- devāṅ mā bhayād iti, 707
- devāṅ yajñyān iha yān yajāmahai  
(havāmabe), 710
- devāṅ sendrān upa te huve savāham  
(°sā aham), 362
- devā brahmāna āgachata āgachata  
(āgachataāgachataāgachata), 995
- devā bhavata vājmaḥ, 90
- devāyuvam, see deva°
- devā vā etasyām avadanta pūrve, 810
- devī uśāsāv (°sā) āśvinā, 883
- devī dvārau mā mā sam tāptam, 357,  
732
- devīm nāvam svaritrām anāgasam,  
707
- devīm aham nirṛtim vandamānah (bā-  
dhamānah), 207
- devīr āpo agreguvah (agreguvo  
devayuvam [devā°]), 478, 910
- devīr āpo apām napād dhatta  
(datta, dāta), 104
- devīr āpo 'greguvo, 910
- devīr āpo (āpo apām napād) yo va  
ūrmih pratūrtih kakunmān vājasās  
tenāyam vājam set, 178, 239
- devīr devīr (devair) abhi mā nivar-  
tadhvam, 701
- devīr devah samāhṛtāh (°bhṛtāh), 118,  
639
- devīr dvāro mā mā samtāptam, 357, 732
- devīh śad urvīr (śadurvīr) uru nah  
(nah) kṛnota, 707, 817, 950, 964
- devebhīr aktam (yuktam) aditih sajo-  
śāh, 339, 617
- devebhyas tanūbhyas svāhā, 695, 707
- devebhyas tvā devāyuvam (devāvyam)  
pṛnacmi (pṛnajmi), 55, 805
- devebhyas tvā devāyuvam (devāyuvam)  
grhnāmi, 805
- devebhyo bhavata (°tha) supṛāyanāh,  
90
- devebhyo bhāgadā (°dā) asat, 105
- devebhyo havyam vahatu prajānan,  
849
- devebhyo havyam vaha (vaha nah)  
prajānan, 849
- devebhyo havyavāhans (°nah), 380
- devebhyo havyā vahatu prajānan, 849
- deveṣu havyavāhanah, 380
- devair uktā (nyuptā, nuttā) vyasarpo  
mahitvam (°tvā), 139, 152, 180
- devair devīh samāhṛtāh (°hṛtāh), 118,  
639
- devair nuttā (nyuptā), see devair  
uktā
- devo narāśanso 'gnau (°gnā) vasuvane  
, 910
- devo vah savitā hiranyapānīh prati-  
grbhñātv (savitā pratigrbhñātu . )  
, 116
- devo vah savitā hiranyapānīh prati  
(°pānīr upa) grānātu, 116
- devya āpo nannamyadhvam (nam-  
namyadhvam), 413, 686
- devyovamryo (vamryo) bhūtasya ,  
791
- daivam mānuṣā yujā, 132, 817

darvān mā bhayāt pāhi, 707  
 darvā hotāra ūrdhvam adhvaram nah, 317  
 darvā hotārah sanīṣan na etat, 317, 411, 623, 825  
 darvīm nāvam svaritrām anāgasam ('sah), 707  
 darvibhyas tanūbhyah svāhā, 695, 707  
 darvīh śad urvīr uru nah kṛnōta, 707, 817, 950, 964  
 darvo yo mānuṣo gandhah, 317  
 darvyah kośah samubhītah, 196, 686, 699, 707  
 darvyam mānuṣa yugā, 132, 317  
 darvyā adhvaryū ā gatam, 888  
 darvyā mimānā manusah (manasā) purutrā, 293, 609  
 darvyāya dhartre jōṣtre (dhātṛe deṣṭre), 159, 350  
 daivyaḥ adhvaryū ā gatam, 888  
 daivyaḥ hotārāgnā ('gna, hotārā agna) āyasya vitām, 888, 992  
 daivyaḥ hotārā ('rāv) ūrdhvam (hotār-ordhvam), 317, 886  
 daivyaḥ hotārā ('ro) vanuṣanta (vani-śanta, vaniṣan na) pūrve (etat), 317, 411, 623, 825  
 daivyo yo mānuṣo gandhah, 317  
 dyām varṣayatho ('to) asurasya māyayā, 91  
 dyām stabhāna, 137  
 dyāvāprthivī uro (urv) antarikṣa ('kṣam), 912  
 dyutadyubhir namasyair iyanā, 953  
 dyutāno vājibhir yatah (hītah), 256, 579  
 dyumattamā supratikasya sūnoh ('tīkah sasūnoh), 189, 716, 840  
 dyumad vibhātī bharatebhyah śucih (śuci), 381  
 dyumantam śuṣmam ā bharā (bhara) svaravidam, 446  
 dyumnā sudatra (dyumnā spkṣatra) mānhaya, 857  
 dyumnī śloki (śukli) sa somyah (sau'), 714, 728  
 dyusamantasya ta ādityo 'nukhyātā, 724, 833

dyauh pitah prthivī mātā adbruk, 967  
 dyauh pitā prthivī mātā prajāpatir bandhuh, 967  
 dyauh prēham . . ., 967  
 dyaur nah pitā pitryāc (pitryāc) cham bhavāti ('si), 674  
 dyaur yataś cyutad agnāv eva tat, 336  
 dyauṣ tvā pitā prthivī mātā, 958  
 dyauṣ pitah prthivī mātā adbruk, 967  
 dyauṣ pitā prthivī mātā, 967  
 dyauṣ prēham . . ., 967  
 dyauṣ te pitā prthivī mātā, 958  
 dyauh samā tasyāditya upadraṣṭā . . ., 724, 833  
 drapsas caskanda prthivīm anu dyām (prathamā anu dyūn), 235, 619, 665  
 drāghīya āyuh prataram ('rām, prati-ram) 506, 575  
 drunā sadhastham aśnuṣe, 713  
 drunā sadhastham āsadat, 713  
 drubāsi, 219, 679  
 dṛuhah pūśān (pūśam) prati sa (śu) mucīṣṭa (prati mucatām sah), 621, 987  
 drone sadhastham aśnuṣe, 713  
 drone sadhastham āsadat, 713  
 dvā yantārā bhavatas tatha ṛtuh (tathartuh, tathā ṛtuh), 918  
 dvārapāya . . ., dvārapopa . . ., dvā-rapy . . ., dvārapyai (dvārū' . . .), 466  
 dvīpac catuṣpad (dvīpāc catuṣpād) arjuni, 499  
 dvīpac catuṣpad (dvīpāc catuṣpād) asmākam, 499  
 dvīṣate samnayāmasi, 878  
 dvīṣato badho (vadho) 'si, 209  
 dvīṣadbhyah prati muṣcāmi pūśam (pāpam), 857  
 dvīśantam apa bādhasva, 201  
 dvīśantam me vabādhasva, 201  
 dvīṣas tad adhy arnavaneyase, 244, 272a, 651, 838  
 dvīṣas taradhyā ('yau) ṛnayā na iyase (īrase), 244, 272a, 651, 838  
 dve srutī (srīti) aśṇavam pitṛnām, 682  
 dvyyuṣam jēgriyād aham, 674

dhattam ratnāni dūṣuṣe, 849  
 dhanamjayam dharunam dhārayiṣnu,  
 177, 268, 381, 857  
 dhanam me śaṁsyājugupah, 548  
 dhanasātāv (\*tā) ihāvatu, 868  
 dhanasprtam śūśuvānsam sudakṣam,  
 609  
 dhanāni śakro dhanyah (dhanih)  
 surādhāh, 734  
 dhanus tanvantī (dhanuṣ ja°) paun-  
 syam, 956  
 dhanusprtam śūśuvānsam sudakṣam,  
 609  
 dhamanti bākuraṁ (vā°) dṛtum, 216  
 dhartāras te (te subhage) mekhale  
 mā riṣāma, 176  
 dhartā vidhartā paramota samdr̥k,  
 350, 835, 869, 871  
 dhātār āyantu sarvadā (sarvatah  
 svāhā), 68  
 dhātā dadātu (dadhātu) dāṣuṣe, 106  
 dhātā dadātu dāṣuṣe vasūni, 106  
 dhātā dadātu (dadhātu) no rayim,  
 105  
 dhātā dadhātu (dadātu) sumanasy-  
 amānah, 105  
 dhātā vidhātā paramota samdr̥k (par-  
 amo na samvr̥k), 350, 835, 869, 871  
 dhātā viśvā vāryā dadhātu, 106  
 dhātā samudro apa ('va) hantu pāpam,  
 201, 907  
 dhātā samudro abhayam kṛnotu, 907  
 dhātuh katkaṣah (kakkaṣah), 139  
 dhānāsomān manthina indra (indrah)  
 śukrāt, 380  
 dhāman ('man) te viśvam bhuvanam  
 adhūritam, 932  
 dhāmno-dhāmna iha muficatu, 107  
 dhāmno-dhāmno rājan, 107  
 dhārāvārā maruto dhṛṣṇvojasah  
 (dhṛṣṇvojasah), 777  
 dhik tvā jāram (jāmi punścali, °li)  
 , 260  
 dhupyah vā sameakara janebhyah,  
 45, 56, 107, 180, 446, 480  
 dhya invāno dhya in no avyāt, 386  
 dhya na (no) vājān upa māsi (māhi)  
 śaśvatah, 298

dhya manotā prathamā manīṣi (pra-  
 thamā manīṣā), 598  
 dhya martah śaśamate (martasya  
 śamatah), 189, 840  
 dhuyo invāno dhya in no avyāt  
 (avyāt), 386  
 dhuṣanā tvā devī viśvadevyavatī  
 aṅgirasvad abhindhām (abhindhā-  
 tā) ukhe, 467  
 dhuṣanāsi parvatī (pār°, parvatyā),  
 316, 490  
 dhuṣanāsi tvā devīr viśvadevyavatīh  
 sadhasthe aṅgirasvad ('ṅgr°)  
 abhindhātām ukhe, 467, 910  
 dhuṣane iduṣa-idethām, 169, 360  
 dhuṣane vidū (vidvī, vite) vīda-  
 yethām (vīl°), 169, 360, 743  
 dhīnām antah sabardughah, 696  
 dhīrā deveṣu sumnayā (sū°, sumna-  
 yau), 563  
 dhukṣamahi prajāṁ iṣam, 176, 618  
 dhuṅkṣāgnevi (dhuṅkṣyā°, dhuṅkṣvā°),  
 255, 311, 335, 370, 568  
 dhūmrā babhruṅkāśāh pitṛnām soma-  
 vatām, 628, 742  
 dhūrta ('te) namas te astu ('stu),  
 910  
 dhūrte namante astu, 910  
 dhūrva tam yo 'amān dhūrvati, 910  
 dhenām antah sabardughāh, 696  
 dhenus cānadvāś ca, 930  
 dhruvam yonim ā sīda sādhyā (sā-  
 dhyā), 505  
 dhruvam ayā (ayo) dhruvam utāśam-  
 iṣṭhāh (utā śaviṣṭha), 86, 234, 835  
 dhruvam asi dhruvata ('tah) sthitam,  
 977  
 dhruvas tiṣṭhāvicācalih ('lat), 592  
 dhruvām yonim āsīda sādhyā, 505  
 dhruvāya bhūmāya (bhaumāya) svāhā,  
 725  
 dhruvāsah (dhruvā ha) parvatī ime,  
 298, 824  
 dhruvā strī patikule iyam ('kuleyam),  
 989  
 dhvāṁsaso vi vṛhāmī te, 176, 222  
 dhvāra dhvarantam yo amān dhvarāt,  
 910

dhvāntam vātāgram anusamcarantau  
(abhisam<sup>o</sup>), 864  
dhvāntā vātā agnim abhi ye sam  
caranti, 864  
na kir (ki) devā minīmasi (inī<sup>o</sup>), 311,  
357  
nakih sa dabhyate janah, 126, 621  
naktamcarebhyah ("cāmbhyo bhūte-  
bhyah), 488, 690  
nakṣatrānām sakāśān mā yaūṣam, 306  
nakṣatrānām mā samkāśāś , 306  
nagnahur dhīras (vīras) tasarām na  
vema, 857  
na ced avedī (°di, °dir, °dīn) mahati  
vinaṣṭih, 525, 530  
na jyotiṣi cakāśati, 278  
na tato vijugupsate, 45, 56, 68, 180  
na tadā vicikītsati (vijugupsate), 45,  
56, 68, 180  
na tad rakṣānsi na piśācāś caranti  
(°cās taranti), 155  
na tā arvā renukakāṣo aśnute (°śnute),  
907  
nadayor vivratayoh śūra indrah, 665,  
828  
nadībhyah pauñjīṣṭham (°ṣṭam), 86  
na devo vṛtah śūra indrah, 665, 828  
na dhvasmānas tanvī (tanuvī) repa ā  
dhuh, 793  
na pāpatvāya rāsiya (ransiṣam), 301  
nabhaś ca nabhasyaś ca vārṣikāv  
(°kā) ṛtū, 888  
nama ākṣinakebhyah, 540  
nama ākhidate ca prakhidate (ākkhi-  
date ca prakkhidate) ca, 401, 405  
nama ādityāya divikṣite lokasṛpte  
(°sṛpte), 205  
nama ānurhatebhyah (āṇṛha<sup>o</sup>), 653  
na ma idam upadambhiṣag (udam  
bhiṣag) ṛṣir brahmā yad dade, 272a,  
831, 832  
nama iṣumadbhyo dhanvāyibhyaś  
(°vibhyaś) ca vo namah, 247  
nama idhriyāya cātapyāya ca, 360, 787  
nama ūrvyāya ca sūrvyāya (ūrmyāya  
ca sūrmāya) ca, 228  
namah kāṣṭhāya ca gahvareṣṭhāya  
(°ṣṭhāya) ca, 321

namah kiṇśilāya ca kṣayanāya (kṣen-  
āya) ca, 42, 744  
namah kṛchrebhyah kṛchrapatibhyaś  
ca vo namah, 45, 185  
namah kṛtsnāyatayā (°yatāya, kṛtsan-  
vītāya, kṛtsnavītāya), 311, 507  
namah pathyāya ca srutyāya ca, 682  
namah parnāya (parnyāya) ca parn-  
aśīdāya (°śadāya, °śadyāya) ca, 325,  
486  
namah puñjīṣṭebhyo (°ṣṭebhyo) niṣā-  
debhyaś ca vo namah, 86  
namah śamgave (śamgāya) ca paśupa-  
taye ca, 250, 808  
namah śaṣpiṇjārāya (śiṣ<sup>o</sup>) tvīṣimate  
278, 294, 580  
namah śighryāya (śighriyāya) ca śi-  
bhyāya ca, 315, 787  
namah śībhāya ca śīghrāya ca, 315, 787  
namah śuṣkyāya (śuṣyāya) ca hari-  
tyāya ca, 420  
namah śvanibhyo (śvani<sup>o</sup>) mṛgayu-  
bhyaś ca vo namah, 528  
namas te astu, 910  
namas te astu rudrarūpebhyah, 817  
namas te rathamātarāya (rātham<sup>o</sup>)  
- , 491  
namas te rudra rūpebhyo namah, 817  
namas te 'stu, 910  
namah samudrasya cakṣase (cakṣuṣe),  
608  
namah saspīṇjārāya tvīṣimate, 278,  
294, 580  
namah sūtāyāhantyai (°hantāya,  
°hantvāya), 248  
namas sūrmāya cormyāya ca, 228  
namah sūryāya divikṣite lokasṛpte,  
205  
namah śkāyibhyo (°vibhyo, sṛgāy-  
ibhyo) jighāṇsadbhyah, 48, 247  
namah śṛtyāya ca pathyāya ca, 682  
namah senūbhyah senūnibhyaś (°nī-  
bhyaś) ca vo namah, 527  
namah sobhyāya ca pratisaryāya  
(°sarāya) ca, 325  
namah srutyāya ca pathyāya ca, 682  
na mānsam aśi nodalam (no dalam).  
835



na mānseṣu na snūvasu, 826  
 namucāṇ (°cā) āsure sacā, 888  
 na me tad upadambhūsar dhṛṣir brahmā  
 yad dadau, 142, 272a, 831, 832  
 namo agnaya upadrasṭre, 910  
 namo agriyāya ('gryāya, 'griyāya) ca  
 prathamāya ca, 541, 787, 910  
 namo agrevadhāya ('gre°) ca dūreva-  
 dhāya ca, 910  
 namo aparasadbhyah, 910  
 namo aśvebhyo ('śve°) śvapatabhyaś ca  
 vo namah, 910  
 namo astu nīlagriyāya, 908  
 namo astu parāyate, 907  
 namo astu ('stu) rúdrebhyo ye anta-  
 rīkṣe ('ntar°) . . , 910  
 namo astu ('stu) rudrebhyo ye divi  
 . , 910  
 namo astu ('stu) rudrebhyo ye prthi-  
 vyām , 910  
 namo astu ('stu) sarpebhyaḥ, 907  
 namo girikebhyo devānām hṛdaye-  
 bhyah, 49  
 namo giriśayāya (giriśāya) . 810  
 namo grtsebhyo grtsapatibhyaś ca vo  
 namah, 45, 185  
 namo 'gnaya upadrasṭre, 910  
 namo 'gnaye prthivīkṣite lokasṛṣṭe  
 (prthivīkṣite lokakṣite, °vikṣite lok-  
 asṛṣṭe), 205, 524  
 namo 'griyāya , 'grevadhāya ,  
 'gryāya . , see namo ag°  
 namo jaghanyāya ca budhnyāya  
 (°nyāya) ca, 787  
 namo dundubhyāya cāhananyāya  
 (dundubhaye cāhananyāya) ca, 325,  
 786  
 namo nīśādebhyah puñjīṣṭhebhyaś  
 ('ṣṭhebhyaś) ca vo namah, 86  
 namo nīveṣyāya (nī°) ca hṛdyāya ca,  
 248, 315, 516, 658  
 namo 'parasadbhyah, 910  
 namo babhluśāya vyādhine (vivvyū-  
 dhine), 810  
 namo budhnyāya ca jaghanyāya ca, 787  
 namo mahadbhyo (brhadbhyo) ar-  
 bhakebhyaś ('rība°) ca vo namah,  
 910

namo mṛgayubhyah śvanibhyaś ca vo  
 namah, 528  
 namo mauñjīyāyormyāya (°ysur-  
 myāya) . , 728  
 namo yuvabhya āśinebhyaś (āśi°) ca  
 vo 542  
 namo yuvabhyo nama āśinebhyaḥ, 542  
 namo rathibhyo arathebhyaś ('rath°)  
 , 910  
 namo rudrāyātātāyine (°vine), 247  
 namo lopyāya colapyāya (colapyāya)  
 ca, 325  
 namo vah kirikebhyo , 49  
 namo vah pitarah śuśmāya (śoṣāya,  
 śūṣāya), 569, 713, 720  
 namo vātyāya ca reṣmyāya (reṣ-  
 myāya) , 787  
 namo vāyave 'ntarīkṣakṣite lokasṛṣṭe  
 ('sṛṣṭe, lokakṣite), 205  
 namo vikṣinatkebhyaḥ (vikṣīnake-  
 bhyah), 540  
 namo vidhryāya (vidhriyāya) cāta-  
 pyāya ca, 360, 787  
 namo vṛddhāya ca savṛdhe (sam-  
 vṛdhvane, savṛdhvane, suvṛdhvane)  
 ca, 306, 612  
 namo vo astu ('stu), 910  
 namo 'śvebhyo , see namo aś°  
 namo 'stu nīla°, 908  
 namo 'stu parāyate, 907  
 namo 'stu , see namo astu  
 namo hṛdayyāya ca nīveṣyāya ca, 248,  
 315, 516, 658  
 namo bradayyāya (bradavyāya) ca  
 nīveṣyāya ('ṣyāya) ca, 248, 315,  
 516, 658  
 na yac chūdreṣv alapsata (alipsata),  
 583  
 na yajñasya manvate martyāsah (mar-  
 tāsah), 315  
 nayantam girbhīr vanā dhīyam dhūh,  
 600  
 nayanto garbham vanām dhīyam dhūh,  
 600  
 na yonā (yonāv) uśāsānaktā, 886  
 narāśāṇsa stavīṣyate, 490  
 narāśāṇse somapītham ya āśuh (ān-  
 āśuh), 490

na vā u (uv) etan mriyase na riṣyasi, 774  
 na vai gāvo maṅgīrasya (maṅdīrasya), 144  
 na vai śvetasyādhīyācāre (śvetaścābhy-  
 āgāre, śvetasyābhyācārena, śvetaś-  
 yābhyācāre), 128, 172, 188, 824  
 na sīm adeva āpat (āpa tat), 810  
 na sisaridatah (°rīdata), 384, 525  
 nahī te nāma jagrāha, 116  
 nahy anyam badākaram (balā°), 271  
 nahy asyā (asyai) nāma gr̥bhñāmi, 116  
 nākam gr̥bhñānāh (gr̥h°) sukr̥tasya  
 loke, 116  
 nākro makarah kulipayas (kulīkayas,  
 pulīkayas, pulirayas) te 'kūpārasya  
 (kūvarasya), 149, 198, 489, 802  
 nāgo rayir ā ciketa, 244, 837  
 nātārīd (°rīr) asya samr̥tīm vadhnām  
 (ba°), 209, 272a  
 nādyā śstrum nanu (na nu) purā  
 vivitse (yuyutse), 255, 627, 805  
 nādhr̥ṣa ā dadhr̥ṣate (dadhar̥ṣa, da-  
 dhar̥ṣayā), 648  
 nānā hi vām devahitam sadas (sadaḥ)  
 kṛtam, 964  
 nāpa vṛjāte na gamāto antam, 198, 201  
 nābhā samdāyī navyasi (samdāya  
 navyase), 584, 695  
 nābhūṃṣe (nābhūdhṛṣe) tanvā (tanuvā)  
 jarbhūrānah (jarhṛṣānah), 121, 292,  
 654  
 nārāśansa stavīṣyate, 490  
 nārāśansena stomena (somena), 419  
 nārūṣāṇe somapīttham ya āsuh, 490  
 nāvapṛjyāte na gamāte antam, 198, 201  
 nāvāś caranti svasica iṣyānāh, 170, 254,  
 741  
 nūvo viyānti susico na vānīh, 170, 254,  
 741  
 nāsatyā (nā°) bhīṣajāśvinā, 952  
 nāsām āmuro vyathur ā dadhar̥ṣati, 491  
 nāsikavate (°kāvate) svāhā, 475  
 nih kravādādam nudāmasi (nudasva),  
 967  
 nīkīrya tubhyam abhya āsam (tu-  
 bhyam madhye), 47, 76, 255  
 nī galgalitī dhārakā, 133, 595, 617, 861

nīkīrya sarvā ādhīh (tubhyam madh-  
 vāh), 47, 176, 255  
 nīcerur asī nīcumpunah (nīcānūkuna,  
 nīcūnūkunah), 150, 380, 605  
 nī jalgalitī (jalgal°) dhāmīkā, 133, 595,  
 617, 861  
 nī dūraśravase vaha (vahah, mahah),  
 224, 379  
 nīdhanavata āgrayanah (āgrā°), 492  
 nīdhedhāsi puruṣaspārham (pur-  
 uspārham) . , 811  
 nī nīvartana vartayendra nardabuda  
 (nandabala), 273, 605, 862  
 nī no rayim subhojasam yuvasva  
 (yuveha), 842  
 nīndād yo asmān dīpsāc (dhīpsāc) ca,  
 107  
 nīrudo (nīrudo) 'si, 658  
 nī yan nīyanty uparasya nīṣkr̥tīm, 587,  
 778, 830  
 nīyutvān vāyav (vāya) ā gahī, 889  
 nīyudbhūr vāyav (vāya) iṣṭaye dūrone,  
 889  
 nīyudbhūr vāyav (vāya) iha tā vī  
 muñca (muñcaḥ), 145, 379, 889  
 nīr amum bhaja yo 'mitro asya, 907  
 nīr aranum savitā sāviṣat (°ṣak) padoh,  
 142  
 nīr aṣṭaviṣam (aṣṭha°) asmṛtam, 86  
 nīrastah śandah (śandah), 289  
 nīrasto aghaśansah (°gha°), 910  
 nīrṣṭum nīrjarjalpena (nīrjālmakena,  
 nīrjalpena) śīrṣnā (nīrjālmākaśīrṣnā)  
 496, 810  
 nīrṣṭo yaś ca nīsvanah, 93, 861  
 nīrṣṭyai svāhā, 699  
 nīrṣṭho yaś ca nīsvarah (nīsvanah), 93,  
 861  
 nīroho 'si, 516  
 nīrdevam nīrvīram (°vīryam) kṛtvā  
 , 323  
 nīrbādhyena haviṣā, 699  
 nīr mā muñcāmi śapathāt, 325  
 nīr mā yamasya padbīṣat (śadvīṣāt),  
 217, 302, 872  
 nīr mā varunād uta (adhi), 325  
 nīvarto yo ny avīvṛdhah (avīvṛtat),  
 97

- nī viraṁ (vīravat) garvāṁ aśvāṁ  
 (aśvīvaṁ) ca rādhā 784  
 nīṛṭṭāḥ (nīṛṭṭāḥ) puruṣād dṛtīh. 401  
 nīṣkaritā vīhṛutāṁ (vīhṛutāṁ) punah,  
 650 683  
 nīṣkṛtā vīhṛutāṁ punah, 650 683  
 nīṣkṛtāhāvam avasam, 164  
 nīṣkravṛṣṭāṁ sedha ("dam anīvaśat").  
 967  
 nī śanīhi duritā bādhāmāṇāḥ, 582  
 nīṣ jam bhaja yo amitro aśya. 907  
 nīṣahamāno (nīṣa) ramate nāyate,  
 971  
 nīhāram in nī me hāra (hārā[h]), 431,  
 445  
 nīroho 'ei, 516  
 nīlāgalamālah . . . , 512 870  
 nīlāṅgoḥ ("gave) kṛmih (kṛmih), 668  
 nīlāgalasāḥ, 512, 870  
 nū cīt sa dabhṛate janah, 126, 621  
 nṛcakṣasāṁ tvā . . . khyeṣam (kṣeṣam)  
 190  
 nṛcakṣāḥ soma uta suśrug (suśrug)  
 astu, 145, 283, 612  
 nṛbhīr dhūtāḥ (dhau) suto aśraih, 726  
 nṛbhīr dhūto (dhauto) vicakṣanah,  
 726  
 nṛbhīr yad yukto vive rapāṇsi (viver  
 ap), 837  
 nṛvat kṛnuhī vītaye ("hy ūtaye), 743,  
 805  
 nṛvadbhyo 'kṣa paprsthānebhīr evaiḥ,  
 864, 840, 861, 875  
 nṛṣadmā śīdāt apām vīvarte ("vā  
 śīdāt apām upasthe), 240  
 nṛhāḥ (nṛhāḥ) pāhi śpṛnuhī ("hī) girah,  
 122, 965  
 nedīya it śpṛyah pakṛam ā yavan  
 (yuvan). 603  
 ned eṣo śmān avahāya parāyast 924  
 nen na ṛṣṇa nava it samānāḥ, 180, 181,  
 545 694, 919  
 nemīm taś'eva sudṛvam (sudṛvam),  
 793  
 nemis cakṛam ivābhavat ("bhuvast), 602  
 nem na ṛṣṇa nava it samānāḥ 180,  
 181, 545, 694, 919  
 netṛ māsā na pībasi. 211, 709, 826  
 nainam rakṣāṁsi na pīścāḥ sahanta,  
 155  
 nainad devā śpṛnuvan pūrvam arāt  
 (arāt), 31, 283  
 nsinā amitro vyathīr ā dadharṣati, 491  
 nairṭṭyai svāḥ, 699  
 nairbādhyaṇa haviṣā, 699  
 nairva mānsena pīvari, 211, 709, 826  
 nyag vāto 'va vāti (vāto vāti), 808  
 nyaṁ nī yantu uparasya nīkṛtam, 587,  
 776, 830  
 ny aśvinā hṛten kāmā (kāmāṁ) ayan-  
 sata (arāhsata), 244  
 ny aham tam mṛdyāsam yo 'smān  
 (asmān) dveṣṭi . . . , 910  
 pakṛā saśyam, 93, 857  
 pakṣmāni godhūmāḥ kuvalair (kva-  
 lair) utāni, 782  
 pañcadāśāt prasūtāt pitṛyāvataḥ, 559  
 pañca padāni ruṣo anv aroham, 569  
 pañcabhīr dhātā vi dadhāv (dadhā)  
 idam . . . 888  
 padbhīḥ caturbhīr akramit, 165  
 patṣṭi didyūn naryasya bāhvoh  
 (bāhvoh), 792  
 patha śnakṭi madhvā ghṛtana, 509  
 psthā madhumatā bharaṇ (madhumad  
 ābharaṇ), 61, 840  
 patho anakṭu ("tu) madhvā ghṛtana,  
 509  
 padā papīr (papīr) arādhāsah, 927  
 padbhīḥ caturbhīr akramit, 166  
 pañasṛvāḥ samvrasaneṣv (samvrasa-  
 neṣv) akramuh, 857  
 panthām anūṛggbhīrām (ann), 550  
 panthā saśyam, 93, 857  
 payasatīh kṛnuthāpa ("tāpa) oṣadhīh  
 . . . 90  
 payasvad vīrudhām payah, 200  
 payasvan māmakaṁ vacah (payah),  
 200  
 payasvān ("vān) agna āgamam, 925  
 payo gṛheṣu payo aghnyāyām (aghai-  
 yāsu, 'stu tan nah), 784, 907  
 payo me dāḥ (mayi dhehi), 102  
 payo vatseṣu payo astu tan mayi, 907  
 paramachado vara (paramachad ara-  
 rāṁ) ā viveṣa. 840

- paramajyā ̐cīṣamah (°ma), 380  
 paramam padam ava bhāti (bhāri)  
 bhūri (°reh), 853  
 paramām tam (tvā) parāvatam, 365  
 paramena paśunā kriyase (kriyasva),  
 162  
 parameṣṭhi tvā sādāyatu divas (divah)  
 pr̥ṣṭhe . . rāsmivatim (rāsmi°), 520,  
 964  
 paraśur vedih paraśur nah svasti,  
 381, 755  
 parah svapna mukhā kṛdhi, 382, 820  
 parī duṣvapnyam (°niyam) suva, 784  
 parā dehi śmulyam (śābalyam), 240,  
 607  
 parāpuro nīpuro ye bharanti (haranti),  
 117  
 parārciṣā mūradevāñ (°vāñ) chṛñhi,  
 937  
 parī svapnamukhāh śucah, 382, 820  
 parī kroṣatu sarvadā (°tah), 68  
 parī ghraṇsam oṃanā vām (pari-  
 ghraṇsa vām manā vām) vayo gāt  
 (gām), 804, 821, 828  
 pariṣmā cit kramate (cid ramate) asya  
 dharmani, 420  
 parī nah śarmayantyā, 950  
 parī no āśvam āśvavit, 950  
 parī no rudrasya hetir vṛnaktu, 950  
 parī no hetī rudrasya vṛjyāh (°yāt),  
 170, 950  
 parī doṣād udarpiṭhah, 63, 96, 384, 516,  
 821  
 paridhāsyai yaśodhāsyai (°dhāsyē yaśo  
 dhāsyē), 705  
 parī nah śarmayantyā, 950  
 parī no āśvam āśvavit, 950  
 parī no rudrasya hetir vṛnaktu, 950  
 parī no hedo varunasya vṛjyāh, 170, 950  
 parī pūṣā parastāt (pur°), 615  
 parī bhrātuh parī śvasuh, 988  
 parī mātuh parī svasuh, 988  
 parimīdhah kva gamiṣyasi, 67  
 parimīdho 'sy ūlena, 568  
 parī lokān parī dīśah parī svah (suvah),  
 780  
 parivādām pariṣavām (°chavam), 183,  
 200, 516  
 parivṛndhi (°vṛṇgdhi) , 418  
 pariṣīṭaḥ kveṣyasi, 67, 829  
 pariṣīto 'sy ūlena, 568  
 pariṣidāh kleṣyasi, 67, 829  
 parī sya suvāno akṣāh, 794, 987  
 parī śvajate (°tai) libujeva vṛkṣam, 710  
 parī satyasya dharmanā (sakhyaśya  
 dharmanah), 143  
 parī suvānāś (svānāś) cakṣase deva-  
 mūdanah, 794  
 parī suvānāśa (svānāśa) indavah, 794  
 parī suvāno (svāno) gṛiṣṭhāh, 794  
 parī sya suvāno avyayam (svāno  
 akṣarat), 794, 987  
 parī svā°, see parī suvā°  
 paritoṣāt tad arpiṭha, 63, 96, 384, 516,  
 821  
 paridam vājy ajinam (°dam vājjinam)  
 , 808  
 paridam vāso adhiṭhāh (adhidhāh, adhi  
 dhā) svastaye, 77, 705  
 parime 'gnim arṣata, 387, 648  
 parivādām pariṣapam, 200, 516  
 paruṣaḥ ̐aruṣas (°śah, paruṣas-paru-  
 ṣas) parī, 961  
 pareyivānsam (pareyu°) pravato mahir  
 anu (iti), 622  
 paramān (°nān) devah savitā dadātu,  
 950  
 paro martah parah (para) śvā, 980  
 parnaśadah (°śado jaritah, °sado jar-  
 itah), 278  
 parne vo vasatiṣ (°tiḥ) kṛtā, 967  
 pary agnum ahr̥ṣata (arṣata, aharṣata),  
 387, 648  
 pary āgāram (ākāram) punah-punah,  
 46  
 pary āvarte duṣvapnyāt (duḥṣva°), 980  
 pary ūṣu pra dhanva (°vā) vājasātaye,  
 436, 445  
 parvata ̐vāvicācalih (°lat), 592  
 paraśur vedih paraśur nah svastiḥ, 381,  
 755  
 pavamāna (°nā) vidharmani, 512  
 pavamānah (°na) samtanam eṣi kṛnvan,  
 380  
 pavamānah svarjanah (suvar°, so adya  
 nah), 159

- pavamāno daśasyati (daś°), 577  
 pavaśva devāyusaḥ (deva āyusaḥ), 992  
 pavitravantah pari vācam (vājam)  
 āsate, 51  
 paśūnām tvā himkārenā° (humkā-  
 renā°) . , 625  
 paśūn (paśūns) tāns cakre vāyavyān,  
 932  
 paśūn nah śaśsyājugupah, 548  
 paśūn me śaśsyājugupah (°jūg°), 548  
 paścādośāya (paścāddo°) glāvinam  
 (glāvam), 403  
 paśyañ (°yan) janmāni sūrya, 936  
 paśthavāṣ (°vāc) ca , 167  
 paśthavād gaur vayo dadhuh, 631  
 paśthavād (°vād) vayah, 167  
 pāṅktrah (pāṅktah, pāmtra-) kaśo  
 mānthilavas (man°) te pitṛnām  
 (pitṛ°), 77, 418, 489, 597  
 pātam mā dyāvāpṛthivī adyāhnaḥ  
 (aghān nah), 840, 868  
 pātu priyam ripo (rupo) agram padam  
 veh, 267, 627  
 pāty agnir vipo agram padam veh,  
 267, 627  
 pāpāt svapnyād (pāpah svapnād)  
 abhūtyāḥ (°yai), 315  
 pāpmānam.uta vāgham (vā agham),  
 992  
 pāra ikṣavo 'vāryebhyah (°vāriye-  
 bhyah) pakṣmabhyah svāhā, 325, 786  
 pārāya mārḡaram, 325  
 pārāvataghnīm (pārāvadaghnīm) av-  
 ase suvṛktibhiḥ, 59  
 pāryāni pakṣmāny avāryā ikṣavah, 325  
 pāryāya kavartam, 41, 325, 708  
 pāvaka ā citayantyaḥ kṛpā, 343  
 pāvakayā yaś citayantyaḥ kṛpā, 343  
 pāvamānāḥ, °nyāḥ, °nyah, 319  
 pāśam grīvāsv avicṛtyam (°cartyam),  
 649  
 pāhi gāyāndhaso (gā an°) made, 343  
 pāhi no agna enase (edhase) svāhā,  
 857  
 pāhi mām yajñanyam (°niyam), 789  
 pāhi mā didyoh (mādyā divah), 738  
 pīkah (pīgah) kṣvīṅkā , 21, 48  
 pitaras ca upāsate (copāsate), 995  
 pitā devānām janitā vibhūvasuh  
 (vibhāv°), 619  
 pitā no bodhi (bodha), 534  
 pitāmāhebhyaḥ svadhāyibhyaḥ (°vi-  
 bhyah) svadhā namah, 247  
 pitā virājām ṛṣabho rayinām, 236, 359  
 pitur iva nāmāgrabhiṣam (°bhaṣam),  
 700  
 pitṛbhyah svadhāyibhyaḥ (°vibhyah)  
 svadhā namah, 247  
 pitṛbhyah svadhāstu (°dhā astu), 992  
 pitṛbhyo barhiṣadbhyo dhūmrān  
 babhrvanūkṣān, 628, 742  
 pitṛā (pitṛn) jīva, 936  
 piteva putram jarase ma emam (naye-  
 mam), 181, 343, 835  
 pitevaiddhi sūnava ā (°ve yah) sūsevah,  
 339  
 pitvo (pidvo) nyañkuḥ kakkaṭas (kak-  
 uṭhas, kaṭas) te 'numatya, 67, 69,  
 88, 401, 607  
 pīva (°vam) gā jīvārvataḥ, pīva-  
 tam gā jīvataḥ arvato nah, 852  
 pībantu madantu (°tām) vyantu (vi-  
 yantu somam), 796  
 pībāt somam mamadad (somam am-  
 adann) enam iṣṭe (iṣṭayah), 381, 746  
 pītā bhāsvaty anūpamā (pītābhā syāt  
 tanūpamā), 170, 254, 408, 838  
 pītvi (pītviā) śūpre avepayah, 598a  
 pībarīm (pīv°) ca prapharvyam, 211  
 pībasphākam udārathum (pīvo vṛkka  
 udārathuh), 211  
 puṇṣavanam puṇṣavanam (puṇṣu-  
 nam asi), 604  
 puṇṣe putrāya vettavai (vittaye, kart-  
 avai, °ve), 248, 686, 705  
 puṇjīkasthalā (puṇjīga°) kṛtasthalā  
 (kratu°) cāpsarasau, 48, 609, 664  
 putrah pitarāv (°ram) avṇita pūṣe, 237  
 putrah pitre (pitrye) lokakṛj jāta-  
 vedah, 321  
 putram iva pitarāv (°rā) aśvinobhā, 888  
 putriyantah (putriyanti) sudānavah,  
 534  
 punantu ṛṣayah, 992  
 punantu viśvā bhūtāni (bhūtā mā),  
 849

- punar āgāḥ punarṇava (°ṇava, °ṇavah)  
 380, 952  
 punar ūrjā ni vartasva (ūrjā vartṣva),  
 648  
 punar dattāṁ (dātām) asum adyeḥa  
 bhādam, 225  
 punar brahmāno (brahmā) vasuntītha  
 (°ntīr, °dhītam, °dhītum, °dhīte)  
 yajñāḥ (agne), 93, 134, 339, 587, 706,  
 857  
 punar mām aitr (maitr) indriyam, 812  
 pumān enam tanuta ut kṛnatti, 48, 925  
 pumānsam vardhatām mayi, 97, 840,  
 938  
 pumānsam u (ā) dadhad (dadhād) ihe,  
 620  
 pumān enad vāyaty udgṛnatti, 48, 925  
 pumān garbhas tavodare, 97, 840  
 pumān samvartatām mayi, 97, 840,  
 938  
 puramdaro gotrabhid (°bhṛd) vajra-  
 bāhuh, 39, 636  
 puramdaro maghavān vajrabāhuh, 39,  
 636  
 purastāt (purā tvā) sarve kurmahe,  
 365, 826  
 purā grdhṛd araruṣaḥ pibāthah (°tah),  
 91  
 purā cakṛbhyā ātṛda, 57, 138, 353, 384,  
 681  
 purā jatrubhya (jatrūbhya) ātṛdah, 57,  
 138, 353, 384, 681  
 purukṣu tvaṣṭā (°ṭah) suvīryam (suvī-  
 ram), 323  
 purutrā te manutām (vanvatām, vanu-  
 tām) viṣhitam jagat, 227, 742  
 puru tvā dāśvān (dāśvān) voce, 764,  
 944  
 purudasmo (°smavad) viṣurūpa (viṣ-  
 varūpam) induh, 291, 421, 742  
 purumedhāḥ (°dhāḥ) cit takave naram  
 dāt (dhāt), 105  
 pururāvno deva riṣas pāhi, 371a, 716,  
 821  
 pururūpam suretasam maghonam  
 (°nam), 588  
 puru viśvāni jūrvan, 717, 809  
 puruṣtutasya dhāmabhiḥ (nāma°), 855  
 purū reto dadhire sūryaśvitah (°śritah),  
 267  
 purodāśān (°śān) alamkuru, 924  
 puro rakṣānsi nyūrvan, 717, 809  
 purovāta (°to) jinva rāvat. (rāvaṭ)  
 svāhā, 168, 837  
 purovāto varṣaṇi jinvar āvṛt svāhā,  
 168, 837  
 puṣṭapate (puṣṭi°, — puṣṭipataye).  
 punar dehy asmai (dehi or dhehi  
 svāhā), 104, 587  
 puṣpavatīḥ (puṣpā°) prasūvarīḥ  
 (°sūmatīḥ, °sūvatīḥ), 239, 467  
 puṣpavatīḥ (puṣpā°) supippalīḥ, 467  
 pūtanānām tvā patmann ādhūnomi,  
 151, 720, 810  
 pūrnān parisrutah kumbhān, 682  
 pūrvo ha (hi) jātah (jāñe) sa u garbhe  
 antah, 578  
 pūlyāny āvapantikā, 151, 568, 800,  
 867  
 pūṣan (pūṣaṇs) tava vrate vāyam, 932  
 pūṣā jātavin (jāñti°, jāñtumān).  
 239  
 pūṣādhvānas (°nah) pātu, 964  
 pūṣā viṣpandamāne, 725  
 pūṣna āghṛnaye svāhā, 35, 300  
 pūṣne 'nighṛnaye svāhā, 35, 300, 473  
 pūṣne śarase (°si) svāhā, 691  
 prkṣasya viṣṇo aruṣasya nū sahah,  
 658, 870  
 prnakṣi rodasī ubhe, 718  
 prtanūṣāhyāya (°sāhyāya) ca, 984  
 prtsutūrṣu śravassu (śravahsu) ca, 971  
 prthivi bhūvari (vibhūvari) snivāly  
 urandhra (urandha) ācitte . ., 353,  
 808  
 prthivīsadam (prthivi°, °sadam) tvān-  
 tarikṣasadam , 524, 986  
 prthivīprṇi (prthivi°) mā , 524  
 prthivī darvir akṣatāparimitānupad-  
 astā (akṣatā) . . 576  
 prthivīsadam, *see* prthivi°  
 prthivīsamantasya te 'gnir upadrasṭā,  
 833  
 prthivī samā tasyāgnir upadrasṭā ,  
 833  
 prthivī suvarcā , *see* prthivī

prthuvīsprū, see prthivī°  
 prthivyām avacūscotatāt, 336  
 prthivyā (°vyāh) sambhava, 381  
 prthivyāh sampṛcas (°cah, sampṛśas)  
 pāhi, 195, 375, 964  
 prthvi (prthivī) suvarcā yuvatīh sajo-  
 śāh, 764  
 prṣṭim divah pari srava, 200  
 prṣṭibhyah (prṣṭi°) svāhā, 529  
 prṣṭhavād gaur vayo dadhuh, 631  
 prṣvābhyah svāhā, 680  
 perum tuñjānā patyeva jāyā, 159, 421  
 peśasvatī tantunā sahivayanti (°vy-  
 ayanti), 346  
 peśo na śuklam (śukram) asitam (as°)  
 vasāte, 262, 277  
 potrāgnidhro (potā°) nihitam pādam  
 ekam, 353  
 pauruṣeyād daivyāt (°yān na daivāt),  
 317  
 pauśno viṣpandamāne, 725  
 pra ketunā bhṛatā yāty (bhāty) agnih,  
 853  
 prakṣasya vṛṣno aruṣasva nū mahah,  
 658, 870  
 pragāyāmasy agratah (pragāyāmy  
 asyāgratah), 134, 840  
 pra candramās tirate (tirati, °mas  
 tirase) dirgham āyuh, 507  
 pracyutim jaghanacyutim, 874  
 prajananam vai pratiṣṭhā loke sādhu  
 prajāyās (sādhuprajāyāś), 250  
 prajāh kṛnvan janayan virūpāh, 936  
 prajām suvirām (°ryām) kṛtvā, 323  
 prajām no naryājūgupah, 548  
 prajāpatir dikṣito dikṣayatu (dik-  
 ṣeta), 745  
 prajāpatis tvā (°tiṣ tvā) sādāyatu ,  
 953  
 prajāpate viśvasṛj (°sṛg) jivadhanyah,  
 132  
 prajāpates tvā (°teṣ tvā) prānen° ,  
 958  
 prajām me naryājūgupah (°jūg°), 548  
 pragāyāmasy agratah, 134, 840  
 prajāyai kam (kum) amṛtam nāvṛnīta,  
 578  
 prajāyai mṛtyave tvat (tat), 365

prajāvatī vīrasūr devṛkāmā, 633  
 prajāvatīh sūyavasam (°se) ruśantīh  
 (riś°) 627  
 prajā vikṛvañi (vikurvañi) janayan  
 virūpam (°pāh), 936  
 prajāh sarvās ca rājabāndhavaiḥ  
 (°vyah), 490, 701  
 pra (prā) na āyur jīvase soma tāriḥ, 439  
 pra na āyūṣi tāriṣah (tāriṣat, tāṛṣat),  
 753, 950  
 pra na indo mahe tane, 616, 830, 950  
 pra nah pinva vidyud abhrevā rodasi,  
 950  
 pra nāmāni prayajyavas tiradhvam,  
 952  
 pra nu vocam cikṛtuse janāya, 719, 950  
 pra no jāyantām mithunāni rūpaśah,  
 950  
 pra no jīvātave suva, 950  
 pra no naya vasyo aha, 950  
 pra no navyebhis tiratam deśnaih, 950  
 pra no brūtād bhāgadhān (°dhām)  
 devatāsu, 105  
 pra no yachatv aṛyamā, 950  
 pra no yacha bhuvas (viśām) pate, 950  
 pra no vocam cikṛtuse janāya, 719, 950  
 pra tad viṣnu (°nuh, °nus) stavate  
 vīryena (°ryāni, °ryāya), 977  
 pra tad voced amṛtasya (amṛtam nu,  
 voce amṛtam nu) vidvān, 849  
 pratikramanam kuṣṭhābhyām (gu°), 49  
 pratikṣyantam (°kṣyantam) bhuvā-  
 nāni viśvā, 795  
 prati grhnam (grbhnam) mahate  
 vīryāya (mahata indriyāya), 116  
 prati te te ajarāśas tapīṣṭhāh, 345  
 prati tye te ajarāśas tapīṣṭhāh 345  
 prati tvādityās tvag vettu (vetu), 392  
 prati tvā diva (divah) skambhanur  
 vettu (vetu), 392, 977  
 prati tvā parvatī (°tir, pārvatī) vettu,  
 490, 528  
 prati na im surabhīm vyantu (vyantu),  
 796  
 prati bhāgam na didhuma (°man), 379  
 pratimā asī (°māsi), 993  
 pratiravebhyah (pratirebhyah) svāhā,  
 747

pratilāmīti ("nīti) te pitā, 181, 853  
 pratī vāstor aha (ahar) dyubhīh, 353  
 pratiśrutkāyā artanam (rtulam), 618, 651, 878  
 pratī śma deva rīṣatah, 535, 987  
 pratī śma rakṣaso daha, 159, 987  
 pratī sma deva rīṣatah, 535, 987  
 pratī sma rakṣaso jahī, 159, 987  
 pratīkam me vicakṣanam, 857  
 pratītam devebhyo juṣṭam ha vyavasthāt (havyam asthāt), 225  
 pratīpam pratīsutvanam ("satvanam), 618  
 pratnāso agna rītam āśuśānāh (ās-āśānāh), 292, 617  
 pratno hi (pratnoṣi) kam Idyo adhvar-  
 eṣu, 299, 827  
 pratyak somo atisrutah, 275  
 pratyag enam śapathā yantu tīṣṭāh (ṣṛṣṭāh), 854  
 pratyāñk somo, see pratyāñ  
 pratyāñ janān samcukośāntakāle, 195  
 pratyāñ janāṣ tīṣṭhati samcukocān-  
 takāle, 195  
 pratyāñ ("yañk) somo atidrutah  
 ("hrutah, "arutah, "śrutah), 275, 298, 939  
 praty ajātān ("iāñ, "iāñ) jātavedo  
 nudasva, 936  
 pratyāñcam arkam anayañ ("yañ)  
 chaciḥ, 937  
 praty asya vaha dyubhīh, 353  
 pratyādāyāpara iṣvā, 105  
 praty u (uv) adarśy (adṛśy) āyati, 648, 774  
 praty ūhatām āsvinā mṛtyum asmāt,  
 510, 727  
 praty etā vāmā . . . yajamāno 'grabhid  
 (agrabhid) uta pratiṣṭhotopavaktar  
 ("kta) uta , 357, 910, 991  
 praty etā sunvan uta pratiṣṭhoto-  
 pavaktar uta . . . , 357, 991  
 praty eva grbhāyata, 254, 836  
 praty auhatām āsvinā mṛtyum asmāt  
 (asmāt), 510, 727  
 pra tveva grbhāyata, 254, 836  
 prathamachad avarāñ 3 vīveśa, 840

prathamam artim yuyotu nah, 383, 650, 825, 840  
 prathamāya januṣe bhūma neṣṭhāh  
 (bhūmanesṭhāh, bhūvanesṭhāh), 240, 568, 832  
 pradakṣinam ("nam) marutām stomam  
 r̥dhyām (aśyām), 596  
 pra dhārā yantu madhunah (dhāra-  
 yantu madhuno ghr̥tasya), 833  
 pra na āyūṁṣi tārisat, 753, 950  
 pra na indo mahe tu nah, 616, 830, 950  
 pra nah pinva vidyud abhrevā rodasī,  
 950  
 pranākāphā na ābhara, 79, 151  
 pra nāmāni prayajyavas tiradhvam,  
 952  
 pra nu vocam vidathā jātavedasah, 719  
 pra nu vocam cikituṣe janāya, 719, 950  
 pra nūnam pūrnāvandhura ("ban-  
 dhura), 213  
 pra no jāyantām mithunāni rūpaśah,  
 950  
 pra no jīvātave suva, 950  
 pra no naya prataram vasyo acha, 950  
 pra no navyebhis tīratam deṣnaih,  
 950  
 pra no yachatv aryamā, 950  
 pra no yacha (rāsva) vīśas pate (śahas-  
 rajit), 950  
 pra no vaco vidathā jātavedase, 719  
 prapitāmahebhyaḥ svadhāyibhyaḥ  
 ("vibhyaḥ) svadhā namah, 247  
 prapinām ("tam) agne sarīrasya (salī-  
 rasya) madhye, 264, 734, 871  
 prapurvanta upaspr̥ṣata prapurvad-  
 bhya svāhā, 867  
 prapyātām agne sarīrasya madhye,  
 264, 734, 871  
 pra-pra yajūapatim tira (tirah), 379  
 prapharvyaṁ ca pīvarim, 211  
 pra budhnyā va irate (budhnyā irate  
 vo) mahāñsi, 784  
 pra bravāma (bruvāma) śaradaśatam,  
 602  
 pra bhānavah sisrate (sas°) nākam  
 acha, 581  
 prabhūyā agnyedham (āgnendham),  
 314, 491



- prabhos te (prabhoṣ te) satah pari  
yanti ketavah, 958  
pramade kumārīputram, 617  
pramā asi, 993  
pra mā brūtād bhāgadām (dhavirdā)  
devatāsu (\*tābhya), 105  
pramāsi, 993  
pramude kumārīputram, 617  
prayatīś ca me prasitīś (\*sītīś) ca me,  
637  
prayapsyann iva sakthyau (sakthau),  
347  
pra yah satrācā (sa vācā) manasā  
yajāte (\*tai), 710, 828, 876  
prayāsāya svāhā, 465  
prayugbhya (\*yudbhya) unmattam,  
145  
prayunvanta upaspr̥ṣata prayunvad-  
bhya svāhā, 867  
pra yo jajñe vidvān (vidvān) asya  
bandhum (\*dhu), 925  
pravanena sajośasah, 465, 491  
pravayāhnāhar jinva, 493  
pra vartaya divo asmānam (\*śmānam)  
indra, 907  
pra vah (va) spaḍ akran suvitāya  
dāvane (pra vah sphal akran), 977  
pra vā etindur indrasya niṣkṛtīm, 587  
pra vācam (vājam) indur iṣyati, 1, 51  
pra vām adhvaryuś carati prayasvān  
(caratu payasvān), 352  
pravāyāhne 'har jinva, 493  
pra viṣṭimnam āviṣuḥ, 876  
pra vedhase kavaye vedyāya (medhy-  
āya), 109, 230  
pra vo mahe mahivṛdhe (mahevṛdhe)  
bharadvham, 691  
praśūstah pra suhi (sūhi, suva, suva  
pra suhi), 559  
pra śmaśru (\*śrubhur) dodhuvad ūrdh-  
vathā bhūt (ūrdhvadhā bhuvat), 74  
pra samhṛṣṭinam āiṣuḥ, 876  
pra sa mr̥tyum yuyotana, 383, 612, 650,  
817, 825, 840  
pra samr̥ājo (\*jam) asurasya praśastīm  
(\*tam), 586  
pra sumartyam (su mr̥tyum) yuyotana,  
383, 612, 650, 817, 825, 840  
pra sulāmīti te putā, 181, 853  
pra suvānāso bhṛaddiveṣu harayah,  
686, 794  
prastotar vārsāharam sāma gāya, 512  
pra stomā yanty (yantv) agnaye, 251  
prasthāyendṛāgnibhyām somam vocato  
yo (vocatopo) asmān , 835, 867  
prasthitā vo madhuścutah (\*ścyutah,  
\*cyutah), 336  
pra smā mināty ajarah, 439, 512  
pra svānāso bhṛaddeveṣu harayah, 686,  
794  
pra haṁśāsas tṛpalam manyum (\*jā  
vagnum) acha, 235  
prahaṣinam (\*no) madirasya made  
mṛṣāsā astv (mṛṣāsāv astu),  
888  
prāk (prāñ, prāñk) somo atadrutah,  
939  
prācīm jivātum akṣitām (\*tim), 599  
prācīś cojjagāhure, 387, 540, 581  
prācico agāma (prāñjo 'gāmā) nṛtaye  
hasāya, 2, 55, 443, 907  
prā na āyur, see pra  
prānam dehi (dhehi), 103  
prānasya tvā paraspāyau (\*pāya) cak-  
ṣusas tanuvah (tanvas) pāhi, 964  
prānasya vidvān samare na dhīrah, 244  
prānah sindhūnām kalāsān acikradat,  
152  
prānah (prāna) sthah, 977  
prānān samkrośaih, 46, 292  
prānāpānūbhyām balam āharantī (ā-  
bharantī, etc), 117  
prānā śiśur mahinām, 152  
prānā sindhūnām kalāsān acikradat,  
152  
prāno agnih (\*gnih) , 910  
prāno dātra edhi vayo (mayo) mahyam  
pratigrāhitre (\*grhate), 232, 657  
prātah prātahsavasya (\*sāvasya)  
śukravato , 486  
prātah prātahsavasyendrāya (\*sāv-  
asyen\*) , 486  
prāntar iṣaya sthāvīrīr (prāntarikṣāt  
sthāvīrīś te) aṣṛkṣata, 640, 833  
prānyū tantūns tirate dhatte anyā, 138  
prāyūsāya svāhā, 465

prāvanebhūh sajośasah, 465, 491  
 prāvartam indrah śacyā dhamantam,  
 826, 873  
 prāvo yudhyantam vṛṣabham daś-  
 adyum, 873  
 prāsmā āśā aśṛnvan, 873  
 prāsmān ava pṛtanāsu pra vikṣu  
 (yutsu), 140, 805  
 prāsmā minoty ajarah, 439, 512  
 prāham tam atibhūyāsam (abhibhū)  
 yo asmān ('smān) dveṣṭi , 910  
 priyāny aṅgāni svadhitā parūṇi (aṅgā  
 sukṛtā purūṇi), 618, 741  
 priyā ta ā barhū ('hūh) sīda, 162, 825,  
 971  
 priyena dhāmnā (nāmnā, nāma) pri-  
 yam sada āsīda (etc ), 855  
 priyo me hrdo (hito, huto) 'si (bhava),  
 63, 627, 640, 643  
 prusṭābhyaś svāhā, 680  
 prusvā aśrubhūh, 40, 680  
 prusvābhyaś svāhā, 680  
 pretā jayatā narah, 441  
 pred u harivah śrutasya (sutasya),  
 278, 355  
 premam vājam vājasāte avantu, 51  
 premām vācam viśvām avantu vāśve, 51  
 prehi-prehi pathibhūh pūrvyebhūh  
 (pūryānāh), 368  
 praitu brahmanas ('nah) patnī, 964  
 praiśān sāmidenīr āghārāv ('rī)  
 āryabhāgāv ('gā) āśrutām , 888  
 pro ayāsīd indur indrasya niṣkṛtam, 587  
 pro ārata maruto durmadā iva, 361  
 prokṣitā ('tāh) stha, 977  
 prothad aśvo na yavase 'viśyan ('avi'),  
 907  
 pro 'vārata maruto durmadā iva, 361  
 plāśu ('śir) vyaktah . , 529  
 phalāya, 79, 401  
 phalgunibhyām vy ūhyate, 560  
 phalguniṣu vy ūhyate, 560  
 phalgūr ('gur) lohitorū balakṣī ('kṣī,  
 palakṣī) tāh śārasvatyah, 69, 554  
 phallīya, 79, 401  
 bajābojopakāśīnī, 21, 69, 151, 381  
 balam dehi (dhatta), 103  
 balam mayi dhehi (me dāh svāhā), 103

balaviyūāya ('yas, 'yah) sthāviraḥ  
 praviraḥ, 977  
 balim ichanto vītudasya (vi tu tasya,  
 vidurasya) presyāḥ (preṣṭhāh), 65,  
 272a, 832  
 balivardāya ('vandāya) svāhā, 862  
 basto vayah, 216  
 bahiṣ te, tee bahiṣ te . . .  
 bahiṣṭhebbhir viharan yāsi tantum, 214  
 bahiṣ te (bahīṣ te) astu bāl itī, 958  
 bahu bāhvor balam, 792  
 bahu ha vā ayam avarṣid itī śruta  
 rāvaṣ svāhā, 598, 648  
 bahu hāyam avṛṣād ('ṣad) itī śrutar  
 āvṛt (śruta rāvat) svāhā, 598, 648  
 bāhuvor (bāhvor) balam, 792  
 bāhuvos (bāhvōs) tava hetayah, 792  
 bidvo nyanākuh kaśas te 'numatyāh,  
 67, 69, 88, 607  
 bibheda valam (balaṁ) bhṛgur na  
 sasāhe (sasāhe), 210, 480  
 bhṛatā tvī rathamāreṇa traistubhā  
 (tristubhā) vartanyā . , 325, 699  
 bhṛaty uṣnīhā kakup (kakut), 178  
 bhṛat sēma kṣatrabhṛd vṛddhavyaṣṇyam  
 ('vṛṣnam, 'nim, 'niyam), 315, 784  
 bhṛat sūro (sūryo) arocata, 318  
 bhṛat somo vāvṛdhe suvāna induh  
 (svāno adrih), 794  
 bhṛad ṛṣabham gām vayo dadhat, 359  
 bhṛadbbhīr vājai (vājaiḥ, vājais) sthav-  
 irebbur asme, 977  
 bhṛadrathamtarayos tvī stomena tristub-  
 ho vartanyā . . . , 325, 699  
 bhṛad vṛṣabham gām vayo dadhat, 359  
 bhṛanto daivāh (divyāh), 316, 699  
 bhṛann asī bhṛadravā (bhṛadgrāvā,  
 bhṛadrāyāh, 'rāyah), 255, 420  
 bhṛaspataye mahiṣa (mahī ṣad) dyu-  
 man namah, 392, 826  
 bhṛaspataye śitputāh (śimputāh), 867  
 bhṛaspatinā rājā svagākṛtāh, 466  
 bhṛaspatir devānām (dairo) brahmā-  
 haṁ manuṣyānām (mānuṣah), 316,  
 490, 707  
 bhṛaspatir brahmāhaṁ mānuṣah, 316  
 bhṛaspatiṣ tvā ('tis tvā) niyunaktu  
 mahyam, 958

- bṛhaspatiḥ tvā ("tis tvā) viśvair devair  
 upariṣṭād . , 958  
 bṛhaspatiḥ tvā ("tis tvā) sādayatu  
 pṛthivyaḥ , 958  
 bṛhaspatiḥ tvā ("tis tvā) sumne ram-  
 nātu (ranvatu), 225, 958  
 bṛhaspatiḥ tvopasīdatu ("tis tvopa"),  
 958  
 bṛhaspatistutasya ( . . ) ta indor (indo,  
 inda) indriyāvataḥ , 357, 890  
 bṛhaspati ("tiḥ) stotram, 977  
 bṛhaspate abhūṣaster amuñcaḥ, 907  
 bṛhaspate pari diyā (diya) rathena,  
 446  
 bṛhaspate 'bhiṣaster amuñcaḥ, 907  
 bṛhaspate mahiṣa dyuman namah, 826  
 bṛhaspate yāmyām ("yā) yuñgdhi  
 (yuñdhi) vācam, 418  
 bṛhaspateḥ tvā ("tes tvā) sūmrājyen-  
 ābhi . . , 958  
 bodhanmanā id astu nah, 594  
 bodha pratibodhāsvapnānavadrāṇa  
 . , 516  
 bodhā ca tvā (mā) pratibodhāḥ  
 (pratī") ca . , 516  
 bodhinmanā id astu nah, 594  
 bradhnaḥ cid atra (yasya) vāto na  
 jūtaḥ (jūtim), 536  
 brahmaṇ stoṣyāmāḥ praśāstah, 938  
 brahmans (brahmāṣṇas) tvam . , 932  
 brahmanaspate suyamasya (sū") viś-  
 vahā, 552  
 brahma tvam asi viśvasṛt ("sṛk), 142  
 brahma devakṛtam upahūtam, 460  
 brahma devānām prathamajā ṛtasya,  
 460  
 brahmaṇ ("man) tvam asi viśvasṛt  
 ("sṛk), 142, 932  
 brahmaṇ stoṣyāmāḥ praśāstah, 938  
 brahmavarcasūya pipihī (pipihī), 545  
 brahmāṣṇa(s) tvam, see brahmans . . ,  
 brahmāṣṇa .  
 brahmā devakṛtopahūtā, 460  
 brahmā devānām prathamajā ṛtasya,  
 460  
 brahmādhiguptah (brahmābhi") svārū  
 kṣarāni (surakṣitah sṛām) svāhā,  
 172, 569, 742, 802, 840  
 brahmāṣṇa ("māṣṇ) tvam rājan brah-  
 māsi, 932  
 brahmābhugūrtam svarākṣāṇah (svar-  
 ārakṣ"), 172, 569, 742, 802, 840  
 brahmāham antaram kṛnve (karave),  
 710  
 brahmanāda upāsvaitat (upāsvaitat)  
 tapah, 251  
 brāhmanam adya ṛdhyāsam (adyardh")  
 . , 919  
 brāhmanān ṛtvijo devān yajñasya  
 tapasā te savāham ("sā aham) ā  
 huve, 362  
 brāhmanebhyo 'bhyanuṣātā (hy  
 anu"), 121, 828  
 bhausaso vi vṛhāmi te, 176, 222  
 bhakṣimahi prajāṃ iṣam, 176, 618  
 bhakṣo bhakṣyamānah (bhakṣa"), 332  
 bhaga eva bhagavān astu devāḥ  
 (devah), 507  
 bhagas te hastam agrabhīt ("hīt), 116  
 bhagemān dhīyam ud avā (ava) dadan  
 nah, 446  
 bhadrād abhi (adhi) śreyah prehu, 172  
 bhayaṃ śitimabhyām ("madbhyām),  
 420  
 bharatam uddhareṃ anuṣiṇca (ud-  
 dharema vanuṣanti), 236, 813  
 bhartam agnim puriṣyam, 648  
 bhartāras te mekhale mā riṣāma, 176  
 bhalāya (bhallāya) svāhā, 79, 401  
 bhavā kṛṣṇām (gr") abhūṣastipāvā  
 ("pā u), 46, 740, 824  
 bhavā no dūto ajarah suvrah, 826  
 bhindhīdam (bhindhī ado) divyam  
 nabhaḥ, 324  
 bhīṣajam na (nah) sarasvatim, 384  
 bhīma ā vāvṛdhe (vāvṛte) śavah, 97  
 bhūji (bhūjyuh) suparno yajño gan-  
 dhavah, 738  
 bhuvad viśvam abhy ādevam ojasā, 470  
 bhuvanam asi sahasrapoṣapuṣi ("poṣam  
 puṣa), 491, 820  
 bhuvanam asi sahasram (sahasrapoṣam,  
 sāhasram), 491  
 bhūvas te dadāmi (tvayi dadhāmi),  
 104  
 bhūvo viśvam abhy āderam ojasā, 470

- bhūtānāmbrahmā prathamō ha ("mota")  
 jayāne, 460  
 bhūmidrñham acyutam pārayiṣṇu, 177,  
 268, 381, 857  
 bhūmidrñho 'cyutaś cyāvayīṣṇu, 177,  
 268, 381, 857  
 bhūmir ita tvābhipramanvate janāh,  
 869  
 bhūyasi haviṣkarana upahūtah ("tā"),  
 962  
 bhūyīṣṭhadāvne sumatim āvṛṇānah,  
 60, 355, 854  
 bhūyo vā atah somo rājārhati (rājā  
 arhati), 992  
 bhūrī śastam (śastram) prthuh svaruh,  
 357  
 bhūrnum devāsa iha suśriyam dadhuh,  
 177  
 bhūr bhuvah svas te dadāmi, 104  
 bhūr bhuvah svas sarvam tvayā  
 dadhāmi, 104  
 bhūs te dadāmi (tvayā dadhāmi), 104  
 bhrjās chandah, 658  
 bhr̥tam agnim puriṣyam, 648  
 bhr̥mim (bhrumim) dhamanto apa gā  
 avṛnata, 40, 679  
 bheṣajam gave 'śvāya (aśvāya, 'śvāya  
 puruṣāya), 909  
 bhrajaś (bhr̥jaś) chandah, 486, 658  
 bhr̥tāntarikṣam abhiśastyā nah  
 ("śasta enah), 840  
 bhrumim dhamanto , see bhr̥mim  
 makhasya te 'dya śiro rādhyāsam ,  
 659  
 magham indrāya jabhrire, 868  
 maghavaś ("vaś) chagdu tava tan na  
 ūtibhiḥ (ūtaye), 937  
 maghavan mandīśimahi (vand°), 229  
 mandākako ha vah pitā, 165  
 mandūkā jambhyebhiḥ (jambhah),  
 315  
 mandūko mūṣikā tittiris ("ras) te  
 sarpānām, 589  
 mandūky apsu sam bhuvah, 280, 839  
 mandūkyā su sam gamah (gamaya),  
 280, 839  
 matyai śrutāya cakṣase, 357, 713  
 matsarābhīh , see atsa°  
 matsarāśah prasupah (prasutah)  
 sākam irate, 180  
 matsvā suśipra ("pr̥m) harivas tad  
 (tam) imahe, 594  
 mathavyān stokān apa yān rarādha, 78  
 madanti devīr amṛtā ṛtāvṛtah  
 ("vṛdhah), 97  
 madughnām tvā patmann ādhūnami,  
 739  
 madenendram yajamānāh svarkāh, 181  
 made-made hi no dadih (daduh, dadṛk),  
 622, 640, 642  
 mademendram yajamānāh svarkāh, 181  
 made suśipram (madeṣu śipram) an-  
 dhasah, 293, 839  
 madyam indrāya jabhrire, 868  
 madhavyau stokāv ("kā) apa tau  
 rarādha, 78, 888  
 madhūntamānām (madhvant°) tvā pat-  
 mann ādhūnami, 739  
 madhu reto (madhur ato) mādhevah  
 pātṽ asmān, 716, 837  
 madhu vāṣīṣṭya (vaśs°), 277  
 madhu śaṣpair (madhuśa°) na teja  
 indriyam, 817  
 madhuś ca mādhevah ca vāsantīkāv  
 ("kā) ṛtū, 888  
 madhu havir (madhuhavir) asi, 817  
 madhu hutam indratame agnau  
 ('gnau), 910  
 madhoh pavanta ūrmayah (pavasva  
 dhārāyā), 804a  
 madhoh pibātam aśvinā, 804a  
 madhoh pibanti gauryah, 804a  
 madhor ato mādhevah pātṽ asmān,  
 716, 837  
 madho rasam sadhamāde, 368  
 madhoś cakānaś cārur madāya, 804a  
 madhye divo (divyo) nihitah pr̥snir  
 aśmā, 324  
 madhye poṣasya tṛmpatām (puṣyatām,  
 poṣasva tṛṣṭhantīm), 251  
 madhvah pavasva dhārāyā (pavanta  
 ūrmayah), 804a  
 madhvah pibātam aśvinā, 804a  
 madhvah pibanti gauryah, 804a  
 madhvaś cakānaś cārur madāya, 804a

madhva ("vah) ścotanty abhito virap-  
śam, 972, 977  
madhvā yajñam nakṣatī (nakṣase)  
prīṇānah (prai°), 702  
madhvā rajāṇśindriyam, 421  
madhv ity ākarṣaṇi kuśair yathā, 290  
madhvo rasam sadhamāde, 368  
manasaspata imam deva yajñam (deva-  
yajñam svāhā vāci) svāhā , 816  
manas tanūṣu bibhrataḥ (piprataḥ),  
112  
manāsi (manā asi), 994  
manuṣvad deva dhīmahi pracetasam,  
227  
manā nu babhrūnām aham, 366, 710  
mano gūyatriyai ("triyai), 791  
mano jagāma dūrakam (dūragāh), 46  
mano jinva, 852  
mano jyotir (jūtir) juṣatām ājyasya  
(ājyam, ājyam me), 337, 720  
mano nv ā huvāmahe ("hi, hvāmahe),  
798  
mano me jinva (pinva), 852  
mano yad asya guspitām (gulphitām),  
111  
manoṣ tvā (manos tvā) grāmanyō  
, 958  
mantram vadaty ukthyam (uktham),  
322  
manthākako ha vah pitā, 165  
mandadvirāyendave, 229  
mandāna id vṛṣāyase (ud vṛṣāyate), 627  
mandrābhūbhūtiḥ ketur yajñānām ,  
220, 321  
mandrā vibhūtiḥ ketur yajñāyā ,  
220, 321  
mamā dīdhyanā utā nah sakhāyā, 236,  
832  
manyāsa śam ca nas (nah) kṛdhi, 964  
manye vām dyāvāpṛthivī subhojasau,  
251  
manyoh krodhasya nāśanī, 407, 593  
manyor mṛddhasya (mṛddhasya) nāś-  
anī, 407, 593  
manve nu babhrūnām aham, 366, 710  
manve vām dyāvāpṛthivī, 251  
mama ca nāma tava ca (tava) jāta-  
vedah, 809

mama padyāya vi rāja, 820  
mama snuṣā śvaśurasya praviṣṭau, 857  
mayamdām (mayamtam) chandah, 67  
mayā so annam ("nnam) atti yo vipa-  
śyati, 907  
mayi tad indriyam vīryam, 345  
mayi tyad indriyam bhīhat (mahat),  
345  
mayi dakṣakratū (dakṣo mayi kratuh),  
272a  
mayi dohah padyāya virājah ("jah  
kalpatām), 820  
mayi padyāya virājo dohah, 820  
mayi puṣṭim ("tam) puṣṭipatir (puṣṭa°)  
dadhātu (dadātu), 101, 587  
mavi rūyo mayi rakṣah (dakṣah), 272a  
mayi rucam dhāh (dhehi), 101  
mayum te śug ṛchatu (te kṣut), 145, 297  
mayobhūh śamtamā yad dhṛudo  
(dhṛdo) 'si, 684  
marutām pitar uta tad grāmāh, 849  
marutām pītas tad aham grāmāi  
(grne te), 849  
marutvantam sakhyāya havāmahe  
(huvemahi), 602  
marutvān astu ganavān sajātavān  
(sujātah), 612  
marudbhīr ugrā ahṛṇiyamānāh, 144  
marudbhī rudrāh samajñatābhī, 144  
marudbhyo grāhamedhibhyo ("medhe-  
bhyo) 'nubhūh, 690  
marudbhyo grāhamedhibhyo ("medhe-  
bhyo) baṣkūhān (vaṣ°, bāṣkān), 219,  
387, 489, 690  
marṭeṣv (marṭyeṣv) agnir amṛto ni  
dhāyī, 315  
malmalābhavantīm tvā ("bhavantītyā)  
sādayāmi, 255  
mahah pitum papivān ("vān) cārva  
annā, 930  
mahāś cid yasya mīdhuṣo (mīlh°)  
yavyā, 386  
mahas te sato mahimā panasyate  
(paniṣṭama), 870  
mahān indrah paraś ca nu (puraś ca  
nah), 614  
mahāns te mahato mahimā, 870  
mahākauṣītakam ("kum), 590

- mahādevam antahpūrśvena ("parśavy-  
ena), 326  
mahāntam gahvareṣṭhām, 368, 861  
mahāntāv ("tā) indrāvarunā mahā-  
vasū, 888  
mahān mahī astabhāyad (aska") vi  
jātah, 137  
mahī varcah kṣatryāya dadhatīh (dad-  
atīh), 106  
mahīsam nah subhavam (subbhavas, su-  
bhavas) tasthivānsam, 119, 384, 604,  
789  
mahī cid yasya mīdhuṣo yavyā, 386  
mahīnām (mahī") payo 'si, 528  
mahī no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau, 360,  
579, 831  
mahīva dyaus adha (vadha) tmanā,  
360  
mahī viśpatnī sadane ("nī) r̥tasya, 695  
mahī hy asya mīdhuṣo yavyā, 386  
mahē śrotrāya cakṣase, 357, 713  
maho vā viṣṇa (maho viṣṇa) uror  
antarikṣāt (viṣṇav uta vāntarikṣāt),  
887  
mahnā jinoṣi (hi") mahini 196  
mahyam vātah pavatām ("te) kāme  
asmin (kāmāyāsmāi), 342  
mahyam dattvā vrajata (prajātum)  
brahmalokam, 200  
mā asi, 993  
māgadhaḥ punścali kītavah klībo  
'śūdrā abrahmanās (punścali klīvah  
kītavo 'śūdrābrahmanās) 219,  
819, 990  
mā chetthā , 853  
mā jānum moṣṭr amuyā śayānām, 57,  
181, 512, 824  
mā tad bhūmyām ā śriṣan (śliṣan) mā  
tṛneṣu, 261  
mā tamo (tapo) mā yajñas tamat  
(tapat), 204  
mātā yad vīram dadhanad dhanīṣṭhā  
(vīram jājanaj janīṣṭham), 160  
mātūr anyo 'va padyata, 201  
mātṛk kva cana vidyate, 66  
mā te mano viṣvadyag ("driyag) vi  
cārit, 784  
mā te yuyoma samdṛśah, 805  
māteva putram bibhṛtāpsv enat  
(bibhṛtū sv enat, "enam), 420, 826  
mā te vyoma samdṛśi ("śah, "śe), 805  
mā tvam hārṣiḥ śrutam mayi, 353  
mā tvat kṣetrāni aranāni (aranyāni)  
ganma, 325  
mā tvā ke cin nī (cid vi) yaman vim  
(cin nī yemur in, cin nyemur in) na  
pāśinah, 360, 770  
mā tvāgnir dhvanayid (dhana"; "yid,  
"yed) dhūmagandhih, 370, 533, 697  
mā tvā nī kran pūrvacito ("cittā,  
"cittau) nīkārīnah, 399, 732  
mā tvā prūpann aghāyavah, 832, 868  
mā tvā samudra ud vadhin (ba") mā  
suparnah, 209  
mā tvā sūryo 'bhi (sūryah pari, pari)  
tāpsin māgnir (mo agnir) . , 516  
mādṛk kva cana vidyate, 66  
mā devānām tantuś chedi mā manu-  
ṣyānām, 707  
mā daivyās tantuś chedi mā manuṣyah,  
707  
mā dyāvāprthivī abhiśocīh ("śūśucah,  
"śucah), 715  
mā dhenur atyāsārīnī (atisā"), 736  
mādhyaṁdinasya savanasya . . man-  
thivato (manthivato) . . , 520  
mā na āyuh param avaram mānaso-  
naih, 159, 836, 861  
mā nah kaścit praghān (prakhān) mā  
prameṣmahī, 22, 70  
mā nah param adharam mā rajo  
'naih (param adhanam mā rajo  
naih), 159, 836, 861  
mā na (nas) stena śīśata māghaśansah  
977  
mānasya patnī śaranā syonā, 189, 596,  
840  
mā nah sapatnah śaranah syonā, 189,  
596, 840  
mānuṣād daivyam (daivam) upaumi,  
317  
mā no agnim nīrṭir mā no āṣṭān  
(āṣṭhām), 87, 170  
mā no agne 'va (vi) sṛjo aghāya, 578  
mā no andhe tamasy antar ādhāt  
(ādāt), 105

mā no 'to 'nyat pitaro yuṣṣgdhvam, 302  
 mā no nu gād aparo ardham etam, 77  
 mā no rudrīso adhigur vadhe nu (nuh),  
 172, 209, 260, 321, 821, 824  
 mā no rudro nirṣṭir mā no astā, 87, 170  
 mā no vadhih pitaram mota mātaram,  
 580  
 mā no vidad (vadhīd) abhihū mo  
 nāstih, 579  
 mā no vidad (vṛdhad) vṛjanā (vṛjanā)  
 dveṣyā yā, 108, 593, 640  
 mā no vadhih, *see* mā no vadhih  
 mā no vīrān rudra bhūmīno vadhih,  
 209, 871  
 mā no hārdi tviṣā vadhih, 60  
 mā no hīnśih (hīnśi) sthāvīram mā  
 kumāram, 975, 977  
 mānta (māntah) sthur no arātayah, 977  
 mā brāhmanasya rājanya, 870  
 mā bheh, 712  
 mā bhetlū , 853  
 mā bher mā roṇi (mo roṇi, māro) mo ca  
 nah (mo eṣām) kim canāmamat, 712,  
 715, 729  
 mā bhah, 712  
 mā bhair mā run mo ca (mā rauṇi mā)  
 nah kim canāmamat, 712, 715, 729  
 mām agne bhūginam kuru, 486  
 mā mā yūnarvā hīnśi (yono vām hāra-  
 sth), 307, 354, 723, 823  
 mā mā (mām) hīnśiṣṭam svam (yat  
 svam) yonim āviśantau (āviśāthah),  
 505  
 mā mā hīnśih svām (svam) yonim  
 āviśanti (āviśan), 505  
 mām indra bhaginam kṛnu, 486  
 māmīṣām kam canoc chiṣah, 578, 688  
 mā me dikṣām mā tapo nīr vadhiṣṭa  
 (ba?), 209  
 mā me hārdi tviṣā (hārdim dviṣā)  
 vadhih, 60  
 mā yajñāpatih tapat (yajamānas  
 tamat), 204  
 māyūdevā avataram, 401, 840  
 māyām māyāvattarah, 475  
 māyobhavyāya catuṣpadi, 319, 421  
 mā rāyaspoṣena viyauṣma, 729  
 mā riṣmā vayam tava, 224

mā rudriyāso abhi gulbadhānah (gur  
 vṛdhānah), 172, 209, 260, 321, 821, 824  
 māre asman maghavaṇi ("vat") jyok  
 kah, 936  
 mā va eno anyakṛtam bhujema, 909  
 mā vayam rāyaspoṣena vi yauṣma, 729  
 mā vayam eno 'nyakṛtam bhujema, 909  
 mā va (vah) stena īṣata māghaśansah,  
 977  
 mā vo 'to 'nyat pitaro yoyuvata, 302  
 māsā āchyanu śamyantah, 572  
 māsās chyanu śmyantah, 572  
 māsi, 993  
 mā so asmān avahāya parā gāt, 924  
 mā sv asmāns tamasy antarādhāh, 105  
 māham rāyaspoṣena vi yoṣam, 729  
 māham pautram (putryam) agham  
 rudam (mīyām, nīgām, riṣam), 314,  
 724  
 mā hīnśiṣṭur vahatum uhyamānam  
 (ūhyamānām), 560  
 mitajūavo ("jūavo) varimann ("vann)  
 ā prthivīyāh, 240  
 mitajūbhūr namasyair iyanā, 953  
 mitajūavo, *see* mitajūavo  
 miteva sadma paśumānti ("manti)  
 hotā, 501a  
 mitrah pānty adruhah, 964  
 mitram na im śmyā goṣu gavyavat, 735  
 mitram na yam śmyā goṣu gavyavah,  
 735  
 mitra satyānām pate ("nām adhipate),  
 380  
 mitrasyāsi kanīkā, 235 595, 640  
 mitrah samsṛjya ("yā) prthivīm, 457  
 mitrah satyānām (satyah), 380  
 mitrāya kulīpayān (pulīkayān), 149,  
 802  
 mitrāvarunanetrebhyo uttarāsad-  
 bhyah (uttara?) , 476  
 mitrāvarunayos tvā praśūstroh praśiṣā  
 yunajmi (yunagmi), 131  
 mitrāvarunābhyām ānuṣṭubhābhyām  
 ("ṣṭubhābhyām) , 319  
 mitrāvarunāv ("nā) algābhyām, 888  
 mitrāvarunā śaradāhnām ("hnā) cik-  
 itnū (cikittam, iṣatnū, cikittvam),  
 45, 56, 371, 410, 579

- mitrāvarunau praśāstārau praśāstrāt  
(prā°), 490  
mitrāvarunau śronibhyām (śroni°), 529  
mitrāvarunau sa dīśo 'bhīdāsati,  
910  
mitrās pānty adrubah, 964  
mitrāh suvānā (svānā) arepasah, 794  
mitro na ehi sumitrādhah (°dhāh), 493  
mitro no atra varuno yuyamānah, 341,  
617  
mitro babbhūva saprathāh, 180, 235  
mitro yatra varuno ayyamānah, 341, 617  
mithucarantam (mithū°, mithuyā ca°,  
mithuś ca°) upavāti (abhiyāti) dū-  
ayan, 551, 818  
mīśravāsasah kauberakāh, 235, 267  
miham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma, 360,  
579, 831  
mukham sad asya śira it satena  
(sadena), 60  
muñcantu mā śapathyāt, 325  
mudah pramuda āsate, 713  
mudgās ca me khalvās (kharvās) ca me,  
265  
muśyāś cakram avive rapānsi (°ver  
apānsi), 837  
muśkāv id (°kā id, °kau yad) asyā  
ejatah, 735, 888  
mṛgasya śṛtam (śṛtam, śrutam) akṣn-  
ayā, 278, 682  
mṛgā na bhīmās taviṣibhir arcinah  
(taviṣebhir ūmibhūh), 695  
mr̥janti vahnim sadaneṣv aha, 634  
mr̥jyase pavase matī, 195, 337  
mr̥jyase soma sātaye, 195  
mr̥tāya jīvām parinīyamānām, 402  
mr̥ttike hana (hara) me pāpam, 861  
mr̥tyoh padam (padāni) yopayanto  
yad aita (aima, yopayanta eta,  
lopayante yad eta), 245, 711  
mr̥tyoh (°yoś) pāhi, 967  
mr̥śase pavase matī, 195, 337  
mekṣyāmy ūrdhvas tiṣṭhan, 332  
meghyā vidyuto vācah, 316, 707  
medasah kulyā (kūlyā) upa tām (upar-  
nām, abhi tām) sravantu (kṣarantu),  
565  
medasah (°sa) svāhā, 980  
medaso ghṛtasya kulyā abhinisrav-  
antu, 565  
medhām sapta ṛṣayo (saptarṣayo)  
daduh, 919  
medhām ta andro dadātu, 106  
medhām dhātā dadātu (dadhātu) me,  
106  
medhām agnir dadātu me (dadhātu  
te), 106  
medhām āśāsata śriye, 230, 508  
medhāyai manase 'gnaye (agnaye)  
svāhā, 910  
meṣam te śug ṛchatu (te kṣut), 145  
maighīr vidyuto vācah, 316, 707  
maitrāvarunasya camasādhvaryav  
(°ya) ādrava (ehu), 889  
mainam hiniṣṭam svām yonim āviś-  
antau, 505  
mainā arvā renukakāṭah pṛnak (pra-  
nak), 664  
maṣām kam canoc chiśah, 578, 688  
maṣām nu gād aparo artham (ardham)  
etam, 77  
maṣām uc cheṣi kim cana, 578, 688  
maṣo asmān avahāya parāgāt, 924  
modah pramoda ānandah, 713  
mo śvatvam asmāntarādhāt, 105  
mo śv asmāns tamasy antarādhāh, 105  
ya ājagma (°muh) savanemā (°nedam,  
°nam idam, ya ājagmedam sava-  
nam) juśānāh, 835  
ya ātṛnatty (ātṛnoty) avitathena (avi-  
dathena) karnau, 60, 392  
ya āntarikṣāh, 314, 490  
ya ābabbhūva bhuvanāni viśvā, 215, 381  
ya āvabbhūva bhuvanāni viśvāh, 215,  
381  
ya āviveśadadhīr (°śausadhīr) yo vana-  
spatin, 731  
ya āvṛnoty avitathena karnau, 60  
ya āste yaś ca carati (yaś carati)  
808  
ya imam yajñam svadhayā dadante  
(bhajante), 159, 741  
ya ime dyāvāpṛthivi tastabhāne, 137  
ya iṣavo yātudhānānām, 505, 990  
ya im vahanta āsubhīh 307  
ya īśe asya dvipadaś catuṣpadah, 907



- ya usrijā apyā (apī yā) antar asmanah  
(°ni), 785, 824
- ya r̥te cid abhūśisah, 193, 353, 676, 802
- ya etasmiñ loke stha . bhūyāsta, 90
- ya eṣa svapnanaśanah (°nāśanah), 300
- yah pauraṣeyena kraviṣī samāṅkte  
(samaṅte), 418
- yah prānato nūmīśato (nime°) mahitvā  
(°śataś ca rājā), 688
- yah prāniti (prānati) ya im śṇoty  
uktam, 582
- yansad vīśvam ny atrinam, 302
- yam sam id anya indhate, 169, 302
- yam sīm id anya idate, 169, 302
- yakṣate cid abhūśisah, 193, 353, 676,  
802
- yakṣmam śronibhyūm (śroni°) bhās-  
adāt, 319, 490, 529
- yakṣmam bhasadyam śronibhyūm  
bhāsadam, 319, 490, 529
- yam krandaś avataś caskabhāne  
(avasā tastabhāne), 137
- yac ca padbīśam (°vīśam) arvatah, 217
- yac ca prānati (prāniti) yac ca na,  
582
- yac chikṣasī stuvate mūvate vasu, 140
- yachā nah . yachāsmi śarma sapra-  
thah (°thāh), 502
- yajamānāya jāgṛta, 90, 662
- yajamānāya vāryam ā suvas kar asmai,  
833
- yajā no (yajāno) devo (devān) ajarah  
suvirah, 826
- yajur yuktam (yajuryuktam) sāmabhr  
āktakham tvā (r̥ktakham tā), 365,  
632, 817
- yaje samrādhānim (samardham im)  
abam, 617, 806
- yajñah pratyāśthāt (praty u śthāt  
sumatau matinām), 380, 613, 736, 832
- yajñam-yajñam prati devayadbhyah  
(°yadbhyah), 170, 321
- yajñam devebbhir invitam (anvitam),  
577
- yajñapataye vasu vāryam āsamskarase  
(°pataye vāryam ā svas kah), 833
- yajña pratitiṣṭha sumatau suśevāh,  
380, 736, 832
- yajñam pranaya (pra suva) devāvyam  
(devāyuvam), 805
- yajñasya ghoṣad aśi, 83
- yajñasya pakṣāv (°ṣā) ṛṣayo bhavanti,  
888
- yajñasya yuktau dhuryā (°yāv) abhū-  
thām (°tām), 91, 888
- yajñasya vidvān samaye na dhīrah, 244
- yajñasya hī stha ṛtvijā (ṛtvīyau), 192
- yajñasyāyur anusam caranti (tarantu),  
155
- yajñād eta sann (yajñā ned asann,  
netar asann) apurogavāśah, 62, 192
- yajñāyate vā paśuṣo na (nu) vājān, 614
- yajñāyur anuśamcarān, 155
- yajñīyā yajñam prati devayadbhyah,  
170, 321
- yajño bhūtā svām (svam) yonim  
saḥśaya (svak°) ehi, 364, 505
- yam jīvam aśnavāmahai (°he), 710
- yata āttas (ārttas) tad agan punah,  
353
- yatah prajā akhidrā , 129
- yata ścutad agnāv eva tat, 336
- yata ścutad dhutam agnau tad astu,  
336
- yataś codeti sūryah, 843
- yatah sūrya udeti, 843
- yato bhayam abhayam tan (abhayat-  
vam) no astu, 826
- yat kim cāṇṛtam odima (ūd°), 722
- yat kusidam apratittam (°tittam, apra-  
dattam) mayi (mayeha), 404
- yat kṣurena marcayatā (vartayatā)  
sutejasā (supeśasā), 156, 180, 195, 234
- yat ta āsthitam śam u tat te astu, 280
- yat tatraino apa tat suvāmī, 201
- yat te asmin ghora āsan juhomi, 935,  
936
- yat te ditsu (dikṣu) prarādhyam, 140
- yat te 'nādhṛṣṭam nāma yajñīyam  
(nūmānādhṛṣyam, dhāmānādhṛṣ-  
yam) tena tvādadhe, 855
- yat te mahe, see yat tvemahe . .
- yat te rājān (rājān) chṛtam havih, 937
- yat te vīriṣṭam sam u tat ta etat, 280
- yat tvemahe (te mahe) prati tan no  
(prati nas taj) juṣasva, 365, 835

- yat paśur māyūm akṛta, 198, 662  
 yat pṛthivyām yad urāv (urā) anta-  
 rikṣe, 888  
 yatra ṛṣayah (yatrarṣṣ) prathamajā,  
 919  
 yatra (yatrā) ṛṣayo (yatrarṣṣ) jagmuh  
 ... 916, 919  
 yatra gavām nihitā sapta nāma  
 (nāmā), 460  
 yatra cābhīmṛśāmasi, 866  
 yatra cūscutad (scutad) agnāv evantat,  
 336, 885b  
 yatra devā iti bravan, 452, 602  
 yatra devaiḥ sadhamādāmadanti  
 (madema), 341  
 yatra nah pūrve pitarah paretāḥ, 452  
 yatra bānāḥ sampatanti, 29, 218  
 yatra-yatra jātavedah sambabhūtha  
 (°bhūva), 207  
 yatra-yatra vibhṛto (bibhṛato, etc)  
 jātavedāḥ, 207, 662  
 yatra yanti srotyās (srauatyas) taj  
 jitam te, 749  
 yatrarṣayah, °yo, see yatra ṛṣṣ  
 yatra vānāḥ sampatanti, 29, 218  
 yatra vābhūmṛśāmasi, 866  
 yatra saptarṣiṇ para ekam ābuh, 452,  
 919  
 yatra suhārdah sukṛto madante, 452  
 yatrā ṛṣayo, see yatra ...  
 yatrā devā iti bruvan, 452, 602  
 yatrādhi sūra udito vibhāti (uditau  
 vyeti), 63, 732, 743  
 yatrā nah pūrve pitarah paretāḥ  
 (pareyuh), 452  
 yatrā naś cakrā (cakra) jarasam  
 tanūnām, 443  
 yatrāmṛtāsa āsate (āsata), 282  
 yatrā vṛkṣas tanvai yatra vāsah, 198,  
 375, 831, 835  
 yatrāsate sukṛto yatra te yayuh (ta  
 iyuh), 734  
 yatrā sapta ṛṣiṇ para ekam ābuh, 452,  
 919  
 yatrā suhārdah sukṛto madanti, 452  
 yatrāspṛkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasah  
 (tanuvam yatra vāsah), 198, 375, 831,  
 835  
 yatrainān (yatraitān) vettha nihitān  
 parāke (parācah), 126  
 yat sāsahat (sāsāhā, sāsāhat) sadane  
 kam cid atrinam, 480  
 yat some-soma ābhavah (ābhuvah), 602  
 yat somyasyāndhaso (sau) bubodhati,  
 728  
 yatha ṛṇaḥ samnayāmasi, 918  
 yatha ṛtava ṛtubhir yanti sādhu, 918  
 yatharnam samnayanti, 918  
 yathartava ṛtubhir yanti sākam  
 (kṛptāḥ), 918  
 yathākṣitim akṣitayah pibanti (°yo  
 madanti), 586  
 yathāgnir akṣito . . . 576  
 yathā devaiḥ sadhamādāmadema,  
 341  
 yathādhuram (°dhūran) dhuro (dhūro)  
 dhurbhiḥ kalpantām, 557  
 yathā na indrah kevaliḥ (indra id  
 viśah), 341  
 yathā nah śreyasas (°śah) karat, 964  
 yathā no vasyasas (°śah, vasyasas)  
 karat, 786, 964  
 yathāpah pravatā yanti, 60, 200  
 yathāyatham dhuro dhurbhiḥ kalpan-  
 tām, 557  
 yathāyatham nau tanvau (tanvā, tan  
 nau) jātavedah, 410  
 yathā yanti prapadah, 60, 200  
 yathā yamāya harṇmyam (hār), 491  
 yathā ha tyad (tad) vasavo gauryam  
 cit, 345  
 yathāham bharataṛṣabha (bharatarṣṣ),  
 919  
 yathedam stripautram aganma rudri-  
 yāya, 83, 719, 801, 816, 827  
 yatheyam strī pautram agham na  
 rodāt, 83, 719, 801, 816, 827  
 yathaika ṛṣir (°karṣir) vjānate, 919,  
 990  
 yathainam jarase nayāt, 341, 952  
 yad agne kavyavāhana, 353, 380  
 yad agne pūrvam prabhṛtam (prahī-  
 tam, nihitam) padam hi te, 118, 639  
 yad aghriyata (°yathās) tad ghṛtam,  
 147  
 yad atramo ava tat sūvāmī, 201

yad adivyann ṛnam aham babhūva  
(kr̥nomi), 702  
yad adya te ḡhora āsan juhomī, 936  
yad adya dugdham pr̥thivīm asṛpta  
(asakta, abhakta), 152, 634, 874  
yad adya hotṛvārye (\*vūrye), 621  
yad adyārādhyam vadantah, 59, 70,  
272a, 836  
yad adhriyata tad ghṛtam abhavat, 147  
yad anena haviṣāśāste tad aśyāt  
(asyām), 287  
yad annam agnir (admi) bahudhā  
virāddham (virājam, viruddham,  
virūpam), 144, 569, 619  
yad annenātirohati, 408  
yad anyenābhavat saha, 408  
yad apāmṛkṣac chakunih, 201  
yad apsaradrūr uparasya (apsararū-  
parasya) khādati, 188, 808, 826  
yad avāmṛkṣac chakunih, 201  
yad asya guṣṭitam (gulphitam) hr̥di,  
111  
yad asyā anhubhedyāh (aṣuhodbhyaḥ),  
765  
yad asraṇa paśava udyamānam, 278  
yadā carīṣṣū mithunāv (\*nā) abhūtām,  
888  
yad āpo aghnyā (\*niyā) iti, 784  
yad āmayati niṣ kr̥tha (kr̥ta), 90  
yadā rāghaṣi varadah (yadā rākhāṣyau  
vadatah), 59, 70, 272a, 836  
yad āhur aghnyā iti, 784  
yadi cin nu tvā dhanā jayantam, 68, 735  
yadi tvam atra (tvam tatra) manasā  
jagantha, 735  
yad id dyāvāpr̥thivi aprathetām, 341  
yad indra citra mehanā (ma iha na),  
477, 832, 991  
yadi varuṇasyāsi , yadi vāruny asi  
, 491  
yadi somasyāsi (saumy asi) , 728  
yadin ṛnam samgaro devatāsu, 309  
yadi vahanty āśavah, 307  
yad uttaradrāv uparā ca khādatah,  
188, 826  
yad u devi sarasvatī, 740  
yad ūrdhvas tiṣṭhā (tiṣṭhād) dravineha  
dhattāt, 392

yad ṛte cid abhūṣiṣah, 193, 353, 676, 802  
yad ejaṭi jagati nāmno (nānyo,  
mānyo) bhāgo yan (\*yam) nāmne  
(bhāgo yatnān me) svāhā, 411, 801,  
871  
yaded antā adadṛhanta (adadṛnh\*)  
pūrve, 341, 835  
yad eva kum ca pratijagrahāham  
(\*jagrāham), 808  
yad oṣadhiṣv apsv ā (apsu vā) yajatra,  
778  
yad gharṃmah paryavartayat (paryā\*),  
508  
yad ditsasi stuvate māvate vasu, 140  
yad didayac chavasa (\*sā) ṛtaprajāta  
(chavasarta\*), 916, 918  
yad dūre sann ihābhavah (\*bhuvah),  
602  
yad devā devaheḍanam (\*lanam), 271  
yad darvyam ṛnam aham babhūva,  
702  
yad dha sā te paniyāsi, 345  
yad dhasṭābhyām cakrma (cakara)  
kilbūṣāni (kily\*), 216  
yad dha syā te paniyāsi, 345  
yad banhiṣṭham nātividhe (\*de)  
sudānū, 107  
yad bhūtam yac ca (yad vā) bhavyam  
(bhā\*), 487  
yad-yat tvam atra manasānu vettha,  
735  
yady asi vāruṇi , 491  
yady asi saumi , 728  
yad yāmam (yady āmam) cakrur  
nikhananto agre, 837  
yady ṛnam samgaro devatāsu, 309  
yad rātriyaṭ kurute pāpam, 791  
yad rātriya (rātriya) pāpam akārṣam  
(akārṣam), 753, 791  
yad vaśā māyum akṛta, 198, 662  
yad vā ghā satyam uta yan na vidma,  
868  
yad vācānṛtam oduma (ūd\*), 722  
yad vāto apo (\*po) aganigan (agamat),  
909  
yad vādāsyam samjagūrā janebhyanh,  
45, 446, 480  
yad vā devi sarasvatī, 740

yad vādyā satyam uta yan na vidma,  
868  
yad vā me api ('pi, apa) gachati, 578,  
907  
yad vidāv (vilāv) indra yat sthure,  
271  
yad vo devā atipādayāni ('pātayāni),  
63  
yam te svadhāvan svadanti gūrtayah,  
107  
yam te svadhāvan svadayanti dhen-  
avah, 107  
yan me mātā pralulubhe (pramamāda,  
pralulobha), 715  
yam akṣitam ('tim) akṣitayah' pibanti,  
586  
yam akṣitam akṣitā bhakṣayanti, 586  
yamam gāya bhaṅgyaśravah (bhaṅga"),  
315  
yamam bhaṅgyaśravo (bhaṅga") gāya,  
315  
yamasya dūtaś ca vāg vidhāvati  
(dūtaḥ śvapād vidhāvasi), 145, 198,  
830  
yamasya pāṭūrah (pāṭorah), 720  
yamasya loke adhirajjur āyat (āya,  
loke nidhur ajarāya), 401, 618, 840  
yam ichāmi manasā so 'yam āgāt,  
700  
yamir yamasya bibhryād (vivrīhād)  
ajāmi, 222, 256  
yam eva vidyāḥ śucim (sucim) apra-  
mattam, 278  
yameṣṭam asi, 339  
yam aichāma manasā so 'yam āgāt, 700  
yamo rājābhūtīṣṭhatī (rā-ādhi"), 172  
yamyai pāṭūrah, yamyāḥ pāṭorah, 720  
yayā kṛnoti muhu kā (muhukā) cid  
ṛṣvah, 824  
yayā gā ākarāmahe ("hai), 710  
yayo rathah satyavartmarjuraśmih,  
918  
yayor vām devau deveṣv anīśitam  
('śitam) ojah, 292  
yavaya dveṣo asmat, 479  
yavayārātīh ('tim), 479  
yavayāsmad aghā dveṣāṅsi, 479  
yavayāsmad dveṣah, 479

yavā ayavā ūmā abdah (āyavā ūmā  
evā abdas) sagarah sumekah, 376,  
471, 485  
yavānām bhāgo 'si, 485  
yavās cāyavās cādhipataya āsan, 485  
yaśasendrābṛhaspati, 840, 870  
yaśo bhagaś ca mā vidat (riṣat, riṣak),  
142, 189, 840  
yaśo bhāgasya vindatu, 189, 840  
yaśo mendrābṛhaspati, 840, 870  
yaśo yañāsya dakṣiṇām, 161, 579  
yas tad veda savituh (sa pituh) pitāsāt,  
198, 829, 967  
yas tāni veda sa pituṣ (pituh) pitāsāt,  
198, 829, 967  
yas tā vijānāt sa pituṣ (savituh)  
pitāsāt, 198, 829, 967  
yas te agne sumatim marto akṣat (a-  
khyat), 191  
yas te drapsa ("sah) skandati yas te  
anśuh, 974, 977  
yas te soma prajāvat so 'bhi so aham,  
840  
yas te staṛah śāsāyo ("yur) yo mayo-  
bhūh, 719  
ya strīnām jīvaḥhojanah, 977  
yasmāj jātā na parā naiva kim canāsa  
(jātam na purā kim canaiva), 615  
yasmāj jāto na paro 'nyo (anyo) asti,  
615, 907  
yasmāt param nāparam asti kimcit, 615  
yasmād anyan na param kim canāsti,  
615  
yasmād anyo na paro asti jātah, 615,  
907  
yasmād bhīṣā nyaśadah ("sadah), 983  
yasmād yoner udārīthā ("tha) yaje  
(yajā) tam, 446  
yasmān na jātah paro anyo asti ('sti),  
615, 907  
yasmān adhi vitatah sūra eti, 63, 743  
yasmān āstābṛh bhuvaṇāni viśvā, 386  
yasmān sūryā ārpitāḥ (arp") sapta  
śākam, 509  
yasya te viśvamānuṣah (viśvam ānu-  
ṣak), 832  
yasya te sakhye vayam, 340  
yasya dvārā manuṣ (manuh) pitā, 967

yasya yonim patireto grbhāya (prati  
reto grbhāna), 116, 341, 354, 363, 819  
yasyā udvatah pravatah samam bahu  
(mahat), 241  
yasyām devā abhi samviśantah, 172,  
281, 340  
yasyā bahvyas tanvo vitapṛsthāh, 793  
yasyām idam viśvam bhuvanam āvi-  
veśa, 341, 386  
yasyāsau sūro vitato mahitvā, 63, 743  
yasyās te asyāh krūra āsā juhomi, 936  
yasyās te ghora āsan juhomi, 936  
yasyedam ā rajo yujah (°dam ā rajah,  
°dam oja ārujah), 244, 800, 808  
yasyai bahviś tanuvo vitapṛsthāh, 793  
yah stripām jivabhojanah, 977  
yā akṛntann avayan yā atanvata  
(yās ca tatnure, akṛntan yā atanvan),  
850  
yā antarikṣa uta pārthivīr yāh, 321, 850  
yā antarikṣyā uta pārthivāsah (pār-  
thivīr yāh), 321, 850  
yā ātmanvad bibhṛto (°tho) yau ca  
rakṣatah (°thah), 91, 207, 634, 888  
yā ārdroghnīh pari tasthuṣīh, 854  
yā iṣavo yātudhānānām, 505, 990  
yāh kṛtyās (kr̥cchrās) tripañcāśīh, 28,  
185, 192, 353  
yāṅ āvaha usato deva devān, 924  
yāṅs (yās) te soma prānāns tām (tān,  
tān) juhomi, 936  
yā gr̥tayas tripañcāśīh, 28, 185, 192, 353  
yā coditā yā ca noditā (yā cānuditā)  
tasyai . . , 719  
yāccbreṣṭhābhīr maghavañ chūra  
jiva, 937  
yā tām rātrīm upāsmahe, 365  
yātudhānebhīh kanṭakikūrīm (kanṭ-  
akakāram), 600  
yā te agne 'yahśayā ('yāsayā) tanūr  
, 395  
yā te agne 'yāsayā rajāsayā harāsayā  
tanūr , 395  
yā te agne rajahśayā (rajāsayā) tanūr  
, 395  
yā te agne hariśayā (hari°, harā°)  
tanūr 521, 697  
yā te dhāmāny usmasi gamadhyai, 705

yā dabhṛāh parisasruṣṭh, 854  
yādase śābalyām (śābulyām), 607  
yā devīr antān abhito 'dadanta, 63, 92,  
924  
yā devy asīṣṭaka āyurdāh caksur-  
dāh śrotradāh . . , 980  
yā devy asīṣṭake cakṣurdās (°dā)  
śrotradā dyaurdās (°dā) svardāh  
prapharvidāh (°vidāh) 524,  
980  
yā darviś catasrah pradīśah, 707  
yā na ūrū usati viśrayāte (°ti, viś-  
rayātai), 278, 710  
yān agnayo anvatapyanta ('nv°) dhiṣ-  
nyāh, 909  
yān āvaha usato deva devān, 924  
yāni kāmī ca cakṛma, 808  
yām tvā jano bhūmiriti pramandate, 869  
yām tvā rātry upāsmahe (upāsate,  
rātri yajāmahe), 365  
yāny apāmityāny apratitāny (apratī-  
tāny) asmi, 404, 465  
yā prathamā samskṛtur yajñe asmin,  
374  
yābhīr indro vāvṛdhe vīryāya (vīr-  
yāvān), 250  
yābhīr yāsi dūtyām sūryasya, 494  
yābhīyām svar (suar) ajanann (aja-  
yann, yābhīyām ajayan svar) agra  
eva, 853  
yām apitā upatiṣṭhanta āpah, 472, 871  
yām āpinām upasidantī āpah, 472,  
871  
yām indrena samdhām samadhatthāh  
(indrena samadadhvam, °dhadhvam)  
104  
yā medhāpsarāsu (medhā ap°, °rahsu,  
°rassu), 395, 995  
yām auryanś ('yañ) candramasi sva-  
dhābhīh, 930  
yā rājanye dundhubhāv (°bhā) āya-  
tāyām, 888  
yā rājānam (°nā) saratham yātha  
(yāta) ugrā, 91  
yāvaccbreṣṭhābhīr maghavan chūra  
jiva, 937  
yāvayārātum, 479  
yāvayāsmad dvesam, 479

- yāvā ayāvā evā ūmāh sabdah sagarah  
sumekah, 376, 471, 485
- yāv ātmanvad viśatho (bibhrto) yau ca  
rakṣathah ("tah), 91, 207, 634, 888
- yāvānām cāyāvānām cādhipatyam āsit  
485
- yāvānām bhāgo 'sī, 485
- yās ca gnā devyo 'ntān abhito 'tatan-  
anta (tatantha), 63, 908, 924
- yās ca devīr antān abhito 'dadanta,  
63, 92, 924
- yās ca devis tantūn (devyo antūn)  
abhito tatantha ('ta"), 63, 92, 908,  
924
- yā samjāyantam adhī yāsu vardhase,  
287, 339, 618, 840
- yāsad viśvam ny atrinam, 302
- yā sarasvatī viśobhaginī (veśa", veś-  
abhaginī) . . , 542, 686
- yā sarasvatī vaśambhalyā ("balyā,  
"phalyā) , 79, 114
- yāsām agnir iṣṭyā (niṣṭyā) nāmāni  
veda, 421
- yās te soma prajā vatso 'bhi so aham,  
840
- yās te soma prānāns , see yāns etc
- yāsyā aputryā ("tryā) tanūs , 787
- yīyapsyata (yī") rva te manah (mu-  
kham), 519
- yuktās tisro vimṛjah (vibhr") sūry-  
asya, 57, 156, 189, 205, 234, 242
- yuktā (yuktā) hari vṛṣanā yāny  
arvān (arvāk), 367
- yuje samardham im aham, 617, 806
- yujānta suprajasaṁ pañca janāh, 192,  
339, 617
- yunajmī tisro vipṛcah sūryasya te  
(vīṛtah sūryah save, or savah),  
57, 156, 189, 198, 205, 234, 242, 840
- yuyuyātām ito rapo apa sridhah, 808
- yuvam hi sthah svarpatī (svahpatī),  
968
- yuvam chandah, 805
- yuvā kavīh puruṣiṣṭha ("ṣṭhā) ṛtāvā,  
493
- yūpāyocchriyamānāyānubhūhi ("chri-  
ya"), 536
- yūyam vṛṣṭim varṣayathā puriṣinah, 90
- yūyātām asmad rapo apa sridhah, 808
- ye agnayah pūñcājanyāh (puriṣinah),  
907
- ye agnayah ('gnayah) samanasaḥ ("sah  
sacetasaḥ), 907
- ye agnayo divo ye prthivyāh, 907
- ye agnidagdha ye anagnidagdhaḥ  
(nagni"), 907
- ye agniṣvātā ye 'agniṣvātāh (anag-  
ni"), 907
- ye aneṣu vividhyanti, 907
- ye apsu śadānsī ('psu śadānsī) cakrire,  
908, 988
- ye amī rocane divah, 907
- ye asmin ('smīn) mahaty arnave, 909
- ye ke cobhayādataḥ (caubha"), 732
- ye 'gnayah puriṣyāh (puriṣinah), 737,  
907
- ye 'gnayah samanasaḥ, see ye agnayah  
. . .
- ye 'gnayo divo ye 'ntariṣāt, 907
- ye ca ke cobhayādataḥ, 732
- ye ca bhūteṣu jāgratī (jāgrtha), 662
- ye cit pūrva ṛtasāpaḥ ("sātāh), 180
- ye cid dhī pūrva ṛtasāpa āsan, 180
- ye tāṭṣṣur (tātṭpur) devatrā jehamā-  
nāh, 872
- ye te agna indavo yā u nābhayah (yā  
urnunābhayah), 810
- ye te agne medayo (medavo) ya in-  
davah, 248
- ye te aryaman, see ye te 'ryaman
- ye te panthāno bahavo janāyanāh, 511
- ye te 'ryaman (arye") bahavo deva-  
yānāh, 511, 908
- ye 'tra pitarah bhūyāstha, 90
- ye trisaptāh (trisaptāh) pariṣanti, 986
- ye tvā rātry (rātrim) upāsate, 365
- ye devā agninetrāh purahsadas ,  
615
- ye devā upariṣado (upariṣadas) ,  
986
- ye devāh purahsado (parah") agninetrā  
(gnī") , 615, 910
- ye devā divibhāgā ye antarik-  
ṣabhāgā ('ntari") prthivibhāgās  
(prthivi") , 524, 810
- ye devā devasuva ("vāh) stha , 977

ye devā manoḥātā (manu<sup>o</sup>) manoyujah  
(manu<sup>o</sup>, manoyuṣah) , dakṣapit-  
aras (tāras) , 500, 719  
ye devā mitrīvarunaneṭrā vot-  
tarāsadas (vottara<sup>o</sup>) , 476  
ye devāḥ somaneṭrā uparisado (śado)  
 , 986  
ye 'do rocane divah, 907  
yena (yenā) ṛṣayas (yenaṛṣa<sup>o</sup>) tapasā  
satram (sattram) āsate (āyan), 390,  
916, 919  
yena turyena brahmanā bṛhaspataye  
'pavathās tena mahyam pavasva,  
802, 910  
yena prajā achidrā , 129  
yena bhūyāś ca rātryām (carāty ayam,  
caraty ayam), 61, 244, 254, 354, 738,  
840  
yena bhūriś carā divam, 61, 244, 254,  
354, 738, 840  
yena mahānaghnāyā (nagnāyā) jagha-  
nam, 83  
yena rūpena prajāpataye 'vapathās  
tena mahyam pavasva, 802, 910  
yenaṛṣayah , see yena ṛṣ<sup>o</sup>  
yena vahasi sahasram, 453  
yena śriyam akṛnutām, 237, 287, 420  
yena sahasram vahasi, 458  
yena striyam akṛnutam (striyāv akur-  
utam), 237, 287, 420  
yenā ṛṣayas , see yena ṛṣ<sup>o</sup>  
yenākṣā (yenā kṣām, yenākṣān, yen-  
ākṣāv) abhyaṣicyanta (abhyaṣi-  
catam, tām), 309, 330, 332, 835  
yenā te pūrve pitarah paretāḥ, 452  
yenāpāmṛsatam (mṛsatam) surām,  
201, 289  
yenāvamṛsatām surām, 201, 289  
yenā samatsu sāsahah (hūh, hū), 381,  
584  
yenā sahasram vahasi, 453  
yenendro abhivāryte (dhe), 97  
yenendro haviṣā kṛtvī (kṛtī), 367  
ye no dviṣanty anu tām rabhasva, 222,  
802  
ye 'nneṣu vividhyanti, 907  
ye pūrvāso ya uparāsa (ye aparāsa)  
lyuh, 617

ye 'psu sadānsi, see ye apsu ṣa<sup>o</sup>  
ye bhakṣayanto na vasūny ānṛdhuh  
(ānṛdhuh, ānāsuh), 122, 634  
yebhur viśvam (vy āśvam) arayah,  
738  
yebhyo na rte (narte) pavate dhāma  
kim cana, 919  
yebhyo madhu pradhāvati (pradhāv  
adhi), 98, 832  
ye rātrim (im) anutiṣṭhanti (ṣṭhatha),  
528  
ye 'vateṣu śerate, 808  
ye vanaspatinām, 808  
ye vaneṣu śaspiṇjarāḥ, 32, 278, 294  
ye vā nūnam suvṛjanāsu vikṣu (dikṣu),  
869  
ye vāvateṣu śerate, 808  
ye vā vanaspatin anu (patinām), 808  
ye vṛkṣeṣu śaspiṇjarāḥ (saspi<sup>o</sup>), 32,  
278, 294  
ye śakvarā ṛṣabhā ye svarājah, 359  
ye śāmbare harivo ye gaviṣṭau (gai-  
ṣṭau), 889  
yeṣām apsu sadas (sadah) kṛtam, 964  
yeṣu vā yātudhānāḥ, 990  
ye sajātāḥ samanasaḥ (su<sup>o</sup>), 612  
ye samānāḥ samanasaḥ, 612  
ye sarpāḥ pāṛthivā ye antarikṣā ye  
divyā , 314, 490  
ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti, 909, 924  
ye 'smīn mahaty , see ye smīn  
yo agnīḥ kravayavāhanah (kavya<sup>o</sup>),  
353, 380  
yo agnīm hotāram avṛthāḥ, 908  
yo agnau rudro yo apsv antah, 909  
yo adya senyo (saumyo) vadhaḥ, 907  
yo antaro mitramaho vanuṣyāt (an-  
uṣyāt), 360  
yo asmān abhyaghāyati, 909, 924  
yo asmān dveṣti, see yo 'smān  
yo asmī so asmī, 910  
yo asya kauṣṭhya jagataḥ, 315, 907  
yo asyāḥ pṛthivyās tvaci, 907  
yo gā udājad apa (api) hī valam  
(balaḥ) vah, 210, 578  
yo gopā api (gopāyati) tam hve, 180,  
342  
yo 'gnīm hotāram avṛthāḥ, 908

- yo 'gnau rudro yo 'psv antah, 909  
 yo devānām nāmādhā ('dha) eka eva  
 (eko asti), 493  
 yo 'dya saumyo vadbah, 907  
 yo nah kadā cid abhidāsati druhā, 620  
 yo nah pitā janitā yo vidhātā (vi-  
 dhartā), 350  
 yo nah svo (svo yo) aranah ('ranah),  
 907  
 yo no agne niṣṭyo yo 'niṣṭyo . . , 808  
 yo no anti śapati tam etena jeṣam, 910  
 yo no dveṣṭi tanūm rabhasva (dveṣṭy  
 anu tam ravasva), 222, 802  
 yo no mitrāvaruṇā abhidāsāt sapatnah  
 ('varuṇāv abhidāsati), 888  
 yo mā kadā cid abhidāsati druhuh, 620  
 yo me 'nti dūre 'rātīyati tam etena  
 jeṣam, 910  
 yo martasyā diśo abhidāsāt ('sād,  
 'sān) . . , 910  
 yo rayivo (rayim vo) rayintamah, 307,  
 824  
 yo rudro agnau yo apsu (rudro 'psu yo  
 'gnau) . . , 909  
 yo vām ratha turaśmih satyadharmā,  
 918  
 yo vaiśvānara uta viśvadāvyah (vaiś-  
 vadevyah), 699  
 yo 'sāv ('sā) āditye puruṣah so 'sāv  
 ('sā) aham . . . 888  
 yo 'smān (asmān) dveṣṭi yam . . . , 910  
 yo 'smi sa san yaje, 910  
 yo 'sya kauṣṭhya (kauṣṭha) jagatah,  
 315, 907  
 yo 'syāh prthivyā adhi tvaci, 907  
 yo 'syēse dvipado yaś catuspadah,  
 907  
 yo 'ham asmi sa san yaje, 910  
 yau te pakṣāv ajarau patatrīnau, 732,  
 888  
 yau viśvaśya paribhū (viśvasyādhipā)  
 babhūvathuh ('tuh), 91  
 yau viryair vīratamā śaviṣṭhā, 323, 849,  
 866  
 rakṣohāṇau ('ṇau vām) valagahanā  
 (nāv) upadadhāmi . . , 886  
 rakṣohāmitrān ('trān) apabādhamā-  
 nah, 924  
 rakṣohāmivacātanah, 385  
 rajani granther dhānām (dānam), 107,  
 401, 618  
 rajobhūmis tvam mām (tvam mām)  
 rodayasva . . , 807  
 rajjuni granther dānam, 107, 401, 618  
 ratham sahasrabandhuram ('vandhu-  
 ram, hiranyavan'), 213  
 rathe akṣeṣv ṛṣabhasya (akṣeṣu vṛṣa)  
 vāje, 267, 359  
 ratheṣv akṣeṣu vṛṣabharājāh, 267, 359  
 ratho na vājāṁ saniṣyann (saniṣann)  
 ayāsit, 334  
 radantam śuddham (sudam, sunam)  
 uddharet, 286  
 ramadhvam mā bibhita mat (bi-  
 bhīta), 827  
 ramayata ('tā) mārutah śyenam āyi-  
 nam (mārutah pretam vājīnam), 193,  
 360, 442  
 rayim yena vanāmahai ('he), 710  
 rayim devī dadhātu me, 105  
 rayim no dehi jīvase (dhehi yajñīyam),  
 106  
 rayim me dāh (dhehi), 103  
 rayisthāno ('sthāno) rayim asmāsu  
 dhehi, 986  
 rayyā mā paśyata, 396  
 rayyā vah paśyāmi, 396  
 rasena sam apṛkṣmahī (agasmahī, agan-  
 mahī, aprkṣmahī), 634, 853, 874  
 rājanye dundhubhāv āyatāyām, 888  
 rājānah satyam kṛtvānāh (grhānāh),  
 46  
 rājānah samitāv ('tā) iva, 888  
 rājā me prāno 'mr̥tam (amṛtam), 907,  
 rātrīm-rātrīm aprayāvaṁ bharsantah,  
 117, 528  
 rātrīm jīva, 528  
 rātrīm dhenum . . , 528  
 rātrīm pīvasā, 528  
 rātriyai . . , see rātriyai . .  
 rātri stomam na jigyuṣe ('ṣṭi), 525, 695  
 rātrīm-rātrīm aprayāvaṁ bharsantah,  
 117, 528  
 rātrīm jīva, 528  
 rātrīm dhenum . . , 528  
 rātrīm pīvasā, 528



rātri stomam na jigyaṣi, 525, 695  
 rātryai (rātriya) kṣnam piṅgākṣam,  
 791  
 rātryai (rātriya) tvā, 791  
 rātryai (rātriya) mā pāhi, 791  
 rātryai (rātriya) svāhā, 791  
 rādhānsit (°ai) sampṛcānāv (°nā)  
 asam°, 545, 888  
 rāyas poṣam yajamāne dadhātu, 105  
 rāyas poṣam cikṛtuse (°ṣi) dadhātu  
 (dadātu), 105, 695  
 rāyas poṣam audbhūdam (°dyam), 319  
 rāyas poṣena mā paśyata, 396  
 rāyas poṣena vah paśyāmi, 396  
 rāyas poṣo ni śdatu, 720  
 rāyah syāma rathyo vayasvatah (viv-  
 asvatah), 255, 579  
 rāyo devī dadātu nah, 105  
 rāṣṭram duhātāhā iha revatībhūh, 91  
 rāṣyapadim vṛṣadatim, 666  
 rāṣyasyeva parīśāsam, 666  
 rucito gharmaḥ, 713  
 rudra yat te krayi (krivi, kravi, giri°)  
 param nāma, 47, 244, 255, 267,  
 573, 819  
 rudras tanticaro vṛṣā, 144  
 rudrasya maryā adhā (athā) svasvāh,  
 73  
 rudrānām urvyāyām (ūrmyāyām) svā-  
 dityā aditaye, 228, 355, 564, 719  
 rudrānām omyāyām svādityā, 228,  
 355, 564, 719  
 rudrāh samsṛjya (°yā, °bhrtya)  
 prthivīm, 457  
 rudro 'gult (agnit), 910  
 rudro 'dhupatih (adhū°), 910  
 ruvad dhokṣā paprathānebhur evaiḥ,  
 684, 840, 861, 875  
 revatī predhā, revatī yajamāne pri-  
 yam dhā, 747, 820  
 revatī ramadhvam (°tir amedhyam),  
 255, 837  
 revatīr yajñapatim priyadhāviśata,  
 747, 820  
 reśinām tvā patmann ādhūnoma, 363  
 reśiṣu, 363  
 reśmānam stupena (stū°), 563  
 rocasya devasvītamah, 398, 853

rocitas tvam deva gharma deveṣv asi,  
 713  
 rocito gharma rucīya, 713  
 jāñān āvapantikā, 151  
 lālilāya (lāle°) dhīmahi, 696  
 lekah salekah sulekas te viyantu,  
 49, 686, 796  
 lokam asmai yajamānāya dehī (dhehi),  
 105  
 lokam u (id) dve upa jāmi iyatuh, 392,  
 627  
 vakratundāya dhīmahi, 866  
 vakṣahsu (vakṣassu) rukmā upaśiś-  
 riyanāh, 971  
 vagnunendram hvayata, 256, 346, 800  
 vañkrir aśvasya svadhutih sam eti, 545  
 vajrā (vajrin) citrābhūr ūtibhūh, 930  
 vato jarāyu pratidhuk piyūṣah, 381  
 vato virājo vṛṣabho matinām, 236,  
 359  
 vadhūr jajāna (jagāya, mīmāya) nava-  
 gaj (navakṛj) janitri, 46, 634  
 vanakrakṣam (°prakṣam) udaprutam,  
 151  
 vanarṣade vaṭ, 353, 632, 650  
 vanasade veṭ (vaṭ), 353, 632, 650  
 vanaspatibhyah pary ābhṛtam (āvṛ-  
 tam) sabah, 221  
 vanaspatinr ośadhi rāya eṣe (rāye  
 aśyāh), 292, 803  
 vanaspate raśanayā niyūyā (°ya), 427  
 vanaspate 'va sṛjā (sṛja), 431, 446  
 vanā vananti dhṛṣatā (°dā, dṛṣadā)  
 rujantah, 60, 110  
 vaniṣṭum (°ṣṭhum) asya mā rāviṣṭa,  
 86  
 vaniṣṭhor hṛdayād (udarād) adhi, 244,  
 386, 643  
 vanuṣvad deva dhīmahi pracetasam,  
 227  
 vanṛṣade veṭ, 353, 632, 650  
 vaneṣu citram vibhavam (vibhuvam)  
 viśe-viśe, 739  
 vandadvārā vandamānā vivaṣṭu, 371,  
 833  
 vandadvirāyendave, 229  
 vande dārum vandamāno vivakmi, 371,  
 833

- vapayā dyāvāprthivī prornuvāthām,  
 91, 797  
 vaptā (vaptrā, vaptar) vapasi (°tu)  
 keśasmasru (keśān), 357  
 vāyam rāṣṭre jūgrīyāma (°mā, jūgrī-  
 yāma) purohitāh, 446, 674  
 vāyam hi vām purutamāso (°damāso)  
 āsvinā, 60  
 vāyam ghā te api śmasi (smasi), 987  
 vayo ye bhūtvī (°tvā) patayanti  
 naktabhūh, 598a  
 varano vārayātai (°yiṣyate), 606  
 varivas (°vah) kṛnvan vṛjanasya rājā,  
 964  
 varivasya mahāmaha (°syā mahonām),  
 442  
 varuna dharmanām pate (dharmānām  
 adhīpate), 494  
 varunasya ṛtasadanam (°syarta°) asi,  
 919  
 varunasya ṛtasadany (°syarta°) asi,  
 919  
 varunāya rājne trayo lohitalalāmāh  
 (rohita°), 262  
 varunāya rīśādase (vidase) 267  
 varuneti śapāmahe (°hai, śayāmahe),  
 289, 710, 867  
 varuno vārayāt, 606  
 varutri tvā . . , see varūtris tvā  
 varutrīr avayan -(varūtrayas tvāva-  
 yan), 562  
 varutris tvā . . , see varūtris tvā . .  
 varūtrayo janayas tvā devīr viśva-  
 devyāvatiḥ prthivyāh sadhasthe  
 'nḡirasvat , 467, 562, 910  
 varūtrīm (varutrim, varūtrīm) tvaṣṭur  
 varunasya nābhīm, 528, 562  
 varūtrī (varu°) tvā devī viśvadevya-  
 vati prthivyāh sadhasthe aṅgirasvat  
 . . , 467, 562, 910  
 varūtris tvā (varutris tvā) devīr viś-  
 vadevyāvatiḥ prthivyāh sadhasthe  
 aṅgirasvac . . , 467, 562, 910, 953  
 varenyakratūr (°tur) aham, 272, 360,  
 383, 554, 600  
 varebhir varān abhi śu prasidatāh  
 (°ta), 379  
 varco asmāsu dhatta (dhehi), 103  
 varcodā agne 'si (°dā asi), 100  
 varcodā varivodāh (°vodā dravipodāh)  
 104  
 varcodhā agne 'si (°dhā asi), 100  
 varcodhā varivodhāh, 104  
 varco mayi dhehi, 100, 103  
 varco me dāh (dehi, dhāh, dhehi), 100,  
 103  
 vardhanam puruniṣṣidhe (°niṣṣidhe),  
 971  
 varma (°mā) elvyadhvam bahulā  
 prthūni, 460  
 varṣāni cūkṣuṣāni, 328  
 varṣūbhyaṣ tatūrin (°rān), 598  
 varṣās cākṣuṣyah, 328  
 varṣimā . . , see varṣmā . .  
 varṣiṣṭhe adhi (°dhi) nāke, 907  
 varṣman kṣatrasya kakubbhih (°bhu,  
 kakubbhih) śūśriyānah (śrayasva),  
 381, 400  
 varṣmā (varṣimā) ca me drāghimā  
 (drāghuyā, drāghvā, drāghmā) ca  
 me, 240, 764, 805  
 varṣmā rathasya ni jibhāte (jibhāte,  
 jibhālate) divah, 853  
 vaśāh stha, 489  
 vaṣaṭkārah, 489  
 vaṣaṭ te viṣṇav (viṣṇa) āsa ā kṛnmi,  
 889  
 vasantena ṛtunā (°tenartunā) devāh,  
 919  
 vasanto asyāsīd (°syāsīd) ājyam, 909  
 vasavaś cātīṣṭhan vasudhātaraś ca,  
 828  
 vasavas tvā pra brhantu (vrh°) gāya-  
 trenā chandasā, 212  
 vasīṣṭhahanuḥ śūṅgini koṣyābhyām,  
 293, 347, 618, 804, 816  
 vasum gharman divam ā rohatānu  
 (tiṣṭhatānu), 360  
 vasudeyāya (°dheyāya) vidhate vi  
 bhāti, 105  
 vasupate vi ramaya, 479  
 vasuranvo (°ranyo) vibhūr asi, 248  
 vasuvane vasudheyasya vyantu (vi-  
 yantu), 796  
 vasuś cetiṣṭho vasudhātamaś ca, 828  
 vasuḥ sūnuḥ sahaso apsu rājā, 716

vasūni cārur (cārye, cāryo, cāryo) vi  
bhajāsi (bhjāsi, bhajā sa) jīvan,  
244, 579, 632, 825

vasoh kuvid vanāti nah, 804a

vaso vasvoh (vasor vaso) puruspr̥hah,  
368

vasoṣpate ni ramaya (rām°), 479

vasoh sūnuh sabaso apsu rājā, 716

vasto vayah, 216

vasneva (vasna iva) vikrīnāvahai, 991

vasvah kuvid vanāti nah, 804a

vaha devatrā didhiṣo havīṇsi, 437,  
440, 581

vahad divyābhir ūtibbhiḥ . . , 165, 272,  
272a, 324, 360

vahūṇsi sā sukr̥tām yatra lokah, 303a,  
870

vahā devatrā dadhiṣo (didhiṣo) havīṇsi,  
437, 440, 581

vahāsi mā sukr̥tām yatra lokāḥ, 303a,  
870

vahiṣṭhebbhir viharan yāsi (pāhi) tan-  
tum, 214, 867

vahnih samtarano (sāmpārano) bhava,  
180, 486

vān ma āsan (āsyān, āsyē), 328

vānmanaścaksuḥśrotrajihvāghrāṇa-  
rebuddhyākūṭisamkalpā (°kūṭih  
samkalpā) me śudhyantām, 383, 818

vācam viṣnum sarasvatīm, 156

vācam dhehi, 103

vācam asme niyacha devāyuvam, 51

vācam me pinva, 852

vācam me dāh, 103

vācam me pinva, 852

vācaspatir no adya vājam svadatu, 51

vācaspatir vācam (vājam) nah svadatu  
(vācam adya svadātu nah, °te, °svad-  
ātu nah), 51

vācaspace 'chudrayā vācūchidrayā  
juhvā divi devāyudham (devā  
yudhan) hotrām arayat (°yant,  
erayasva, airayasva) svāhā, 711, 816

vācaspace vāco viryēṇa sambhrtata-  
menāyaksase (°yaksyase, °yachase),  
184, 332

vācaspace hrdvidhe nāman (hinvidhe),  
640

vācā cit prayataṁ (ca prayutī) deva-  
hedanam, 578, 617

vācā tvā hotrā . . pañcabhir dair̥yair  
(devair) . . . , 324, 707

vācā mendriyāvīṣa (vācām indr°), 693

vācā somam avansyāmi, 353, 830

vāce krauñicah (kruñicah), 724

vāco vidhrtim (°tam) agnim prayujam  
svāhā, 587

vājajityāyai (°jityai) tvā, 813

vājam tvāgne . . . , 594

vājam arvatsu payo aghniyāsu (aghny-  
āsu), 784

vājam asmin nidhehi devāyuvam, 51

vājās ca prasavāś . . . vasuś (suvas)  
ca . . . , 802

vājasya hi prasavo (°ve) namnamīti  
(nanna°), 413

vāji tvā sapatnasāham sam mārjmi  
(mārjī), 594

vājinam śepena, 872

vājinam tvā vājini vājayatyāyai sam  
mārjmi, 131, 594

vājinam tvā vājedhyāyai (sapatna-  
sāham) sam mārjmi (mārgmi), 131,  
594

vājinām vājo 'ratu bhakṣo asmān, 905

vājinām bhakṣo avatu vājo asmān, 905

vājinūḥ tvā vājini vājayatyāyai sam  
mārjmi, 131

vājinūḥ tvā vājedhyāyai (sapatna-  
sāhīm) sam mārjmi (mārgmi), 131

vājino vājajito vājam sasrvāṇso jigī-  
vāṇso, sasrvāṇso vājam jigivāṇso  
. . . , 537

vājo devān (devān) ṛtubhiḥ kalpayāti  
924

vājy aham vājinasyopahūta upahū-  
tasya bhakṣyāmi, 594

vātām viṣnum sarasvatīm, 156

vātajavair balavadbhir manojavāḥ,  
268, 511, 579

vātavān varṣan bhīma rāvaḥ svāhā, 467

vātājirair balavadbhir manojavāḥ,  
268, 511, 579

vātāpe pīva id bhava, 627

vātavad varṣam ugrar ārt svāhā,  
467

vātāvān varṣann ugra rūvat svāhā, 467  
vāmam pītṛbhyo ya idam samerire  
(<sup>irire</sup>), 698  
vāmi té samdṛṣi vīśvam reto dbeṣya  
(<sup>dhi</sup>) . , 698  
vāyava ārohanavāhūv (<sup>hū</sup>) anadvā-  
hau, 888  
vāyava (<sup>vah</sup>, <sup>vas</sup>) stha, 977  
vāyur dikṣito 'ntarikṣam dikṣū sū .  
dikṣayatu (dikṣeta) , 745  
vāyur na līta . antarikṣayāh (ānta-  
rikṣayāh) pātu, 314, 490  
vāyus tāt (tān, vāyus tān) agre pra-  
mumoktu devah, 924, 958  
vāyus te (vāyus te) 'dhipatīh, 958  
vāyus te (vāyus te) vājin yuñ, 958  
vāyus tvāntarikṣāt pātu sūryo divah,  
314  
vāyus tvābhipātu (vāyus tvā) mahyā  
svastyā ., 958  
vāyusavitṛbhyām āgomugbhyām pay-  
ah, 162, 244, 491, 617, 716  
vāyus t-, see vāyus t-  
vāyo ve (vīhi) stokānām (<sup>nām</sup> juṣ-  
ānah, <sup>ṣto</sup>), 988  
vāyosūvitra āgomugbhyām caruh, 162,  
244, 491, 617, 716  
vārṣāharam sāma gāya, 512  
vāśā stha, 489  
vāśat, 489  
vāsantīkāv (<sup>kā</sup>) rītū abbikalpamānāh,  
888  
vikṛda (<sup>dra</sup>, <sup>da</sup>) vilohita, 168, 353,  
675, 734  
vikhyāya (vikṣāya) cakṣuṣā tvam, 190  
vigā (vī gā) indra vicaran spūśayasva,  
831  
vi ca naśan na iṣo arātayah, 826  
viciṣi svāhā, 866  
vi cid aśnānā iṣayo arātayah, 826  
vicitṛāya (vicitṛtāya) svāhā, 401  
vi jhiṣva lokam kṛnu (jhiṣva lokān  
kṛdhi), 353  
vijye vijye vikṣipet, 244  
vijye vikṣipe vidhame, 244  
vidvīr yāman vavardhayan (yāmann  
avar), 360, 544  
vi te krodham nayāmasi, 98

vi te bhinadmī takarīm (<sup>rim</sup>, tagarīm,  
mehanam), 49, 529  
vidad gavyam saramā dṛdham ūrvam  
(<sup>ūrvam</sup>), 347  
vidad yadi (yati, yadi) saramā rugnam  
(saramārunam) adrehi, 63, 516  
vidma te dhāma paramam guhā yat,  
436, 440, 855  
vidma (<sup>mā</sup>) te svapna janitram, 436,  
440  
vidmā te nāma paramam guhā yat,  
436, 440, 855  
vidyām yām u ca (uta) vidmasi, 156,  
831  
vidyutam kanīśalābhyām (kanīśa),  
595, 597  
vidyutām iva sūryah, 743  
vidyutau kanānakābhyām, 595, 597  
vidyun me asya devāh, 862  
vidyur me asya devāh, 862  
vidyullekheva bhūsvarā (bhūsvarā), 739  
vi dhūmam agne aruṣam miyedhya  
(medhya), 747  
vidhe krodham nayāmasi, 98  
vi no rāṣtram unattu payasā svena, 139,  
618  
vi pūṣam madhyamam cṛta (vṛta),  
866  
vipra (<sup>cah</sup>, <sup>cas</sup>) stha, 977  
viprasya dhūrayā kavīh, 189, 824  
viprah sa dhūrayā sutah, 189, 824  
viprāso mānuṣā yugā, 132  
vipro babbhūva saprathāh, 180, 235  
vibhave svāhā, 604, 789  
vi bhānum vīśvadhātānat (vīśvathā),  
73  
vibhur asi pravāhanah, 554  
vibhur mātṛā prabhuh pitrā, 554  
vibhur vibhāvā suśakhā (sakhā ā)  
sakhīyate, 995  
vibhuve svāhā, 604, 789  
vibhūr asi pravāhanah, 554  
vibhūr mātṛā prabhuh pitrā, 554  
vibhrājāñ (<sup>jañ</sup>) jyotrā svah, 936  
vibhrājamānah sarirasya (salilasya)  
madhye (<sup>yāt</sup>), 264  
vibhuve svāhā, 604, 789  
vimā asi (vimāsi), 993

vi mucyadhvam aghnyā (aghniyā)  
devayānāh, 784

viyantu devā haviṣo me asya, 796

viyantu devīr ya ṛtur janīnām, 796

viyantv ājyaśya, 796

viyugbhīr vāya iha tā vi muñca 145,  
379, 889

viratāh smah (sma bhoh), 379

virājah śruṣṭih (śnu<sup>o</sup>) sabharā asan nah,  
57, 383, 865

vihptī yā (viliptyā) brhaspate, 791a

vivadhāś chandah, 516

vivarto 'stūcatvārināh, 516, 910

vivalam chandah, 805

vivasvān aditir devajūtiḥ viyantu,  
337, 686, 720, 818

vivasvān no abhayam kṛnotu, 699

viviktyai kṣattāram, 139

viviṭi (viviṭṭyā) svāhā, 401, 866

vivityai (vivittiyā) kṣattāram, 139

viviṣṭyāi svāhā, 401, 866

vivṛttacakrā āsināh, 139, 235, 643, 861

viśā ādevīr abhy aśnavāma, 470

viśantu tvām (tvā ), see viśvantu

viśalyo vānavān (°vān, bānavān, °vān)  
uta, 218, 925

viśām vavarjuṣīnām, 360

viśām agnum atithim suprayasam  
(°yāsam), 502

viśām avarjuṣīnām, 360

viśām patir abhavaḥ vājīnīvān, 869

viśo adevīr abhy ācarantīh, 470

viśo yantre (°tri) nudamāne arātīm, 695

viśo-viśaḥ pravivīṣvānsam imahe, 808

viśo viśvā anu prabhuh (prabhu), 381,  
869

viśrutayo yathā pathah, 30, 275

vi śloka etu (eti, śloka yanti) pathyeva  
(patheva) sūreḥ (sūrih, sūrah,  
sūrāh), 328, 596, 691

viśloka viśvadāvyē tvā sahjubomi  
syāhā, 151, 835

viśva ādityā vasavaś ca devāh (sarve),  
989

viśvam satyam kṛnuhi viśām astu, 291

viśvam hi (ha) ripram pravahantī  
(°tu) devīh, 578

viśvam hy asyām bhuvanam āviveśa,  
341, 386

viśvakarma ṛṣih, 918

viśvakarman bhauvana mām didāsitha  
(māda āsitha), 511, 579, 840

viśvakarmā ṛṣih (°karmarṣih), 918

viśvakarmā vimanā ād vihāyāh (vim-  
anā yo vyomā, vimame yo vihāyāh,  
manasā yad vihāyāh), 339

viśvacarṣanīh saburīh sabhāvān (sah-  
yān), 248, 598

viśvatohasta uta viśvataspāt (°tah  
syāt), 867

viśvantu (viśvam tu) tvām āhutayaś  
(tvāhutayah) . . , 371, 825

viśvapsnyā (°aniyā) viśvatas pari, 791

viśvam id dhītam (dhutam) ānaśuh  
(āśata), 545

viśvarūpā śabalīr (śavaly) agniketuh,  
219

viśvalopa viśvadāvasya tvāsaḥ juhomi,  
151, 835

viśvavidam (°do) vācam aviśvaminvām  
(aviśvavinnām), 236, 410

viśvavyacā iṣyanti subhūtūh (°tā), 599

viśvasmāt sim aghāyata uruśya, 379

viśvasmād devakībṣāt, 216, 818

viśvasmai bhūtāyādhvarō 'si (°dhvaro  
astu devāh, bhūtāya dhruvo 'stu  
[astu] devāh), 802, 836, 908

viśvasya te viśvāvato vṛṣṇiyāvatah  
tavāgne vāmīr anu samdrśi viśvā  
retānsi dhiṣṭya, 688

viśvasya devī mṛcayasya (mṛśa°) jan-  
manah, 195

viśvasyām viśi pravivīṣvānsam (pravi-  
viśānam) imahe, 808

viśvā agne abhiyujō vihatyā (°tya), 457

viśvā amīvāh pramuñcan mānuṣībhuḥ  
(°śebhyah), 357, 695, 783, 832

viśvā āśāh pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhīyah,  
357, 783, 832

viśvā āśā dakṣinasat (°sāt, dakṣinatah,  
dakṣinadhak), 499

viśvāh pīnvatah (°tha) avasarasya  
dhenūh, 379

viśvākṣam (viśvākhyam) viśvasambhu-  
vam, 191

- viśvāḍityāḥ, 989  
 viśvā deva pṛtanā abhiṣya, 380  
 viśvā dveṣāṁsi taratī svayugvabhīh  
 (sayug°), 364  
 viśvādhiko (viśvā dhiyo) rudro mah-  
 arṣiḥ ("rṣiḥ), 918  
 viśvāny anyo bhuvanā jāṇa, 862  
 viśvāny anyo bhuvanābhicaṣṭe ("nā  
 vicaṣṭe), 220, 808  
 viśvāny aryo bhuvanā jāṇa, 862  
 viśvānyo bhuvanā vicaṣṭe, 220, 808  
 viśvābhyo mā nāṣṭrābhyah ("bhyas,  
 danṣṭrābhyas) pāhi (pāta, paṇipāhi  
 ), 964  
 viśvā mṛdho abhumātīr jayema, 205, 375  
 viśvāvasum namasā girbhur Ide (iṭṭe),  
 58  
 viśvāvasur abhi tan no gṛnātu, 172  
 viśvāś ca deva (devah) pṛtanā abhiṣyāḥ  
 ("ṣyak), 380  
 viśvā sprdho abhumātīr jayema, 205,  
 375  
 viśve devā udīcyām tu abhiṣūcantu  
 śreyase, 512  
 viśve devā nātividhyanti sarve (śūrāḥ,  
 sūrāḥ), 278, 285  
 viśve devā mama śṛnavantu jajñīyāḥ  
 (yajñam), 321  
 viśvebhyaḥ tvā devebhyaḥ pravṛhāmi  
 jāgataṇa chandasā, 212  
 viśve śumbhantu mainasah, 173  
 viśveṣām devānām priyam pātho 'pīhi  
 (apīhi), 910  
 viśvair devai rātībhiḥ samrarāṇah  
 (devai ṛtībhiḥ samvidāṇah), 627, 665  
 viśāne vi śya guṣṭitam (gulphitam),  
 111  
 viṣe viṣam aprkthāḥ (aprāg api), 657,  
 843  
 viṣkandham enam viṣṭam prajāsu, 986  
 viṣṭhitāḥ ("tā) pṛthivīm anu, 331  
 viṣṇa (viṣṇav) urukram°, 887  
 viṣṇum vācam sarasvatim, 156  
 viṣṇur āprītapā āpyāyāmāṇah, 355,  
 628  
 viṣṇur upāvahriyamāṇah, 117  
 viṣṇuh śīpiviṣṭa ūrāv (ūrā) āsannah,  
 888  
 viṣṇus tryakṣareṇa trīṇi lokān (trīṇi  
 imāṇi lokān, trīṇi lokān) , 943  
 viṣṇuh sambhriyamāṇah, 117  
 viṣṇūvaruṇā ("nāv) abhiṣastipāvā ("pā  
 vām), 826, 888  
 viṣṇoh śīpre sthah, 337  
 viṣṇoh śnaptre (śnyaptre) sthah, 337  
 viṣṇo (viṣṇoh, viṣṇos) stupo (stūpo)  
 'si, 563, 977  
 viṣṇo (viṣṇoh, viṣṇos) sthānam asi,  
 977  
 viśvak satyam kṛnuhī cittaṁ eṣām, 291  
 vi sakhyāni śṛjāmahe ("hai, viśṛjā-  
 vahai), 710  
 vi senābhir dayamāno (bhaya°) vi  
 rādhāsā, 177  
 viṣkandham enam vidhṛtam prajāsu,  
 986  
 viśrutayo (vi sru°) yathā pathah, 30,  
 275  
 viḥāyaso 'dhi bhūmyām, 699  
 vidu (vīlu) cid āruyatnubhiḥ, 271  
 vidu chopathajambhāniḥ, 272, 381  
 vidvīr yāmann avardhayan, 360, 544  
 vināganakinah pūrvah ("ganaginah  
 purāṇair) . . ., 48  
 vināganakino ("ganagino) devair .,  
 48  
 vity arṣa canīṣṭhayā (paṇīṣṭaye), 86,  
 162  
 vīram hi vīravataḥ suśevā, 123  
 vīram janayīṣyathah ("tah), 91  
 vīram dhātā (me dātā, no dātā)  
 pitarah, 103  
 vīrasūr devakāmā syonā ("sūr devṛk-  
 āmā, "sūr jīvasūr devakāmā syonā,  
 "sūr jīvasūr jīvapātāni), 633  
 vīrān nah pitaro dhātā, 103  
 vīrān mā no rudra bhāmīto ("mino)  
 vadhiḥ (ba°), 209, 871  
 vīrān me pitaro (tatāmāḥ, pratatā-  
 mahā) dātā, 103  
 vīruc chopathayopani, 272, 381  
 vīrenyah kratur indrah suśastih, 272,  
 360, 383, 600  
 vīrebhir adhu tan no gṛnāṇah, 172  
 vīrebhir āsvair maghavā bhavā (bhava)  
 nah, 448

- virebhir vīratamā śaviṣṭhā, 323, 849, 866  
 vīryam kuḥābhyām (gu°), 49  
 vīryebhir vīratamā śaviṣṭhā (śaci°), 323, 849, 866  
 vīlu, see vīdu . . .  
 vīvadham ('dhaś) chandah, 516  
 vīvarto 'śūcatvāriṇśah (aṣṭā°), 516, 910  
 vīhi sūra (sūra) puroḍāśam ('lāśam), 271, 284  
 vīhi svām ābutim juṣāno manasā, 836  
 vīhi svāhābutim juṣānah, 836  
 vījite pari vīdhī nah, 360  
 vīratūr no (no) abhayam śarma yansat, 949  
 vīratūr no (no) yajñam ihopayāsāt, 949  
 vītrasya kanīnikāsi ('nakāsi), 235, 595, 640  
 vītrasyāsi kanīnikah (kanīnikā), 235, 595, 640  
 vītrāni vītrahāi ('hañ) jahi, 936  
 vīṣajūtir no 'vītaḥ ('vītā), 640  
 vīṣanam pṛtsu (pṛkṣu) śāsahum, 140  
 vīṣanah samidhīmahi, 501  
 vīṣabham naryāpasam, 359  
 vīṣabhāya gavayī, 359  
 vīṣabhena gāvah (gāh), 359  
 vīṣabhena tvaṣṭā, 359  
 vīṣabho gaur vayo dadhuh, 359  
 vīṣabho 'si svargah, 359  
 vīṣānah samidhīmahi, 501  
 vīṣā dharmāni dadhūse (dadhriṣe), 350  
 vīṣā na krudhdah patayad rajassv (rajahsv) ā, 971  
 vīṣā pavitre adhi sāno avye (avyaye), 810  
 vīṣā punāna āyusu (āyūṇṣi), 304, 555  
 vīṣāyamāno 'vṛṇīta (avṛṇ°) somam, 907  
 vīṣāva cakradad ('do) vane, 581  
 vīṣo acikradad vane, 581  
 vīṣīdyāvānam amṛtaḥ svarvidam, 803, 820  
 vīṣīm divah pari śrava, 200  
 vīṣīm devānam amṛtaḥ svarvidam, 803, 820  
 venubbhāram gurāv (gurā) iva, 888  
 vedhām śśāsata śriye, 230, 508  
 veśantābhyo dāśam, 708  
 veśśrīr ('śrīr) am, 528  
 vairāji ('je) puruṣi, 695, 876  
 vaivasvato no abhayam kṛnotu, 699  
 vaiśantābhyo baidam, 708  
 vaiśānara uta viśvadāvyaḥ, 699  
 vaiśānarah pratinthā nākam ārubat ('ha), 401  
 vaiśānaram kṣantraṇītyāya (kṣetra°) devāh, 707  
 vaiśānaram ṛta ā (ṛtāya) jātam agnum, 36, 342  
 vaiśānarāya matir navyasī ('se) śuciḥ, 695  
 vaiśānaro aṅgirasām ('ṅgirasām, aṅgirobhyaḥ), 907  
 vaiśānaro adabdhās (no adabdhās, me 'dabdhās, 'dabdhās) tanūpāh, 907  
 vaiḥāyaso 'dhi bhūmyām, 699  
 vaṣṣat (vaṣṣat), 271  
 vyakṛda vilohita, 168, 353, 675, 734  
 vy akhyaṇ (akṣan) mahiṣo divam (mahīṣah svah, 'suvah), 190  
 vyacasvatīṣayanti subhūtīh, 599  
 vyacyamānam salīlasya (sarīrasya) madhye, 264  
 vyantu devā haviṣo me asya, 796  
 vyantu devir ya ṛtur janūnam, 796  
 vyantu vayo 'ktam (rīpto) rihānāh, 96, 796, 857  
 vyantv āyasya, 796  
 vy amivāh pramuñcan mānuṣīṣām, 783, 832  
 vy asau yo asmān ('smān) dveṣṭīyam ca vāyam dviṣmah, 910  
 vy astabhñā (aska°, aṣka°, aṣṭa°, askabhñād, aṣṭabhñād) rodasi viṣnav (viṣna, viṣnur) ete, 137, 889, 983  
 vy asya yonim prati reto gṛhāna. 116, 341, 354, 363, 819  
 vyāghram māṅgīradāsa gauh, 49, 279, 824  
 vyāghro adhi vaiyāghre, 907  
 vyāghro vaiyāghre adhi ('dhi), 907  
 vṛ ānad (ānal) indrah pṛtanāh svojāh, 271  
 vṛānsāh ('śi) pavase soma . . , 529a

vyukṣat krūram ud acantv āpah, 53  
 vy uchā duhitar divah, 724  
 vy usrdho asro adrir bibheda, 618  
 vyrdhyā (vyrdhyā) apagalbham  
 (apra°), 353  
 vyomā (°ma) saptadaśah, 460  
 vy aucho duhitar divah, 724  
 vrajam gacha gosthānam (goṣṭhānam),  
 986  
 vratam rakṣanti viśvāh, 477, 511  
 vratānām vratapate (°patayo) vratam  
 acāriṣam (acārṣam), 754  
 vratāni (vratā nu) bibhrad vratapā  
 adabdhah (adābhyah), 487, 627, 823  
 vratā rakṣante viśvāh, 511  
 vrihīnām medha (medhah) sumana-  
 syamānah, 380  
 vreṣṇām tvā patmann ādhūnomi, 363  
 śam yor abhi sravantu (śra°) nah, 275  
 śam rātri (°ih, °ih) pratī dhiyatām, 381,  
 528  
 śansya paśūn me 'jugupas tām me pāhy  
 eva, 548  
 śakaḷyam, 319, 490  
 śakma yat te goh, 47, 287  
 śakrāya sunavai (°ve) tvā, 705  
 śaṁgayī (°gavi, °gaye) jīradānū  
 (jīva°), 255, 266, 695  
 śacyā paśyanti sūrayah, 158, 287  
 śacyā harī dhanutarāv (°rā) ataṣṭa, 888  
 śandāya tvā, 289  
 śanderathas śandikera ulūkhalah, 244,  
 489, 544  
 śatam yasya subhvah (subhuvah)  
 sākam irate, 789  
 śatam yo nah śarado ajitān (ajijāt,  
 ajiyāt, jījān), 192  
 śatam hemantāū (°tān) chatam u  
 vasantān, 937  
 śataḷṣarāś chandasānuṣṭubhena, 511,  
 819  
 śatam jīvema śaradah sarvavīrah (savi-  
 rāh, su°), 612  
 śatamūlā (°lāh) śatāṅkurā (°rāh), 381  
 śatam pavitrā vitatā hy (vitatāny)  
 āsu, 849  
 śatam pūrbhir yaviṣṭha pāhy anhasah  
 (yaviṣṭhya), 315

śatāḷṣarachandasā jāgatenā, 511, 819  
 śatāpāṣṭhādya viṣā (°ṣṭhā gha viṣā)  
 pari no vṛnaktu, 86, 198, 838, 868  
 śatena pāśair abhi dhehi varunainam  
 (pāśair varunābhi dhehi), 845  
 śatotaye 'bhūmātiṣāhe (abhi°), 907  
 śatruhanam amitrāhanam tven-  
 dram vajram , 712  
 śatruhanam asi . tvaindram vajram  
 712  
 śam te prūṣvāva śiyatām, 680, 876  
 śam te methī bhavatu śam yugasya  
 tṛdma, 529, 650  
 śam te santv anūpyāh, 151  
 śam te hīranyam śam u santv (sam u  
 santv) āpah, 277, 278, 802  
 śam tokāya tanuve (tanvai) syonah,  
 705, 793  
 śam nah (nas) karato aśvinā, 964  
 śam nah santv anūpyāh, 151  
 śam no bhavantv āpa oṣadhayah (apa  
 oṣadhih) śivāh, 498  
 śam no bhava hṛda ā pīta indo (indro),  
 353  
 śabalī prajānām śaciṣṭhā vratam (śav-  
 iṣṭhā vrajam) anugeṣam , 157, 866  
 śam agnir agnibhūṣ (°bhūh) karat, 966  
 śam adbhayah, 280  
 śamibhūh śamyantu tvā, 528, 572  
 śam u te santv anūkyāh, 151  
 śam u prṣṭhāva (prṣvāva) śiyatām, 680,  
 876  
 śam u santv anūpyāh, 151  
 śam ūdho romaśam hāhah, 91, 276  
 śam padam magham rayiṣine na kāmam  
 (rayiṣani na somah), 545, 579  
 śambbhūr (°bhur) mayobbhūr abhi mā  
 vāhi svāhā, 554  
 śam methir bhavatu śam yugasya  
 tardma, 529, 650  
 śamyāh prataratām (°tā) iva (praca-  
 ratām iha), 155  
 śarad dhemantah suvite dadhāta (°tu),  
 775  
 śarad varṣāh suvitam (sukṛtam) no  
 astu (svite no dadhāta), 775  
 śarabham te śug rchatu (te kṣut),  
 145



- śarā vṣṣād dhaviṣā vārṇah, 86, 198, 838, 868  
 śarīram yajñasāmālam (yajñah śāma-  
 lam) kusīdam . ., 383, 818  
 śarīram me vicarṣanam (vicakṣanam,  
 °na), 857  
 śarau parnam ivā dadhat, 278  
 śardhāṇsy agne ajarānū (ajarasya)  
 dhakṣatah (dhakṣyase), 332  
 śarman (°maṇs) te syāma trivarūtha  
 udbhau, 932  
 śarma yachūtha saprathah (°thāh),  
 460, 502  
 śarma varmedam ā bhara (varmatad ā  
 hara), 117  
 śarmā (°ma) saprathā āvṛṇe, 460, 502  
 śalmalir vṛddhyā (vṛddhyā), 360  
 śavasā hy asi śrutah (śritah), 626  
 śaviṣṭhā stha rūṣṭradūh, 349  
 śāsvatibhyah samūbhyah, 491  
 śāsvat parikupitena (°pilena), 878  
 śāsvad vīśah (dīśah) savitur daivyasya,  
 869  
 śākalam, 319, 490  
 śākvarā vṛṣabhā ye svarājah, 359  
 śāṇḍikera ulūkhalah, 244, 489, 544  
 śūmā sarūpamkarapī, 337  
 śūradena rtunā (°nartunā) devāh, 919  
 śūrgah sṛjayah śayāṇḍakas te maitrāh,  
 315, 489  
 śāsvatibhyah samābhyah, 491  
 śikṣā ṇo (no) asmin puruhūta yāmani,  
 950  
 śitabhṛavo (°bhruvo) vasūnām, 604  
 śipivīṣṭa ūrā āśādyamānah, 888  
 śimāh (śimām) kṛpantu śimyantah,  
 278, 572  
 śumibhūh (śumi°) śumyantu tvā, 528, 572  
 śirahpāṇpādapārśvapṛṣṭhorūdarajañ-  
 ghaśśūnopasthapāyavo (°pṛṣṭhodara-  
 jañghā°) me śudhyantām, 475  
 śirah-śirah prati sūri (śiro devī prati  
 sūrir) vi caṣṭe, 529  
 śilpā vaiśvadevīh (°vyah), 598  
 śilpās trayo vaiśvadevāh, 598  
 śiva ṛtasya . ., see śivā rutasya  
 śivam prajābhyo 'hūnsantam (ahūns°)  
 prthivīyāh sadhasṭhād (°sthe) agnum  
 (°gnum) . ., 910  
 śivān agnīn apsuṣādo havāmahe, 285,  
 849, 924, 927  
 śivā no bhavata (°tha) jīvase, 90  
 śivā rutasya (rudrasya, śiva ṛtasya)  
 bheṣajī (°jā), 60, 355, 597, 684  
 śivā viśvāha bheṣajī (viśvāhabheṣajī,  
 °āhā bhe°, °āha bheṣajā), 477, 511,  
 598, 817  
 śivebhīr arcibhīṣ tvam (°bhīṣ tvam),  
 958  
 śivo asya nīṣaṅgatih, 77, 93, 98  
 śivo me saptarṣin (sapta ṛṣin) upa  
 tiṣṭhasya (tiṣṭha), 919  
 śūśrūya vīkakarān (vīkarān, vīkūrān,  
 vīkūrān), 489, 573, 813  
 śīṣṭe śṛṅge rakṣase (rakṣobhyo) vīrukṣe  
 (vīnakṣe, vīrukṣve), 370, 577  
 śūsum nadīnām harim adribudhnam  
 (°buddham), 415  
 śūśū kridantau pari yāto adhvaram  
 (arnavam, °rṇavam), 907  
 śīte vāte punann iva (punarniva), 833,  
 862  
 śukeṣu me harimānam, 30, 278  
 śukram vām anyad rajatam (yaj°)  
 vām anyat, 244  
 śukram te anyad yajatam te anyat, 244  
 śukram na jyotir amṛtam dadhānā  
 (°nāh), 381  
 śukraś ca ṛtapāś cātyanhāh, 919  
 śukraś ca śuciś ca graṣmāv (°mā)  
 ṛtū, 888  
 śukras te grahah (grahyah), 325  
 śukrām vayanṭy asurāya nīrnjam, 579,  
 828  
 śukrāya svāhā, 262  
 śukrā vi yanty asurāya nīrnje, 579, 828  
 śuklāya svāhā, 262  
 śucanto agnum vāvṛdhanta (vā°) m-  
 dram, 463  
 śucir ankte (aṅte) śucibhīr gobhīr  
 agnīh, 418  
 śucih śukre ahany ojasinā (ahann  
 ojasine, śukro ahany ojasye, śukre  
 °hany ojasinām), 907, 928  
 śutudri stomam sacatā paruṣṇy ā  
 (paruṣṇy ā), 777  
 śuddhāh pūtā bhavata (°tha, bhav-  
 antu) yajñyāśah, 90

- śuddho mamaddhi somyah ("ya), 380  
 śunam vāhāh śunam narah (nārāh), 491  
 śunam ma iṣṭam śunam śāntam (śrāntam) śunam kṛtam bhūyāt, 287, 353  
 śunām agram suvīrinah (subīrinah), 219, 593  
 śunddhi (śundhi) śiro māsyāyuh pra moṣih, 173, 389, 418  
 śundhatām lokah pitṛśadanah, 173  
 śundhantām lokāh pitṛśadanāh, 173  
 śundhi śiro, see śunddhi . .  
 śundhyur ("yūr) aśi mārjāliyah, 554  
 śumbhantām lokāh pitṛśadanāh, 173  
 śumbham mukham mā na āyuh pra moṣih, 173  
 śumbhānas tanvam ("vām, tanuvam) svām, 287, 420, 618  
 śūdrāryāv ("ryā) aśrjyetām, 888  
 śūrāso ye tanūtyajah (tanu"), 554  
 śūro na mītrāvarunā gaviṣṭiṣu, 284  
 śūro nṛṣṭā śavasaś (śra") cakānah (ca kāme), 181, 349, 828  
 śrīlhi (śrīnāhu) viśvataḥ pratī ("tas pari), 598, 964  
 śrīnvanty ("tv) āpo adha ('dhah) kṣarantīh, 382, 907  
 śrīnvantv āpo dhīśanās ca devīh ("śanā ca devī), 381  
 śrītas tvaṁ śrīto 'ham, 677  
 śeṣo (śepo) vājinena, 872  
 śaśūrāv ("rā) ṛtū abhikalpamānāh, 888  
 śaśīreṇa ṛtunā ("nartunā) devāh, 919  
 śokāt pṛthivyā uta vā divas pari, 126  
 śocasva devavītamah ("vittamah), 398, 853  
 śocāt pṛthivyā uta vā divas pari, 126  
 śociśkeśam (śocih") purupriya, 962  
 śaundikeya ulūkhalah, 244, 489, 544  
 śaunakam ("kim), 590  
 śyāmā sarūpamkarani, 337  
 śyenasya patram (pattram) na plīhā śacibhih, 390  
 śyenasyeva dhrajato (dravato) añkasam pari, 109  
 śyene parītto (parīto) acarac ca vāte, 404  
 śyene vāta uta yo 'carat parīttah, 404  
 śrad asmai naro vacase dadhātana, 704  
 śraddhe kam indra carato vitarturam (vicar"), 156  
 śramena lokāns tapasā piparti (bhibharti), 112  
 śravaś ca me śrutis ca me, 486  
 śraviṣṭhāh stha, 349  
 śravo devasya sūnasim ("sī), 421  
 śrāvaś ca me śrutis ca me, 486  
 śriyam vasānās carati svarocih ("cāh), 599  
 śriye (śriyai) putrāya vedhavaī (vet-tavai), 98, 705  
 śriyo vasānās carati svarocih, 599  
 śrīpānā apsu mṛṇjata (vṛṇjate), 234  
 śrītas tvaṁ śrīto 'ham, 677  
 śrīś ca te lakṣmīs ca patnyāv ("nyā) [aho"], 888  
 śruta ṛsim ("tarṣim) ugram abhimātiśāham, 919  
 śrutakakṣo aram ("kakṣāram) gave, 836  
 śrutam me mā pra hāsīh, 353  
 śrutkarnāya kavaye vedyāya, 109, 230  
 śrudhi śruta śraddhivam (śraddheyam) te vadāmi, 248, 692  
 śruṣṭī ("ṭe) jātāsa indavah svarvidah, 695  
 śreṣṭho ha (hi) vedas tapaso 'dhijātah, 578  
 śronibhyām (śroni") svāhā, 529  
 śrotram dehi (dhehi), 103  
 śrotrapāh ("pā) śrotram me pāhi (pātu), 980  
 śrotram mayi (me) dhehi (dāh), 103  
 śvātrāh pītā bhavata yūyam āpah, 287, 352  
 śvāvṛt tat, 277  
 śvitra ādityānām, 195, 369  
 śvitro rakṣitā, 195, 369  
 śvetāya vaitahavyāya (vaidarvyāya, vaidarvāya, vaidārvāya) . 63, 315, 490  
 śad id yamā (udyamā) ṛsayo devajā itī, 627, 819  
 śandāya tvā, 289  
 śan morvir anhasas ("sah) pāntu . . , 964  
 śaṣṭim (śaṣṭhum) sahasrā navatīm ca kaurama, 87

sa ācūryam tapasā pipartu (bibhartu), 112  
 sa idhāno vasuṣ (vasuh) kavīh, 693, 967  
 sa imām devah pūṣā, 996  
 sa imām devo aryamā (adhvarah), 996  
 sa imām devo varunah, 996  
 sa imām no havyatādātīm juṣānah, 996  
 sa im pāhu ya rjīṣi tarutrah (tarudrah), 59  
 sa im (i) mandrā suprayasah (mand-rāsu prayasah, mandrā suprayasā starīman), 307, 374, 830, 839  
 sa u (uv) ekaviṇśavartanīh, 774  
 sa ugrah sa hu (i) havyo babhūva, 386  
 sa edhāno vasuṣ kavīh, 693, 967  
 sa eva jātah sa janīṣyamānah, 829  
 sam yajñapatir (yajamāna) asiṣā, 306  
 sam yāv apnastho (yā apnastho) apaseva janān, 888  
 samyopayanto duritāni visvā, 113  
 samlobhayanto duritā padām, 113  
 samvatsara ṛtubhiḥ samvidānah (\*bhīś cāk|pānah, \*bhīś cākupānah), 39, 645  
 samvatsarasya tejasā (dhāyasā), 98, 193  
 samvatsarāya paryāyinīm (\*yārinīm), 244  
 samvṛd asi, 306  
 samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatriyai (\*triyās) . 'bhūbhūtaye (\*bhūtyai, \*bhṛtyai) svāhā, 644, 791  
 samśītam kṣatram jīṣnu (kṣatram aja-ram astu jīṣnuh, kṣatram me jīṣnu), 381  
 samśrṣtam ubhayam kṛtam (abhayam kratum), 609, 664  
 samśrṣṣau yutsv indro gaṇeṣu, 612, 660, 826  
 samstup chandah, 306, 984  
 sam sravantu diśo mahīh (mayi), 256  
 samsravabhūgā , see samsrāva°  
 samsrāṣṭā sa yudha indro ganena, 612, 660, 826  
 samsrāvabhūgā (samsrava°, \*bhūgāh, \*gās) stheṣā (taviṣā) brhantah, 96, 375, 486, 747, 977  
 samhitāsi visvarūpā (\*pī, \*pīh), 381, 597

sakhāyau saptapadāv abhūva (\*padā babhūva), 207  
 sakhā sakhūbhyo varivah (variyah) kṛnotu, 249, 541a  
 sakhā saptapadī (\*dā) bhava, 597  
 sakhāsi gāyatram chandah, 70  
 sakhāsi (\*si patvā) jagacchandāh, 70  
 sakhā suśevo advayāh (\*yuh), 620  
 sa gāyatriyā (\*triyā) triṣṭubhā , 791  
 sagme te goh, 47, 287  
 sa ghā no devah savitā sahvā (sav-āya), 250, 269, 868  
 saghāsi jagatichandāh, 70  
 samkasuko vīkasukah, 605  
 samkusuko vīkusukah, 605  
 samkrośān prānāh (\*krośaiḥ prānān), 46, 292  
 sam gr̥bhāya purū (puru) śatā, 555  
 sam grāvabhīr nasate (vas°) vīte adhv-are, 853  
 samghoṣān (\*goṣān) prānāh, 46, 292  
 sacāvahe (\*hai) yad avṛkam purā cit, 710  
 sacetasāv (\*sā) arepassu, 180, 376, 888  
 sacetasau druhvano yau nudetke, 156, 305, 371, 634, 684  
 sacetasau saretasau, 180, 376  
 sacyutim jaghanacyutim, 874  
 sajātānām śraīṣṭhya ā dhehy enam, 612  
 sajātānām madhye śraīṣṭhyā ā dhehi mā, 612  
 sajūr abdo (abdā) ayavobhīh (\*yāv-abhīh, āyavabhīh, āyavobhīh), 471, 485, 910  
 sajūr devair vayoñādhah (vayu°), 719  
 sajūh sūra (sūrya) etaśena, 318  
 sajoṣasāv (\*sā) aśvinā daśsobhīh, 888  
 sajoṣā indra (indrah) sagano mar-udbhīh, 380  
 sajoṣā vṛṣabham patim, 376  
 samjayan kṣetrāni sahasāham indra, 941  
 samjñānam nah (na) svebhyah (sve-bhīh, svāh), 980  
 satatam tu śrūbhīś tu, 263, 306  
 satavasemam yajñam divi deveṣu dhat-tām, 364

satām śikyāh (śak°) provācōpaniṣat,  
571  
satūsati prajāpatih, 347  
sa tū (sato) dhanam kārīne na pra  
yansat, 723, 831  
sato vah pitaro deṣma, 60  
sattvīnām pataye namah, 392, 494  
satyam vadanty anu icha (anu yacha)  
etat, 738  
satyam vṛṣan vṛṣed aśi, 254, 830  
satyam it tan na tvān anyo asti  
(°sti), 909  
satyam pūrvaṛ (°vebhir) ṛṣibhuh sam-  
vidānah (°bhiś cākṛpānah, °bhiś cāk-  
upānah), 645  
satyaś ca ṛtapāś (cartapāś) cātyanbhāh,  
919  
satyasati prajāpatih, 347  
satyasya dharmanas pati (pate), 695  
satyā eṣām (etā) āśiṣah (°ṣas) santu  
, 971  
satyā tā (satyād ā) dharmanas pati  
(dharmanā, °nas pari), 65, 525, 837  
satyānṛte avapaśyañ (°yañ, °yan)  
janānām, 936  
satyaujasā dṛghanā (durhṛnā, dṛghanā)  
yam nudethe, 156, 305, 371, 634, 654,  
684  
satrā dadhānam apratiṣkutam śavānsi  
(śravānsi bhūri), 349  
sa tvam vṛṣan vṛṣed aśi, 254, 830  
sa tvam sanim suvimucā vimuñca,  
830, 871  
satvanām pataye namah, 494  
sa tvam aśy amo °ham, 723, 907  
satvānām pataye namah, 392, 494  
sa tvā manmanasām karotu (°sam  
kṛnotu), 494  
sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtam bibhartu  
(pīpartu), 112, 175, 639  
sa dahan (sadanān) pradahan nv (v)  
agāh, 392, 829  
sadā paśyanti sūrayah, 158, 287  
sadā yācann aham gurā (jyā), 134, 244  
sa dāṣuṣe kiratu bhūri vāmam, 306  
sa dundubhe sajūr indrena devaiḥ, 306  
sado vah pitaro deṣma, 60  
sado vanesu dadhiṣe (dadhrīṣe), 350

sadyahkrīś chandasā saha, 491, 962  
sadyā no devah savitā savāya, 250, 269,  
868  
sa nah pito madhumān ā viśeha (viv-  
eśa), 849  
sa nah pṛthu (pṛthuh) śravāyyam, 381  
sanim gāyatram navyānsam (navi-  
yānsam), 786  
sa nirudhyā nabuṣo (nahṛṣo) yahvo  
agnih, 642  
sa no jiveṣv ā yame, 394  
sa no dadātu tam (tām) rayim, 505  
sa no divā sa rīṣah (rīṣas) pātu naktam,  
964  
sa no deveṣv ā yamat, 394  
sa no dohatām suviryam (suvīram),  
323  
sa no bodhi śrudhī (°dhi) havam, 518  
sa no mayobhūh pito āviśasva (pitav  
āvi°, pitav āviśeha, pitur āvīvesa,  
pītevāviśasva), 849, 890  
sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhātām dadhātu, 175,  
639  
sa no rucam dhehy ahṛīyamānah, 387,  
665  
sam takṣā hanti cakrī vah (cakinah),  
824  
samtatam śīrābhis (śīl°) tu, 263, 306  
sam te rāṣṭram anaktu payasā ghr̥tēna,  
139, 618  
sam tvā ṛnanti, 676, 992  
sam tvā tatakṣuh (tatakṣnuh), 311  
sam tvā ṛnanti, 676, 992  
sam tvā śīśanti (śīṣ°), 292  
samdānam arvantam padbīṣam  
(°vīṣam), 217  
sam dāṣuṣe kiratu bhūri vāmam, 306  
sam dundubhe sajūr indrena devaiḥ,  
306  
sam devī (devī) devyorvaśyā paśyasva  
(°vaśyākhyāta), 525  
sam devena (daivena, daivyena) sav-  
itrā, 317, 707  
samdhātā samdhim (°dhir) maghavā  
purūvasuh (puro°, puru°), 551, 717,  
721  
samdhvānā (°dhuvānā) vātā abhi no  
gṛnantu, 783

- sanvan sanim suvimucā vi muñca, 830, 871  
 sapatnā vācam manasa (°sā) upāsātām, 991  
 sapatnir abhibhūvari (°rīh), 331  
 saputrikāyām jāgratha, 90, 662  
 saptaṣṣayah sapta dhāma priyāni, 919  
 saptaṣṣayo 'sṛjyanta, 919  
 saptaṣṣinām suktām yatra lokah, 919  
 saptaṣṣin jinva, 919, 936  
 sapta ca mānuṣir imāh, 701  
 sapta ca vārunir (vārunair) imāh (imān prajāh), 701  
 sapta yonir (yonair) āprnasva (°svā) ghṛtena, 446  
 sapta rājāno ya udābhiṣiktāh, 63  
 saptaṣṣayah sapta dhāma priyāni, 919  
 saptaṣṣayo 'sṛjyanta, 919  
 saptaṣṣin jinva, 919, 936  
 saptaṣṣinām suktām yatra lokah, 919  
 sa prathamah samūktir viśvakarmā, 374  
 sapratha (°thah) sabhām me gopāya (pāhi, 'jugupah), 381  
 sa bibheda valam (balam) magham (madyam), 210, 868  
 sa budhnyā (°nyā) upamā asya vi-  
 ṣṭhāh, 784  
 sa budhnyād (°nād) āṣṭa januṣo 'bhy (°śābhy) agram, 325  
 sa bhakṣamāno (bhikṣ°) amṛtasya cārunah, 533  
 sa bhūmim viśvato (sarvato) vṛtvā (sarvata sṛtvā), 200, 375  
 sam agnis tapasāgata, 379  
 sam adbhayah, 280  
 sam arir (arir) vidām (vidah), 529  
 sam arvanto raghudruvah (°drucāh), 866  
 samavayantu sarvatah, 68  
 samānam keto abhisamrabhadhvam (ceto abhisamvīsadhvam), 126  
 samānamūrdhnir abhi (adhi) lokam ekam, 172  
 samānā vā (va) ākūtām, 593  
 samāni vā ākūtāh, 593  
 sa mā mrta (vṛtat), 98, 225  
 samāṅgayati sarvatah, 536  
 sam it sravanti sarito (°tā) na dhenāh, 142, 735, 830  
 samid dīśām āśayā nah (āśayānah) svarvit (suvar°), 826  
 samiddhe agnāv (agnā) adhi māma-  
 hānah, 888  
 samiddho agnir vṛṣanārātir (°nā rathī, °nā rayir) divah, 93, 545, 877  
 samidhah-samidho 'gne-'gna (-samidho agna, °gnā) ājyasya vyantu, 910  
 samidho agna ājyasya vyantu (vi-  
 yantu), 796, 910  
 samidhyamānah prathamānu dharmā (prathamānu dharmah), 835  
 sam indra no (no) manasā neṣi (neṣa) gobhīh, 584, 950  
 sam im rebhāso asvaran, 307, 628  
 samāṅgayati sarvatah, 536  
 samicīnāsa āsate (āṣata), 282  
 samudra ivāsi gahmanā (ganh°), 305  
 samudram na subhvaḥ svā abhiṣṭayāh, 384, 789  
 samudram na suhavam (suhavam, subhavas) tasthivāṁsam, 119, 384, 604, 789  
 samudrasya tvāvākayā (tvāvā°), 496  
 samudrād udajani vah (udacann iva) srucā, 53, 383, 401, 840  
 samudrāya śīsumārah, 305, 551  
 samudrena (samudre na) sindhavo yādāmānāh, 826  
 sam u rebhāso asvaran, 307, 628  
 samuhyo 'si viśvabharāh, 560  
 samūḍham (samūḍham) asya pānsure (°le), 261  
 sam ūdho romaśam hatah, 91, 276  
 samūhyo 'si viśvabharāh, 560  
 samūhyo 'si viśvavedā, 560  
 sam eta viśvā (°ve) vacasā (ojasā) patim divah, 52, 804  
 sa me mukham pra mārksyate (vek-  
 ṣyati), 235  
 samokasāv (°sā) arepasau, 180, 888  
 samokasau sacetasā arepasau, 180, 888  
 sampaśyan pañktir (pañtim) upat-  
 iṣṭhamānah, 418  
 sam pūṣā (pūṣā sam dhātā) sam  
 bṛhaspatih (dhātā), 720

samprca (°cah, °cas) stha . ., 977  
 sam poṣā sam bṛhaspatih, 720  
 sampriyah paṣubhur bhava (bhuvāt), 602  
 sampriyam prajayā paṣubhur bhuvāt, 602  
 sam bāhubhyām dhamati (bharati, namati, namate, °bhyām adhamat) sam patatraih (yajatraih), 157, 176, 853, 867  
 sammā asī (sammāsi), 993  
 sammislo aruṣo bhava (bhuvah), 602  
 samyak sravanti sarito na dhenāh, 142, 735, 830  
 samyat te goh, 47, 287  
 samrājāv (°jā) asya bhuvanasya rāja-  
 thah, 888  
 samrājāi śvaśrūvām (śvaśrūvām) bhava, 791  
 sa yajñapatir āśiṣā, 306  
 sa yathā tvam rucyā roco 'sy evāham  
 ruciṣya (rucyā rocasa evam  
 aham rucyā rociṣya), 715  
 sa yo vṛṣā vṛṣṇyebhuh (°ṇyebhuh)  
 samokāh, 784  
 sarasvatī tvā maghavann abhiṣnak  
 (abhiṣnāt), 142, 545  
 sarasvatīm aśvināv (°nā) indram ag-  
 num, 888  
 sarasvatī (°tīh) svapasah sadantu  
 (sasantām), 381  
 sarasvatyā adhi manāv (mānā, manā,  
 vanāva) acarkṣuh (acark°, car-  
 kṣuh), 170, 225, 356  
 sarasvatyām adhi manāv acarkṣuh,  
 170, 225, 356  
 sarasvatyā (°tyāh) supippalah, 381  
 sarasvatyai pūṣne 'gnaye (agnaye)  
 svāhā, 910  
 sarasvatyai yaśobhaginyai (veśabha°)  
 svāhā, 255  
 sarasvatyai vāco yantur yantriye (vāco  
 yan turye turyam) dadhām, 840  
 sarāh patatrinīh sthaa (stha), 381,  
 600  
 sarā patatrinī bhūtva, 381, 600  
 sarit sravanti sarito na dhenāh, 142,  
 735, 830

sariram chandah, 264  
 sarirāya tvā vātāya svāhā, 264  
 sarirāya svāhā, 264  
 sarire tvā sadane sādāyāmi, 264  
 sarūpavarṣā ehi (sarūpa vṛṣann ā  
 gahi), 650, 821  
 sarau parṇam ivā dadhiat, 278  
 sarnikāya tvā, 651  
 sarpadevaḥ janebhyaḥ svāhā, 198  
 sarvataḥ śarvaśarvebhyaḥ (śarva sarv°,  
 sarva sarv°), 235-  
 sarvadevaḥ janebhyaḥ svāhā, 198  
 sarvam tam bhasmasā (masmasā)  
 kuru, 242, 294, 632  
 sarvam ni svāpayā (°yāj) janam, 402  
 sarvam uktam anuvīdur vasiṣṭhāh, 139,  
 627  
 sarvam maniṣāna, 829  
 sarvalokam ma iṣāna, 829  
 sarvasmād devakulbiṣāt (°viṣāt, eva  
 kulb°), 216, 402, 818  
 sarvah sarvā vi caratu prajānan, 354,  
 831  
 sarvān agnīr apsuśado huve (huve  
 vah), 280, 849, 924, 927  
 sarvān apa yajāmasi, 201, 924  
 sarvān it tān anu vidur vasiṣṭhāh, 139,  
 627  
 sarvāṇs tān mṛsamṛsā (maṣmaṣā) kūrī,  
 242, 294, 632  
 sarvā dāmāni (dhā°) muñcatu, 107  
 sarvān ava yajāmahe, 201, 924  
 sarvān ni maṣmaṣākaram, 242, 294, 632  
 sarvān patho anṛṇā ā kṣiyema (kṣi°),  
 536  
 sarvān sa devāns tapasā pipartī (bi-  
 bharti), 112  
 sarvābhyo abhayam ('bhayam) karat,  
 909  
 sarvā vinudya samtrdyah, 170  
 sarvāś ca rājābāndhavīh (°vāh, °vyah),  
 490, 701  
 sarve rādhyāh stha (rādhyās tu)  
 putrah, 96, 616  
 sahlam chandah, 264  
 salilah saligah sagaras te na ādityā  
 haviṣo juṣānā vyantu svāhā, 49, 686,  
 796

sahlāya tvā (tvā vātāya svāhā),  
 sahlāya svāhā, 264  
 sahile tvā sadane sād-iyāmi, sahile sadane  
 sida, 264  
 sa vah sarvāh sam carati prajānan,  
 354, 331  
 sa vijāyamānah sa janīyamānah, 829  
 savitā jyotir ud ayān (ayān) ajasram,  
 926  
 savitā te hastam agrabhīt (agrabhīt  
 asau, agrabhīt), 116  
 savitā bhṛtyām, 242, 634, 871  
 savitā manyām, 242, 634, 871  
 savitā hastam agrabhīt (agrabhīt), 116  
 savitus tvā (\*tuṣ tvā) prasava . , 958  
 savitprasūtā brhaspataye (vr̥h°)  
 stuta, 215  
 savitrā prasavitṛ . indrenāsme  
 (\*smai) , 704  
 savitre tva r̥bhūmate (tvarbhū°,  
 tvarbhū°) vibhūmate (vibhū°) ,  
 549, 554, 916, 918  
 sa viśvācīr (\*ci) abhū caṣṭe ghr̥tācīh  
 (\*ci), 357, 381  
 savṛtā savṛte savṛj jinvā, 306  
 savṛd asi, 306  
 saṣṭup chandah, 306, 984  
 sasavān san (sam) stūyase jātavedah,  
 938  
 sa supranīte (\*ti) nṛtamah svarād  
 (\*rāl) asi, 695  
 sa sūra ā (sūrye) janayati jyotir indram  
 (indrah), 318  
 saha ojah, 731, 990  
 sahamānā sahasvatī (saras°), 269  
 sahamūrān anu daha kravayādah, 355,  
 371  
 sahaś ca sahasyaś ca hamanīkāv  
 (\*kā) r̥tū, 888  
 sahasah sūnav (sūna) āhuta, 889  
 sahasranīthah (\*nīthah) padavih kav-  
 inām, 952  
 sahasradhāra eva te sam asvaran,  
 989  
 sahasradhāram vṛṣabham divo duhuh  
 (divoduham), 821  
 sahasradhāre 'va te sam asvaran, 989  
 sahasranīthah, see sahasranīthah

sahasrapoṣam subhage (\*gā) rarānā,  
 466  
 sahasrapoṣasyeśiṣe, 466  
 sahasrīvalśā (\*valśā) vi vāyam  
 ruhema, 760  
 sahasraśīrṣā (\*ṣāh) puruṣah, 381  
 sahasrasamam prasutena yantah, 233  
 sahasrasavaprasavena yantah, 233  
 sahasrasā (\*sām) medhasātāv (\*sātā)  
 iva tmanā, 888  
 sahasrasthūna āsāte (āsāte), 282  
 sahasrasya pratumāsi (\*mā asi), 993  
 sahasrasya pramāsi (\*mā asi), 993  
 sahasrasyonmāsi (\*mā asi), 993  
 sahasrākṣa medha ā (medhāya) ciya-  
 mānah, 342  
 sahasrākṣo amartyah (\*ākṣāyamartya),  
 380  
 sahasrākṣo medhāya ciyamānah, 342  
 sahasrāpoṣam subhage rarānā, 466  
 sahasrāpoṣasyeśiṣe, 466  
 sahasrāpsāh pṛtanāṣān (\*ṣād) na ya-  
 ṇah, 412  
 sahasriyo dyotatām (dīpyatām, \*riyo  
 jyotatām) aprayuchan, 24, 159, 541  
 sa hi puru (purū) cid ojasā virukmatā,  
 555  
 sahojah, 731, 990  
 saho mayi dhehu (me dāh svāhā), 103  
 sahojah, 731, 990  
 sā tvam asy amo 'ham (amo aham,  
 amūham, āpy amo 'ham), 723, 907  
 sā dikṣitā sanavo vājam asme (vācam  
 asmāt), 52  
 sādyaśkrīś chandasā saha, 491, 962  
 sādhaḥ (sādhu) kṛnavantam avase, 609  
 sādhyebhyaḥ kulūṅgān (kulaṅgān), 607  
 sādhyebhyaś carmannam (\*mnam),  
 953  
 sā nah prajāṃ paśūn pāhy arañ-  
 yamānah, 387, 665  
 sā nah priyā supratūrtir maghonī, 749  
 sā nah śṛnavan ūtibhih sida śāśvat,  
 376  
 sā nah site payasābhyāvavṛtsva, 849  
 sā nah supratūrtih priyā nah suhār  
 nah priyavanir maghavanir antā ehi,  
 749

- sā no dohatām suvīryam (suvīram), 323
- sā prathamā saṃskṛtīr viśvavārā, 374
- sā prasūr dhenukā (\*gā) bhava, 48, 620, 829
- sā brahmajāyā vi dunoti rāṣṭram, 107, 569
- sā brāhmanasya rājanya, 870
- sā mandasānā manasā śivena, 609
- sāmāni cakrus tasarāny otave (\*nu vātave), 804
- sā me satyāśīr devān panyāt panyatarā (panyāt panyatarā), 165
- sā rāṣṭram ava dhūnute brahmajasya, 107, 569
- sāvītro 'si canodhāh (janadhūyāh), 54
- sā śamātāti (\*tā, \*ci) mayas karad apa sridhah, 156, 598
- sā samnaddhā sanuhi vājam emam (sunuhi bhāgadheyam), 52, 617
- sinanti pākam atī (adhī) dhīra eti (emi), 98
- sindhoḥ śiṃśumārāh (śiśū\*), 305, 551
- sumāh kṛnavantu śamyantīh, 278, 572
- sumāh śamyantu śamyantīh, 278, 572
- sīdantu manuṣo yathā, 227, 719
- sīdanto vanuṣo yathā, 227, 719
- sīrāh patatrinī sthāna, 381, 600
- sīsam ca me trapu (\*puś) ca me, 381
- sīsena agnim adya hotāram avṛṇīta ayam sūtāsutī yajamānah pacan paktīh . . ., 310
- sukarīrā svopaśā, 41, 605, 731
- sukurīrā svaupaśā, 41, 605, 731
- sukeṣu te harimānam, 30, 278
- sukham ca me śayanam ca me, 82
- sukham meṣāya meṣyai, 82, 705
- sugam ca me śayanam ca me, 82
- sugam ca me supatham (\*thyam) ca me, 325
- sugantuh karma karanah karīṣyan, 293, 384, 573, 609, 739, 824
- sugam tvah karmah karanah karah karasyuh, 293, 384, 573, 609, 739, 824
- sugandhum pativedanam, 152, 627
- sugandhum puṣṭivārdhanam (rayipo-  
śanam), 152, 627
- sugam meṣāya meṣyai (\*ye), 82, 705
- sugavyam no vāji svaśvyam (\*vyam), 784
- sugā vo devāh sadanā (\*nam) akarma (kṛnomi, sadanāni santu), 741
- sugā vo devās sadanecdam astu, 741
- sucakṣū aham akṣibhyām (akṣi\*) bhū-  
yāsam, 528
- sucakṣūh soma uta sasrud astu, 145, 283, 612
- sujātānām śraīṣṭhya ā dhehy enam, 612
- sutarasi tarase (sutarasiddhatarase)  
namah, 833
- sutah sudakṣa dhanva (dhaniva), 764
- sutā mayā varadā vandamānā, 419
- sudakṣā dakṣapitarā (\*pitārā), 500
- suditinādityebhya , 545
- sudītur (sudītar) asi, 545
- sudevam indre aśvinā (indrāyāśvinā), 342
- sunāvam āruheyam, 817
- sunīti svayaśastaram (suyaś\*), 741
- suparnapakṣāya dhimahi, 200
- suparno avyathir (\*thi) bharat, 529a
- supānih (\*ni) svañgurnih, 980
- supippalā oṣadhīh kartanāsmē (kar-  
tam asmai, asme), 704
- supippalā oṣadhīh (\*dhīs) kṛdhi, 966
- suprasūr dhenukā bhava, 48, 620, 829
- subandhum pativedanam, 152, 627
- subāhuh svañgurnih, 980
- subīrana sṛja-sṛja śunaka, 219, 380, 593
- subhagamkarani (subhāgamkaranam)  
mama, 486, 820
- subhūtakṛta stha (\*kṛtah subhūtam  
nah kṛnuta), 119, 569, 977
- subhūtāya pipihī (pipihī), 545
- sumitrah soma no (sumano) bhava,  
714, 826
- sumitrā (\*triyā, \*tryā) na (na) āpa  
oṣadhayah santu (\*yo bhavantu),  
315, 787, 950
- sumnāya nūnam imahe sakhibhyah,  
563
- sumnāya sumnini sumne mā dhattam,  
315
- sumnāyuvah (\*yavas) sumnyāya sum-  
nam (\*nyam) dhatta, 315, 604
- sumne sthah sumne mā dhattam, 315



suyame me adya ghrtāci bhūyāstam  
 svāvṛtau sūpāvṛtau, 552, 910  
 suyame me bhūyāstam, 552  
 sur abhivyakhyam, 190, 739  
 surayā mūtrā janayanti (°ta) retah,  
 507  
 surayā somah suta āsuto madāya, 507  
 suriyā mūtrā janayanta (°ti) retah,  
 507  
 suriyāh somah suta āsuto madāya, 507  
 suvāh ., suvar ., suvarga ., 779  
 (and see under svah etc.)  
 suvarnapakṣāya dhīmahi, 200  
 suvarnastānyam avrātyam (av-  
 ratyam), 490  
 suvas ., 779  
 suvān nabhrād ānghāre bambhāre 'star  
 āhastā kṣāno, 146, 405, 778, 809  
 suvānā devāsa indavah, 794  
 suvāno arṣa pavitra ā, 794  
 suvāno yāti kavikratuh, 794  
 suvitasya manāmahe (vanā°), 227  
 suvite mā dhāh, 775  
 suvīrabhis taratī vājākarmabhih  
 (tirate vājābharmabhih), 152, 582  
 suvīrinah sṛja-sṛja, 219, 380, 593  
 suśamī śamīśva (śamī°, śamīśva), 531  
 suśmām somasatsaru, 180, 224, 696,  
 714, 874  
 suśrtam manye tad ṛtam navīyah, 661  
 suśevam somapitsaru (sumatitsaru),  
 180, 224, 696, 714, 874  
 suśrātam manye tad ṛtam navīyah, 661  
 suślokyāya svastaye, 724  
 suśadam id gavām asti pra khuda, 67,  
 347, 986  
 suśamiddham varenyam, 986  
 suśamiddho na ā vaha, 986  
 suśamiddho varenyah, 986  
 suśumnah (°mna) sūryarāsmis cand-  
 ramā gandharvah, 954  
 susatyam id gavām asyasi pra khudasi,  
 67, 347, 986  
 susamiddham varenyam, 986  
 susamiddho na ā vaha, 986  
 susamiddho varenyah, 986  
 susaveha havāmahe, 299  
 susasyāh (susaspāh) kṣis kṛdhi, 867

suhaveha havāmahe, 299  
 suhutakṛtah stha suhutam kariṣyatha  
 (°tam akārṣta), 119, 569, 977  
 sūcibhih śamyantu (śim°, śamayantu)  
 tvā, 572  
 sūpasthā asī vānaspatyah, 325, 491, 737  
 sūpasthā devo vanaspatih, 325, 491, 737  
 sūmnāya nūnam īmahe sakhibhyah, 563  
 sūyame me 'dya stam svāvṛtau sūpā-  
 vṛtau, 552, 910  
 sūyavasāni manave (manuṣe, mānuṣe)  
 daśasyā (°ye, yaśasye), 161, 490  
 sūrāso na darśatāśah, 318  
 sūro na mitrāvaruṇā gaviṣṭu, 284  
 sūro na rurukvān (°vān) chatātāmā, 937  
 sūro na svayugvabhih (sayu°), 364  
 sūro rathasya naptiyah (naptryah,  
 naptiriyah), 357, 791  
 sūryatvacasa (°sah, °sas) stha, 977  
 sūrya nāvam ārukṣah, 715  
 sūryarāsmim samābhrtam, 118, 639  
 sūryasya cakṣur āruham (āroha), 715  
 sūryasya tapas tapa (tapah), 379  
 sūryācandramasau vṛkyābhyām (vṛk-  
 kā°), 408  
 sūryān śukram samābhrtam, 118, 639  
 sūryāyā ūdho 'dityā (adi°, aditer)  
 upasthe, 909  
 sūryāso na darśatāśah, 318  
 sūrye santam (śukram) samāhrtam  
 (samābhrtam), 118, 639  
 sūryo apo vi gāhate ('vagāhate), 578  
 sūryo ahobhir ('hobhir) anu tvāvatu,  
 907  
 sūryo divo (devo) diviṣadbhyah  
 (°bhyo), 686  
 sūryo rūpam kṛnute dyor (dyaur)  
 upasthe, 732  
 sūryo 'hobhir ., see sūryo aho°  
 sṛkāhastā (sṛkāvantō) nṣaṅginah, 48,  
 467  
 sṛgavanto nṣaṅginah, 48, 467  
 sṛdikāya tvā, 651  
 sedam priyena dhāmnā priyam sada  
 āsida (priyena nāma priye sadasi  
 sida), 855  
 sed u rājā kṣayati (kṣeti) carṣaninām,  
 745

- semām devo aryamā (pūṣā, varunah), 996
- semām no havyaḍātīm juṣānah, 996
- so adhvarā jātavedāh, 907
- so adhvarān sa ṛtūn kalpayāti, 907
- so asmān (asmān) adhipatīn karotu, 907, 924
- so asmān pātu sarvatah, 909
- so 'dhvarā karati jātavedāh, 907
- so 'dhvarān sa ṛtūn kalpayāti, 907
- soma āyusmān sa oṣadhibhur (sauṣa°) āyusmān, 996
- soma u ṣvānah (ṣvānah) sotṛbhūh, 794
- somah patī rayinām, 964
- somam sa . ṛchatu yo maitasyai ('syā) diśo 'bhūdāsati, 910
- somanetrebhyo devebhya uparīsad-bhyo ('śadbhyo) ., 986
- somam te krināmy ūjasvantam payas-vantam viryāvantam abhīmātīṣāham (viryāvantam bahvargham śobhamānam), 123, 467
- somavikrayin somam te krināmi mahāntam bahvarbham bahu śobhamānam, 123
- somaś caturakṣarayāśrīvīr ('srīvīr) nakṣatrāni, 277
- somas patī rayinām, 964
- somasya drapsam (bhakṣam) avṛnīta pūṣā (śakrah), 153a
- somasya rājñah kulumgah, 607
- somasyāham devayajyayā suretā (viśvam) reto dhiṣya (dhe°), 688
- somah sutah pūyate ayyamānah (suta rēyate pūyamānah), 57, 634
- somah sutasya madhvah (sutah sa madhumān), 189, 824
- somāpauṣnāh śyāmālalāmās tūparāh, 728
- somāya kuluṅgah (kulaṅgah), 607
- somāya janūvide (jana°) svāhā, 588
- somāya rājñe kuluṅgah, 607
- somāya rājñe paridhātavā ('dātavā) u, 105
- somāya vaca udyatam (ucyate), 158
- somārudrāv ('drā) iha su mṛdatam nah, 888
- somī ghoṣena yachatu (vakṣatu), 184, 255
- somena tvātānacmindrāya dadhi, 127
- somaindrā babhrulālāmās tūparāh, 707, 728
- somo asmākam brāhmanānām rājā, 910
- somo vaiṣnavo rājā (somo vaiṣnavas) . aṅgirasō (āṅg°, aṅgirasō vedo) . . , 491
- somo 'smākam brāhmanānām rājā, 910
- so 'smān adhipatīn kṛnotu, 907, 924
- so 'smān pātu, 909
- so 'ham vājam saneyam (sanāmy) agne (agneh), 381
- saujāmim, 28, 192
- saumāpauṣnāh śyāmālalāmās tūparāh, 728
- saumendrā babhrulālāmās tūparāh, 707, 728
- saumyās trayah śvītīngāh (śiti°), 369
- sauryāmim, 28, 192
- sauslokyāya svastaye, 724
- stanī mandras suprayakṣuh, 374, 381, 830, 839, 861
- stambhānas tanvam svām, 267, 420, 618
- stavāno devyā kṛpā, 421, 824
- stutah ('ta) śravasyann avasopa madrik, 980
- stutā ('to) mayā varadā vedamātā, 419
- stuto yāsi (yāhi) vaśān anu, 299
- stuto 'sī janadhāh, 54, 93, 375
- stuhī śūram vajrinam apratikam (apratittam, °tittam), 138, 404
- stegān danṣṭrābhyām, 374
- stokā ('kāh, 'kāś) ścotantī medasah, 977
- stotā me ṣoṣakhā (gosa°) syāt, 986
- stotāram id didhiṣeya (dadhiṣe) radā-vaso, 581
- stotṛbhyo dhṛṣṇav īyānah (īyā°), 538
- stomatrayastrinśe bhuvanasya patnī, 525, 818
- stomaprṣṭho ghṛtavān supratīkah, 419
- stomas trayastrinśe bhuvanasya patnī, 525, 818
- stomo yajñāś ca (yajñasya) rādhyo haviṣmatā ('tah), 188, 826

- staumi devāv (devā) aśvinau nāthito  
 johavīmi, 888  
 strīṣṭyam anyān sv ā dadhat (anyāsv  
 ādadhat), 702  
 straiṣṭyam anyatra dadhat, 702  
 sthīrā cin namayīṣnavah, 857  
 snātāh prītā bhavata yūyam āpah, 287,  
 352  
 snuṣā sapatnā ('nāh) śvaśuro 'yam astu  
 ('ham asmi), 256, 980  
 spardhante dhīyah (divah) sūrye na  
 (sūre na, sūryena) viśah, 109, 255,  
 318, 826  
 spūrhā yasya śriyo dṛśe, 198, 761  
 spūrho deva nyutvatā, 198, 761  
 syonam patye (patibhyo) vahatum  
 kṛnuṣva (kṛnu tvam), 842  
 syonā māviśāterā madah ('teram-  
 madah), 818  
 syonā ('nāh) syonena ghṛtena mā  
 samukṣata, 978, 980  
 syone kṛnudhvam surabhā ('bhūv) u  
 loke, 886  
 srucā juhuta no (juhutanā) havih, 827  
 srucā devam ghṛtāścutā ('ścyutā), 336  
 svah , 779  
 svahpatir yadi vṛdhe, 307, 831, 968  
 svam yonim gacha svāhā, 505  
 svam yonim ihāsadah, 505  
 svagākārakṛto mahyam, 466  
 svagā vo devāh sadanum akarma  
 ('nāmi santu), 741  
 svamkrto 'si, 505  
 svatavasemam yajñam divi deveṣu  
 dbhattām, 364  
 svadhā pītṛbhyah pṛthiviśadbhyah  
 (pṛthivī), 524  
 svadhā pītṛbhyo 'ntariṣasadbhyah  
 (antari°, 'ntari°), 517, 910  
 svadhīts te ('tiṣ te) pitā, 958  
 svapnah svapnādhikarane (svapna  
 svapnābhikaranena), 172, 980  
 svam ma (ma idam) iṣtam svam  
 śrāntam (śrātam) , 287, 353  
 svam ma iṣtam astu śunam śāntam  
 , 353  
 svayonim gacha svāhā, 505  
 svar . , 779  
 svar abhivyakhyam ('śām ), 190,  
 739  
 svargāsi, 315  
 svargena lokena samprornuvāthām, 91,  
 797  
 svarge (suarve) loke prornuvāthām  
 (prornv°, 'nuvātām, samprornv°), 91,  
 779, 797  
 svargyāsi, 315  
 svar na gharimah svāhā, 949, 980  
 svar (suvar) na (na) jyotiḥ ('tiḥ  
 svāhā), 949  
 svar (suvar) na (na) śukrah svāhā, 949  
 svar na (suvar na) sūryah svāhā, 949  
 svar nārakah (suvar nārakah) svāhā, 949  
 svar devā (suvar devān) aganma  
 (agāma), 304  
 suvar na gharimah ('ma) svāhā, 949, 980  
 suvar na , see svar na  
 svarpaśim yad im vṛdhe, 307, 831, 968  
 svarmūrdhā vaiyaśano vyaśyan āntyo  
 'ntyo bhauvanah, 725  
 svarmaurdhnyāya svāhā, 725  
 svar yaj jyotir abhayam svasti, 254, 824  
 svarvaj jyotir abhayam svasti, 254, 824  
 svarvido abhi gā adrim uṣnan (muṣnan,  
 isnan), 401, 627  
 svarṣām (suvar°) apsām (apsvām)  
 vṛjanasya gopām, 370, 780  
 svasūra āpo abhi gā utāśaran (udā°),  
 60, 829  
 svastida āghṛniḥ (agh°) sarvavīrah,  
 473  
 svasti nah pathyākṛteṣu (putrakī-  
 theṣu) yoniṣu, 93, 618, 802  
 svasti rāye maruto dadhātana ('tu  
 nah), 825  
 svas (suvas) te dadāmi (tvayī da-  
 dhāmi), 104  
 svasty apsu vṛjane svarvatī (vrajane  
 svarvatāh), 658  
 svām yonim gacha svāhā, 505  
 svām yonim ihāsadah, 505  
 svāmkrto si, 505  
 svām cāgne tanvam (tanuvam) pipra-  
 yasva (piprā°), 480  
 svā tanūr baladeyāya mehi (baladāvā  
 na ehi), 248

svāttam sad dhavir ūpo devih svad-  
antu, 371  
svāttam cit sadevam havyam ūpo  
devih svadātānam, 371  
svāduṣ (°duh) kilāyam madhumān  
utāyam, 967  
svādhyam (°dhiyam) janayāt sūdayac  
ca, 789  
svādhyo (°dhiyo) manasā devayantah,  
742, 789  
svādhyo (°dhiyo) vidathe apsu jījanan  
(apsv ajījanan), 789  
svāna bhrājāṅghāre bambhāre hasta  
suhasta kṛśāno, 146, 405, 778, 809  
svāna bhrājāṅghāre bambhāre hasta,  
405, 778, 809  
svānā devāsa indavah, 794  
svānau yāti kavikratuh, 794  
svāno arṣa pavitra ā, 794  
svām tanvam (tanuvam) varuno 'suṣot  
(asikret), 287, 355, 907  
svān nabhrād āṅghāre bambhāre hasta  
suhasta kṛśāno, 146, 405, 778, 809  
svāyām tanū (tanūn) ṛtvyē (ṛtvyē)  
nādhāmānām (nātha°, bādha°), 22,  
76, 308, 784  
svāruhā yasya śrīyo dṛṣe, 198, 761  
svāruho deva nyutvatā, 198, 761  
svāveśo anamīvo bhavā (bhuvā) nah,  
602  
svāha ṛṣabham (°hā ṛṣ°, °harṣ°) in-  
drāya . . , 918  
svāhāṅkṛtasya sam u tṛpnuta ṛbhavah  
(tṛpnutarbh°, tṛpnutarbh°), 411, 919  
svāhāṅkṛtibhyah (°tibhyah) preṣya, 529  
svāhā tvā vātāya vṛṣṭisanaye ,  
857  
svāhā tvā subhava (°vah, subho)  
sūryāya, 381, 749  
svāhā tvā sūryasya vṛṣṭisanaye,  
857  
svāhā pūṣne śarase, 691  
svāhā yajñam manasah (yajñamāna-  
sah), 819  
svāhā rājāsūyāh (°sūyāya citānāh,  
°svah), 326  
svāhā sam agais tapasā gata (gatah),  
379

svāheṣṭibhyah (°heḥbyah svāhā), 690  
svate mā dhāh, 775  
svinnah snātvi (°tā, snāto) malād iva,  
593a  
sviṣṭam no 'bhi vasyo naṣantu, 537,  
786, 909  
sviṣṭam agne abhi tat pṛnāhi (pṛnīhi,  
tat gṛnīhi), 153  
sviṣṭam no abhi (°bhi) vasiyo (vasyo)  
naṣantu, 537, 786, 909  
hatal kṛmīnām kṣudrakah (rājā), 96,  
262, 386  
hataḥ te atrinā kṛmīh (kr°), 668  
hataḥ kṛmayah (kr°) sūśatikāh sū-  
lamakṣikāh, 668  
hatāghaśānsāv (°sā) ābharadvasū, 888  
hatāghaśānsāv (°sā) ābhūrṣām vasu  
vāryāni, 888  
hatā mātā hatah pitā, 96, 386  
hato dāsāni satpatī, 91  
hato viśvā apa divāh, 91  
hato vṛtrāny āryā (apratī), 91  
hato hatamātā kṛmīh, 96, 386  
hatho dāsāni satpatī, 91  
hatho viśvā apa divāh, 91  
hatho vṛtrāny āryā (apratī), 91  
hanubhyām (hanū°) stenān bhagavah,  
554  
hanubhyām (hanū°) svāhā, 554  
haya dātra edhi vayo (mayo) mahyam  
pratigrahitre (°grhate), 232, 657  
harikṇike (°kṇike) kim ichasi, 273  
harinasya raghuṣyadah (°syatah), 64  
harivato graham ṛdhyāsam (°vato  
graham rādhyāsam), 659  
harisamśrum na varmanā dhanareim,  
573, 596, 836  
harī indra pratadvasū abhi svara, 95  
harṣamānāso dhṛṣatā (dhṛṣatā) marut-  
vah, 122, 596  
harṣamānā dhṛṣatāso marutvan, 122  
havanāśrun no rudreha bodhi, 488,  
554  
havir haviṣṣu (haviṣṣu) vandyah,  
618, 971  
havis (haviḥ) kṛnavantah parivatsari-  
nam (°nām, °riyam), 967  
haviṣmān (°mān) astu sūryah, 925

- havyāyāsmāi vodhave ('vai) jāta-  
vedah, 705
- hastagrābhasya didhīṣoh (da°) tave-  
dam (tvam etat), 581
- hāvanaśrūr no rudreha bodhi, 488, 554
- hmkārāya svāhā, 386, 544
- hmkṛtāya svāhā 386, 544
- hitvā na ūjam pra patāt patisthah  
(°padāt pathi°), 60, 96
- hitvā (hitvi) śiro jihvayā rūrapac  
(vāvadac) carat, 267, 598a
- hinva (hinvā) me gātrū ('trāni) hari-  
vah, 436, 440
- hinvāno mānuṣā yugā (yujā), 132
- hinvāno hetṛbhīr yatah (hitah), 256,  
579
- hiranyanābhah kausalyah, 699
- hiranyapakṣah śakunih ('parna śak-  
une), 198, 380, 588, 691
- hiranyapāvāh paśum āsu (apsu) gr̥bh-  
nate (gr̥h°), 116
- hiranyam asṛtam (asrutam) bhava,  
682
- hiranyayāt pari yoner niśadyā ('ya),  
457
- hiranyayāh ('yā) śucayo dhārapūtāh,  
381
- hiranyavad annavad dhehi (annam  
adhyehi, annamad dhehi) mahyam,  
239, 347, 840
- hiranyavarnah śakunah, 198, 380, 588
- hiranyavāśīr یشراہ svarṣāh (suar°),  
780
- hiranye 'smm samāhitāh ('bhṛtāh,  
°hṛtāh), 118, 639
- hriśmaśrum nārvānam dhanarcam, 573,  
596, 835
- hutam havir madhu havir indratame  
'gnau (madhubhavir asīndra) 'gnau  
svāhā, 910
- hutam (hutas, huta) stokah, 977
- huve nu śakram puruhūtam indram,  
849
- hr̥tsu kratum varunam ('no) vikṣv  
(apsv, dikṣv) agnim, 153a, 360, 579,  
869
- hr̥dam na hi tvā nyr̥santy ūrmayah, 658
- hr̥dispr̥k kratuspṛg varcodāh ('dhā  
asi), 103
- hr̥do astv antaram taj jujoṣat (tad  
yuyota), 193
- hetayas tava bāhvoh, 792
- hemantaśīśrāv ('rā) r̥tū (rtūnām), 888
- hemantāya kakarān (kakārān), 489
- hemantena rtunā ('nartunā) devāh,  
919
- he 'lavo he 'lavo, 712
- hamahāṣ hamahāṣ, 124
- hamahāṣ ('hā) idam , 124
- haranyanābhah kausalyah, 699
- hailo-hailo, 712
- hotā yakṣat tvaṣṭāram aciṣum ('ṣam)  
, 618
- hotā yakṣat sarasvatīm meṣasya (yak-  
ṣad indram iṣabhasya, yakṣad bṛhas-  
patim chāgasya) śrontah (śon-  
itaṣ) , 353
- hotā yakṣad uṣāsūnaktā nṛṣ  
(nṛh) patubhyo , 965
- hotā yakṣan nārāśansam nṛṣastam  
nṛṣpranetrām (nṛh°), 965
- hotāram agnim antārā vicṛtāh, 866
- hotārāv ('rā) indram aśvinā, 888
- hotārāv ('rā) indram prathamā suvā-  
cā, 888
- hotā viṣṭimena (viṣṭvi me) jaritar,  
367, 885
- hotā vedīṣad atithir duronnsat (dū°),  
568
- hotṛṣadanam haritam hiranyayam, 200
- hotṛṣadanā haritāh suvarnāh, 200
- hotrakānām (hotṛkānām) camasādhva-  
ryavah , 663
- hotrāvidah ('vida, °vṛdha) stomat-  
asṭāso arkah, 108, 640, 972, 977
- hr̥dam na hi tvā nyr̥santy ūrmayah,  
658
- hr̥adunibhyah ('nibhyah) svāhā, 528
- hr̥adunir dūṣikābhūh, 488, 528, 543
- hriyāi śālpakah (śalyakah), 867
- hlādike hlādikāvati (hlādike hlādu°),  
622
- hvaṣāmi śakram puruhūtam indram,  
' 849

